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SIXTH ANNUAL SESSION

OF THE

BAPTIST CONGRESS,

FOR THE

DISCUSSION OF CURRENT QUESTIONS

HELD AT

The First Baptist Church, Indianapolis, Ind.,

NOVEMBER 15TH, 16TH AND 17TH, 1887.

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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. This Committee shall be composed of persons who have consented to contribute five dollars or more annually towards 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 meeting 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 the 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.

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-five minutes, and volunteer speaker ten minutes. The Secretary shall notify all participants by stroke of bell three minutes before, and also at the expiration of their time, beyond which no one shall be allowed to proceed.
6. NO resolution or motion shall be entertained at the public conferences.

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PROCEEDINGS
OF
THE BAPTIST CONGRESS.
1887.

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First Day.

FIRST BAPTIST CHURCH, INDIANAPOLIS, IND., NOV. 15th, 1887.

Afternoon Session.

THE President of the Indianapolis meeting, Hon. William S. Holman, Jr., of Aurora, Ind., called the Congress to order at 2 o'clock P. M. After singing by the choir, the Rev. Edward Ellis, of Detroit, Mich., read the first psalm and opened the session with prayer.

The President then spoke as follows:

Members of the Congress; Friends:

While I cannot congratulate the Executive Committee upon the wisdom shown in the selection of a presiding officer for this meeting of the Congress, I desire to express my profound appreciation of the honor conferred upon me; an honor, in my estimation, paramount to any that political or civil preferment could bestow.

I thank the committee on behalf of the Baptist laymen, the sinew of the Church. We welcome to the West, to our hearts and to our homes, these "wise men from the East," the North and South. They have come to set in motion thoughts, and to trace the line for cor-

rect thinking, upon some of the vital questions of the day. We welcome your coming, and the thoughts born of your minds we will gladly receive, nurture and cherish. We will try to follow the admonition of the Lord, and "walk with the wise that we may be wise." I find that the office of President of the Congress is a sinecure of a high order. It shall be mine, not to eulogize, but simply to herald the coming of those whose names will be sufficient to quicken the desire to hear; of those whom the Lord of Wisdom hath endowed with keenness of perception, and with nobility of thought; of men whom the Lord hath given wise and understanding hearts, for they have not asked for themselves "long life or riches or the lives of their enemies," but have asked "understanding to discern."

The Rev. G. D. BOARDMAN, D.D., of Philadelphia, was introduced by the President, and read the following paper on

**THE ORGANIC UNION OF CHRISTENDOM,
OR
THE PROBLEM OF ECCLESIASTICAL UNITY.**

THE Christian Church, or Christ's spiritual body, has always been, is now, and, in virtue of her own nature, must always be an organic unity. Alas, this is not the case with the Church ecclesiastical, or actual Church of Christendom. Accordingly, the great practical problem of ecclesiology is to make the Church organized, or man's fabric, coincident with the Church organic, or Christ's body; a problem which, like the famous problem of squaring the circle, though incapable of absolute solution, is nevertheless capable of approximations ever closer and closer. My topic, then, is this:

THE PROBLEM OF ECCLESIASTICAL UNITY.

Is such a unity desirable? If desirable, is it practicable? If desirable and practicable, how can it be secured?

Observe then, first of all, that this unity, at least to a certain degree, has been promised. It was foreshadowed in the Old Testament conception of Israel as a single personality. Even Caiaphas, sacreligious pontiff though he was, unconsciously prophesied that Jesus, by his own death, would gather together (synagogue) into one the children of God that are scattered abroad. Accordingly, the Apostle Paul repeatedly declares that in the New Society, or Christian Commonwealth, there is, and can be, neither Jew nor Gentile, neither Greek nor Scythian, neither bondman nor freedman,

neither male nor female ; but all are one in Christ Jesus. And the Good Shepherd himself has promised that the day is coming when all his sheep, of whatever fold, shall become his one flock, even as he is already their one Shepherd.

And what our Divine Head has promised, we, his members, should certainly strive to realize. I am aware that this seeking after Christian unity is often sneered at as a girlish sentimentalism, unworthy the sturdy muscle of denominational champions, contending earnestly for the faith which was once for all delivered unto the saints. But does it never occur to these redoubtable knights of the faith once for all delivered unto the saints, that that ancient faith means chiefly this: "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart," and "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself;" there being no other commandments greater than these, since on these two commandments of love to God and love to man hangeth the whole law and the prophets? Do these doughty warriors never catch a glimpse of the majestic truth that the whole law is summed up in this royal word, namely: "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself," this love being itself the very bond of perfectness? Ay,

" I'm apt to think the man
That could surround the sum of things, and spy
The heart of God and secrets of his empire,
Would speak but love. With him the bright result
Would change the hue of intermediate scenes,
And make one thing of all theology."

This matter, then, of Christian union, is more than a mere sentiment or sweet privilege ; it is not even a matter of option ; it is a commandment, and the most imperial of the commandments, the ordinance of the ordinances. And no wonder ; for God himself is love, so that he who abideth in love abideth in God and God in him. In brief, love is the characterizing mark of the Christian religion, separating it discretively from all other religions, and by that fact proving it to be divine. "By this shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye have love one to another." Accordingly, the last thing for which the Man of Sorrow prayed was this—the unity of his Church: "Father, that they may be one, even as we are one, I in them and thou in me, that they may be perfect in one, perfected into one." And that which chiefly absorbed our Lord's last thoughts the last night he was on earth, namely, the unity of his Church, this surely should be the paramount consideration and aim of our Lord's people. And so the practical question arises: How shall we bring about this promised unity?

And, first, negatively. This unity of the Church cannot be

brought about by decreeing uniformity of outward organization. This outward uniformity is one of the marked characteristics of the Church of Rome. And it must be confessed that this unvarying uniformity of creed, and polity, and ritual, in all lands and through all times, is, in a certain sense, very impressive. But there is peril in this very uniformity, and the exacter the uniformity the more perilous. For decrees of agreement or "acts of uniformity" imply an autocracy which is more than apt to be despotic. See how, in the case of Rome, ecclesiasticism has supplanted Christianity, the Church the Bible, the pope our Lord. Thus, the very uniformity of Romanism (and there is no more splendid sample of homogeneousness), is morally perilous, tending to extinguish individualism and apotheosize churchism, and so annihilating the very idea of unity. No, the unity of the Church cannot be brought about by decreeing uniformity of organization.

Nor, again, can the unity of the church be brought about, at least in this æon, by abolition of sects. In fact, I believe that each Christian sect, in so far as it has the spirit of Christ, has a divine mission of its own. Who would wish to erase from Church-history the story of the Waldenses, or the Moravians, or the Methodists? Of course, I cannot go into a detailed statement of the mission of each one of the sects; let me only attempt a swift characterization in roughest outline of the more salient features of some of the more prominent denominations. A chief distinctive mission of the Roman Catholic branch of the one Church (I mention it first only because it has by far the largest number of members) is, it seems to me, to give play to the body side of our nature; and this it does by its appeal to the senses in the way of architecture, statuary, painting, music, colors, forms; and nobly is it fulfilling its sensitive vocation. A chief distinctive mission of the Presbyterian branch of the one Church is to give play to the theological side of our nature; and this it does by the prominence it assigns to creed and catechetical instruction; and nobly is it fulfilling its sturdy vocation. A chief distinctive mission of the Congregational branch of the one Church is to give play to the personal side of our nature; and this it does by its protest against sacerdotalism and its insistence on the right of each congregation to ecclesiastical independence; and nobly is it fulfilling its manly vocation. A chief distinctive mission of the Episcopal branch of the one Church is to give play to the worshipful side of our nature; and this it does by the prominence it assigns to liturgy and æsthetics; and nobly is it fulfilling its devotional vocation. A chief distinctive mission of the Methodist branch of the one Church is to give play to the active side of our nature; and this

it does by the vigor of its ecclesiastical system, and its recognition of the lay element in its class-meetings; and nobly is it fulfilling its robust vocation. A chief distinctive mission of the Quaker branch of the one Church is to give play to the passive side of our nature; and this it does by its doctrine of the Inner Light, and by its disuse of forms; and nobly is it fulfilling its placid vocation. A chief distinctive mission of the Baptist branch of the one Church is to give play to the exact side of our nature; and this it does by demanding literal obedience to the Scriptural ordinance of Baptism; and nobly is it fulfilling its stalwart vocation. Thus each of the sects has its own peculiar mission, and each, I doubt not, would be benefited by some absorption of the peculiarities of the others; we Baptists, I am sure (and this without abating one jot or tittle of our distinctive mission), would not be harmed by a little infusion of the Presbyterian polity, the Episcopal æsthetics, the Methodist discipline, the Quaker simplicity. For all things are ours, whether Paul the apostle of advance, or Cephas the apostle of arrest, or Apollos the apostle of culture; all are ours, and we are Christ's, and Christ is God's. No, the unity of the Church cannot be brought about by abolition of the sects.

Nor, once more and most decisively, can the unity of the Church be brought about by surrender of personal convictions. If there is in all this world a sacred right, it is the right of every human being to have his own personal moral convictions. If there is in all this world a sacred responsibility, it is the responsibility which every human being has, before his God and before his fellows, for those personal convictions. If there is in all this world a sacred obligation, it is the obligation which rests on every human being to be true, at whatever cost, to his own convictions. The man who is willing to surrender his own convictions for the sake of unity is a man whose willingness to be one with us is to be distrusted; for he who begins with being false to himself will end with being false to his fellows. Moreover, the unity that is brought about by surrender of convictions, or moral compromises, is not really a unity; it is only a weak, sentimental, flabby uniformity. Like a composite photograph, in which no sign of individuality is visible, the boneless, downy acquiescence looks very kind, and also very weak. No, the unity of the Church cannot be brought about by vapid wishy-washy.

How, then, shall the promised unity of the Church be brought about? And now affirmatively: *By heartily accepting God's own principle of diversities in unity.*

For consider for a moment the difference between union or a unit

and a unity. A unit is a single one, surveyed externally in isolation from other ones. A unity is a single one surveyed internally in its parts, each and every part being in mutual adjustment to a common end. A unit is a bare one; a unity is a co-ordination of several and different ones into a state of oneness. A unit is one in the sense of numerical singleness; a unity is one in the sense of harmonious pluralness. For example: A molecule of water, considered in its wholeness and in distinction from other molecules of water, is a unit; but the same molecule of water, considered in its composition as made of eight weights of oxygen and one weight of hydrogen, is a unity. But unity implies something more than harmonious variety of parts; it also implies the subordination of these various parts to a common end. It is this co-operation of diverse parts to a common end which makes these diverse parts as a whole a unity. For example: The separate blocks in a quarry are not a unity, they are only units; but actually bring them together, and fit them to one another in due shape and order for the purpose, say, of a temple structure, and they become a unity. In brief, it is the co-ordination of diverse units for a common end which makes a unity. And observe the effectiveness of a duly grouped co-ordinated unity. How is it that a steam engine, small compared with the mass it moves, is able to drive a mighty craft, with her ponderous cargo, in teeth of billows and tempest, from continent to continent? It is not merely because it is made of iron and worked by the expansive force of steam; it is also because piston and cylinder, beam and connecting-rod, crank and fly-wheel, valve and condenser, pump and governor, all work in reciprocal adjustment and harmonious confederacy to a common end, namely, to send the steamer across the Atlantic. But let some slight derangement of the machinery occur, some valve refuse to work, some cog interfere, some pin give way, and the engine which has been a useful unity becomes a mass of useless units. In fine, unity consists in converged diversities, where all the ends are means and all the means are ends.

Now, the Church—I mean the Church divinely organic in distinction from a Church humanly organized—is the palmary instance of unity. This unity will be best set forth under the analogy of the human body; an analogy which the Apostle Paul often uses, notably in a classic paragraph of his first letter to the Corinthians :

As the body is one, and hath many members, and all the members of the body, being many, are one body; so also is Christ. For in one Spirit were we all baptised into one body, whether Jews or Greeks, whether bond or free; and were all made to drink of one Spirit. For the body is not one member, but many. If the foot shall say, Because

I am not the hand, I am not of the body ; it is not therefore not of the body. And if the ear shall say, Because I am not the eye, I am not of the body ; it is not therefore not of the body. If the whole body were an eye, where were the hearing ? If the whole were hearing, where were the smelling ? But now God hath set the members each one of them in the body, even as it pleased him. And if they were all one member, where were the body ? But now they are many members, but one body. And the eye cannot say to the hand, I have no need of thee ; or again the head to the feet, I have no need of you. Nay, much rather, those members of the body which seem to be more feeble are necessary ; and those parts of the body which we think to be less honorable, upon these we bestow more abundant honor ; and our uncomely parts have more abundant comeliness ; whereas our comely parts have no need ; but God tempered the body together, giving more abundant honor to that part which lacked, that there should be no schism in the body, but that the members should have the same care one for another. And whether one member suffereth, all the members suffer with it ; or one member is honored, all the members rejoice with it. Now, ye are the body of Christ, and severally members thereof (members each in his part). i. Cor. xii., 12-27.

Of course, this paragraph does not teach that Christ and his Church form a corporeal structure, having bodily organs. It is an analogy, not a proposition: accordingly, it is to be taken sense-wise, not sound-wise. And what the analogy declares is this:—The relation between Christ and his Church is as real, as vital, as reciprocal, as organic, as the relation between the head and its body. And now let us attend to some of the lessons which this elaborate and profound analogy suggests.

And first, as the body, including head and members, forms one organism, so the Church, including Christ and his people, forms one personality.

The statement, you perceive, is twofold. First, Christ himself is the head: "Grow up in all things into him who is the head, even Christ." The Church is no headless torso. Being himself the head, Christ is, so to speak, the nervous centre of his Church, sharing her sensations, whether of joy or of grief, co-ordinating her faculties, directing her movements, unifying her activities, maintaining her life. And as there is but one Christ, so there is but one head. The Lamb of God is no hydra-headed monster. And secondly, as Christ is the head, so the Church is his body: "Gave him to be head over all things to the Church, which is his body, the fullness of him who filleth all in all," the overflowing receptacle of his measureless amplitudes. Being his body, the Church is, so to speak, a part of his own

personality, drawing from him her life, sharing his experience and character, executing his will. As Augustine profoundly says: *Totus Christus caput et corpus est* (the whole Christ is both head and body). Or as another Latin proverb states it still more compactly: *Ubi Christus, ibi Ecclesia* (where Christ, there Church). And as Christ is not a monstrosity in the sense of being many-headed, so his Church is not a monstrosity, in the sense of being many-bodied. As there is but one Christ the head, so there is but one Church his body. Christ and his Church form one personality.

May I add that evidences are not wanting that the theological mind of this generation is taking, under guidance of the Holy Spirit, an onward step in its conception of the Church of the living God? The doctrine of the mutual relation between Christ and His people has never been very precisely stated, and this probably because it has never been very precisely conceived. The idea, as a sort of divine germ, has always existed in the bosom of the Church. Ever and anon we catch glimpses of it as of some vast, sublime, yet dim, aerial conception, floating up and down along the mighty stream of the Church's thought, experience and consciousness. It seems to have found special hospitality in the bosom of Thomas Aquinas, him whom his contemporaries loved to style the Angelic Doctor; for he speaks often and ardently of what he calls the *Unio Mystica*. But it can hardly be said to have taken definite shape or been crystallized into a formula, like its somewhat counterpart doctrine of the relation between Adam and his race. Unless I greatly mistake the drift of the general Christian meditation and sentiment, the Church, under guidance of that blessed Spirit "from whom all holy desires, all good counsels and all just works do proceed," is swiftly gravitating toward deeper and clearer views on this transcendent topic, even the acknowledgment of the mystery that Christ and his people are one, not as an organization, but as an organism; he the head, his people of whatever polity or name, his body; and so he and they absolutely a unity. "As the body is one and hath many members, and all the members of the body, being many, are one body, so also is Christ."

Secondly, as the body involves diversity of members and functions, so does the Church.

As the body is not all brain, or heart, or eye, or foot, or blood, or nerve, or bone, or cell; so the Church is not all conscience, or reason, or sensibility, or will, or creed, or polity, or minister, or layman, or sex, or sect. The Church has all variety of gift, faculty, grace, temperament, experience, vocation, method, opportunity, conception. And as uniformity is a mark of the lowest stage of existence, so variety is a mark of the highest. The nobler the life, the more com-

plex and differenced. For example, how wonderfully life complicates and diversifies as, starting with the lowest forms of animal existence, we trace its ever-multiplying differentiations in the amœba, the polyp, the clam, the spider, the salmon, the lizard, the eagle, the lion, and, finally, man himself. Indeed, one of the happiest definitions of life is this: "Life is the mutual exchanging of relations." And the higher the life, the intenser the exchange. Contrast, for instance, the child of barbarism and the child of civilization. How simple the wants of the savage; how few and rude his instruments; you might almost gather them into a shop. But how diversified the wants of the civilized man; how numberless and complicated his implements; the exposition grounds of our glorious Centennial could not contain them. In brief, differentiation is the very condition of life. Dead things are uniform, live things are multiform. Everything that grows at all grows by multiplication of organs and functions, and their consignment to specific ends. Development is by specialization. How wonderfully this comes out in the growth of the germinating vesicle of the egg or the cell. And the higher the grade of being, the more individualized as well as the more complicated become its organs and functions. Now the Church is the superbest finite instance of differentiation and specialization; and this alike in respect of organs, functions, gifts, opinions, methods. She is a myriad fold diversity.

Thirdly, as the body is diversity in unity, so also is the Church.

For recall the difference between a unit and a unity. A unit is a single, isolated one; a unity is the systematized union of diverse ones in a state of oneness. To illustrate from St. Paul's great analogy of the bodily organism: A finger, surveyed as a finger in distinction from other fingers, is a unit; but the hand, surveyed as a system of fingers, is a unity. So a cell, surveyed as a cell in distinction from other cells, is a unit; but the body, surveyed as a system of cells co-ordinated into one common organism, is a unity. And this convergent diversity is indispensable to the unity. If the whole body were an eye, where were the hearing? If all the members were similar members, all eyes, or ears, or noses, where were the body? But now they are diverse members, and therefore one body. And this diverse co-membership is mutually co-necessary: the eye cannot say to the hand, "I have no need of thee." And this necessity of diversity is specially true of the smaller, obscurer members of the body: those members which seem to be more feeble are necessary. If there were no cells, there could be no blood; and if there were no blood, there could be no body, either corporeal or personal. Thus the unity of the body consists in the unified diversi-

ty of its parts. And the Church is the noblest specimen of a body, because she is Christ's body, he the head and she the members. Accordingly, the Church, in the adjustment of her own most multi-form organs, in the co-ordination of her own most diversified functions, in the unification of her own most heterogeneous elements and conditions, is the consummate finite instance of unity as well as of diversity, of unity because of diversity. Behold, how good and how pleasant it is for brethren to dwell together in unity!

Thus the diversified unity of the bodily organism is the palmary symbol and type of the diversified unity of the ideal organism or Christ's mystical body. And Christ's mystical body or the ideal organism is in a certain sense the divine model for our ecclesiastical organization, or the actual church of Christendom. In striving then to realize our Master's ideal of his Church as a unity, let us evermore keep in mind his great apostle's significant analogy of the human body: Many different members, but one common body. That is to say, *recognize cheerfully the fact, the necessity, the worth of diversity*. Do not demand uniformity of creed or of method; for that would be to merge all the members of the body into one vast dead eye, or ear, or hand, or foot; and then where would be the body? Hold steadfastly and at all hazards to your own convictions; but at the same time co-operate cheerfully with those who differ from you, even as the eye co-operates with the hand, or the ear with the foot. True, we cannot, at least in this æon, agree on the basis of creed; but, thank God, we can, even in this æon, agree on the basis of deed, co-operating instead of competing and rending Christ's body. Remember that it is not given to any one man or to any set of men, however great, to comprehend all the truth; for, if it were, men would be infinite. Accordingly, while sectarianism is born of sin, and is devilish, sect is born of finiteness, and may be even angelic. Do not try, then, to secure unity by hammering diversities into monotonous flatness. But try to secure unity by soaring high enough to comprehend diversities, even as God's own sky comprehends forest and ocean, valley and mountain. When we cannot agree, let us "agree to disagree." Instead of maximizing the points where we differ and minimizing the points where we agree, let us maximize the points where we agree and minimize the points where we differ; following after things which make for peace, and things whereby we may upbuild one another, giving diligence to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace. In all our efforts to secure ecclesiastical unity let us ever keep in mind the golden maxim ascribed to Rupertus Meldenius: *In necessariis unitas, in non necessariis libertas, in utrisque caritas*.

God be praised, we are living in noble times, auspicious of the great consummation. The World's Week of Prayer, the Evangelical Alliance, the International Sunday School Lessons, the Young Men's Christian Associations, the undenominational Congresses and Alliances and Societies, the interdenominational visitors and telegrams, the overtures of a liturgical church and the responses of non-liturgical churches, the private conferences of eminent representatives of denominations;—all these and such as these are blessed auguries of the day when Ephraim shall no longer envy Judah, and Judah shall no longer vex Ephraim. In that Church of the Future all the members will be "high churchmen" because true to God; all will be "low churchmen" because true to man; all will be "broad churchmen" because true both to God and to man. Meanwhile let us all try as best we can to organize and manifest to the world all that is common in the Church. For the Church is at bottom a unity. Listen to the apostle's portrayal of her sevenfold oneness: There is one body, even the Christian Church; one Spirit, even the Holy Ghost; one Hope, even the hope of the heavenly calling; one Lord, even the Lord Jesus Christ; one Faith, even the trust in this one Lord; one Baptism, even the baptism into the one body; one God and Father of all, who is over all, and through all, and in all. Be it for us then to manifest to the world this already existing sevenfold unity. To this end let us league in holy alliance the Christian sensibilities and the Christian capacities. Let the eye say to the hand, "I have need of thee;" and the head to the feet, "I have need of you." Thus endeavoring by God's help to make the organized churches of Christendom co-incident with the organic Church of the Kingdom of God, we shall hasten that day of promised visible unity, when New Jerusalem shall be seen coming down out of heaven from God, made ready as a bride adorned for her husband; even that majestic City of God which shall perhaps be the visible counterpart and more than counterpart of the Church of Rome, being in truth what she is only in name, a unity indeed. Then shall we all attain unto the unity of the faith and of the knowledge of the Son of God, unto a full-grown man, unto the measure of the stature of the fullness of Christ. Then shall be answered our Lord's last prayer for his Church:

Neither for these only do I pray, but for them also that believe on me through their word; that they may all be one; even as thou, Father, art in me, and I in thee, that they also may be in us: that the world may believe that thou didst send me. And the glory which thou hast given me I have given unto them; that they may be one, even as we are one; I in them, and thou in me, that they may be perfected into one;

that the world may know that thou didst send me, and lovedst them, even as thou lovedst me. Father, that which thou hast given me, I desire that, where I am, they also may be with me; that they may behold my glory, which thou hast given me: for thou lovedst me before the foundation of the world. O, righteous Father, the world knew thee not, but I knew thee; and these knew that thou didst send me; and I made known unto them thy name, and will make it known; that the love wherewith thou lovedst me may be in them, and I in them.

May God speed that blessed day!

The Rev. NORMAN FOX, D.D., presented a paper on the same subject, as follows:

THE ORGANIC UNION OF CHRISTENDOM.

There is a vast deal of talk concerning Christian Union. And this talk, though vague, may not be valueless. Though no results are as yet apparent there may indeed be progress, and out of the formless mist of nebulous discussion there may, after a long time, be evolved the cosmos of a more perfect union.

In this paper there will be considered but a single point. It is often asked, "Why do you Baptists stand aloof from your fellow Christians?" Let us take a particular case. In a certain village there already exist two or three evangelical Protestant congregations—enough to furnish religious privileges for the people generally. But a dozen or twenty Baptists arise and form an additional organization, the denomination as a whole aiding and abetting by assisting them with mission funds. Is not this wanton schism, a flagrant sin against the body of Christ?

This question is a square one: we must allow that it is a fair one. An answer must be given, and that answer may be this: The Baptists do not wantonly withdraw from union with their fellow-Christians; they are driven out and banished. They do not needlessly refuse to unite with Presbyterian and Methodist congregations. The doors of these Churches are slammed in their faces. No Baptist will be admitted to such Churches unless he will renounce his principles, trample on his intelligent convictions and sacrifice not only Christian fidelity, but the self-respect of a decent manhood. Is this stated too strongly? Let us see—

A company of persons of Baptist proclivities, unwilling even to seem to violate Christian unity by organizing a new Baptist congregation, apply for membership in a Presbyterian Church. Some of them have not been baptized, and they ask to be immersed. In sup-

port of this request they may plead reasons to which the strictest Presbyterian need not object. They say:—"Our parents and grandparents were immersed and we should like to follow them. Again, burial in water is the historic baptism of the Church; it has ever been the usage of the Greek Church; it was the usage of the Roman Catholic Church for twelve hundred years, and of the Anglican Church for fifteen hundred. It was the baptism of Clement and Cyprian, of Ambrose and Augustine, of Basil and Chrysostom, of Anselm and Aquinas, of Wiclif and Latimer and Cranmer, and we wish to follow this ancient, historic usage. Again, a sprinkling symbolizes merely a washing—it contains no idea which is not found in the lustrations of the heathen rituals. It is only burial in water that contains the *distinctively* Christian idea of the death and resurrection of the Saviour. Again, the validity of sprinkling is disputed in the Greek Church as well as by vast multitudes in Western Christendom, while the validity of immersion no one disputes. In place of the ceremony, whose validity, if not disproved, is strongly disputed, we prefer that ceremony whose validity is unquestioned. We desire to be immersed, for immersion is the only Catholic baptism—the only baptism recognized 'always, everywhere and by all.' " Now, one may prefer immersion for personal, historic and symbolical reasons, even though he does not deny that sprinkling would be valid. But suppose these are not convinced,—as many very intelligent Christians are not—that sprinkling is a true baptism at all, then their consciences will *compel* them to insist on demanding immersion.

But will the ordinary Presbyterian minister immerse them? Certainly not. True Mr. Talmage, of Brooklyn, immerses those who desire him so to do, but he has been criticised by his Presbyterian brethren, and not long ago in Pennsylvania a Presbyterian minister who immersed some converts was actually subjected to ecclesiastical censure therefor. Apart from the action of a few especially liberal-minded ministers the doors of Presbyterian churches are barred against all converts who are not convinced that sprinkling is baptism and so cannot accept it as such. The Methodist discipline provides that immersion may be administered to those who prefer it, but often, if not generally, it is administered so ungraciously as practically to nullify this provision. Suppose a couple applying to a Baptist or Presbyterian minister to solemnize their marriage desired, for reasons satisfactory to themselves, that he should use the Episcopal ceremony. Suppose the minister does everything he can to lead them to forego their preference, but being unsuccessful, he at last says: "Well, rather than lose the fee, I will consent to use that ceremony, but I give you notice that I shall do everything I can to

render it absurd and ridiculous ; I will insult you by making it, so far as possible, a farce. This occasion, which to you will ever be fraught with tenderest recollections, I will strive to make one which you shall remember with the least pleasure possible." If the minister showed such a spirit we should advise the couple to go to some other clergyman. So in many cases when Methodist ministers consent to immerse converts they do it with a spirit, and in a manner which should lead the candidate to refuse to receive the ceremony at their hands.

But suppose the candidate for membership has already been baptized, is the way *now* open for him to join a non-Baptist church? Hardly.

A while ago a correspondent asked in the columns of the *Congregationalist*, whether a Baptist could properly be admitted to a Congregational church. The editorial answer was, that such a thing might be done if the applicant would consent to keep his Baptist notions in the background. In other words, he could be admitted, but only to the extreme back-seat. Now, of course, a Baptist should advance his Baptist doctrines only at the proper time and in the proper place. If it be asked when is the proper time and place, it might be answered that it was whenever it was the time and place to advance the contrary ideas. No intelligent, self-respecting man can consent never to say what he believes to be the truth. No self-respecting man will join any church where he is not as free to speak in support of his own ideas as others are to speak against them. No self-respecting Christian can join any church where he will not stand on an equality with the other members as to freedom in the expression of opinion. Therefore, until such freedom is fully conceded, all self-respecting Baptists stand effectually excluded from membership in non-Baptist churches.

And now suppose one of these Baptist applicants for membership in a Presbyterian church feels himself called to the ministry; the case is made still stronger. He is asked if he will baptize infants and administer sprinkling and pouring for baptism. He answers that as for those whose consciences permit them to do this he would not interfere with them. He is willing that others shall baptize infants as he is willing that they shall, with the Romanists, baptize bells, if they think it proper so to do. He would be willing any day to make an exchange of pulpits, so that all who wished to have their children "christened," could be accommodated therein, but as for himself his conscience will not permit him to baptize infants when he finds no Scripture authority for it ; nor could he say, " I baptize

thee," in using sprinkling or pouring, which he does not believe to be baptism. Of course, such a one would be refused ordination.

If one *already* a Presbyterian or Methodist minister comes to the conclusion that his conscience will no longer permit him to baptize infants nor to administer sprinkling for baptism, he is immediately deposed from the ministry. When Adoniram Judson went out as a missionary he was a Congregational clergyman. On his way to India he adopted Baptist views. Now, as Congregationalists so often deprecate all discussion about baptism, perhaps they wrote to him to keep right on with his work all the same. But, no. He was told that having adopted Baptist views he could no longer be a minister in the Congregational communion. If a man will not baptize infants and use sprinkling and pouring for baptism, he cannot be admitted to the ministry in the Presbyterian or Methodist or Episcopalian communion, no matter though he have the apostolic zeal of a Judson and the sanctified eloquence of a Spurgeon. Over the entrance to the Presbyterian and Methodist ministry is written, "No Baptist need apply."

But what shall a man do who is called to preach but unfortunately is unable to find any sanction for infant baptism or the use of sprinkling for baptism? He cannot abstain from preaching; he is not allowed to become a preacher in the Presbyterian or Methodist body; there is no resource for him but to preach elsewhere. On a stump by the highway side or in a secular hall he holds forth the word of life. Converts are made. These converts hear nothing from him in support of infant baptism; they find nothing in the New Testament about it; they adopt Baptist views. But with what church shall they unite? They can hardly unite with the church that banished from its ministry their beloved teacher, and that for believing only as they believe. They naturally rally to his support and thus another Baptist church is formed. Is it not the *duty* of all who hold Baptist principles to rally to the support of those who are excluded from the ministry of the various Christian bodies simply for holding Baptist ideas? Thus these Baptists come to stand separate from other Christians. They do not wantonly withdraw from fellowship with their brethren. They are ruthlessly driven out. In every Presbyterian and Methodist church is set up the usage of the baptism of infants and the use of sprinkling for baptism, and no one can be admitted to church membership, and especially to the ministry, who will not bow down to these.

It is not enough that a Baptist applicant for membership shall consent that others may be sprinkled—they insist that he shall be sprinkled himself. It is not enough that he shall allow others to say that sprinkling is baptism; he must, by silence, at least, acknowledge

it himself. If he would become a minister, it is not enough that he shall consent that others shall sprinkle infants, he must consent to sprinkle them himself. No Baptist can be admitted to the ministry and ordinarily not even to membership in a Presbyterian or Methodist church unless he will sacrifice his principles, and thus not only his conscience but also his manhood.

Before it can be urged that Baptists forebear to organize churches of their own in towns where the ground is occupied by other churches it must be shown that Baptists will be admitted to those other churches without detriment to an intelligent conscience and manly self-respect.

(1) To converts, who so desire, immersion must be administered, and that not grudgingly or insultingly, but willingly.

(2) Members holding Baptist principles must be allowed to speak as freely in support of those principles as others do against them.

(3) No man must be excluded from the ministry for refusing to baptize infants or to administer sprinkling and pouring for baptism.

The full and free concession of these points must be preliminary to *any* negotiation for a union between Baptists and their brethren of other communions.

To insist that Baptists shall concede that sprinkling, even of an unconscious infant, is valid baptism, is insisting that Baptists shall give up their own views entirely—in short, shall cease to be Baptists. Now, oil and water might easily be united if we threw away the oil and had nothing remaining but the water. So Baptists and Pedobaptists could perhaps be brought into perfect unity if all Baptists ceased to be such and became Pedobaptists. But Baptists will continue to hold and speak their own views. The question then is, what farther union is possible between Baptists and Pedobaptists, neither party being required to do anything inconsistent with its own beliefs? This question is worthy of study.

The Rev. JUSTUS BULKLEY, D.D., read the following paper on the same subject:

Brother Moderator:

The phrase, "The Organic Union of Christendom," is susceptible of two interpretations. It may mean the organic *Church* union of Christendom, or the union of all Christians in an organism like the "Evangelical Alliance," the Baptist Union from which Spurgeon has recently withdrawn, the Y. M. C. A., the present Congress, or a kindred organization. I took the former to be the meaning. Unfortunately, perhaps, I belong to that class of persons who believe

that our Lord Jesus Christ has left us, in the New Testament, a pattern of his Church, and that that pattern is consequently divine, authoritative, universal and unalterable. I wish to-day to discuss but a single point. Is the organic *Church* union of Christendom possible, and if so, how can it be secured?

We believe it possible, in the first place, only as Christian men recognize the principle that the Bible is divine, and that its utterances upon this point are of supreme, unalterable and perpetual obligation; that no man, be he pope or cardinal, archbishop or bishop, that no company of men, whether college of cardinals, assembly of divines, ecumenical council, general conference or association, has any authority to alter this divine pattern or substitute something else in its place. So long as human traditions are mingled with the divine utterances; so long as men teach for the commandments of God the traditions of men; so long as men accept the unwarrantable assumption that men have the right, however given, to change the divine ordinances, church union is impossible, because the Bible is the great fountain of conscientiousness, and while men possess a conscience, and that conscience is quickened and enlightened by the Word of God, so long men will be found who cannot submit to the unauthorized substitution of something else in the place of the Church and its ordinances. True, there may be a great difference between this divine pattern and our apprehension of that pattern. I would not arrogate to myself or to my brethren the claim that we have exhausted the teachings of God's Word upon the subject of church organization or polity, but the pattern is most certainly in the teaching of God's Word, and it is the duty of Christ's followers to search for it.

Hence the very first principle to be observed, if all Christians are to be brought into organic Church relation, must be the encouragement of investigation and discussion, an examination to the widest extent of the teachings of inspiration, and the discussion in the most fraternal spirit of points of difference. Men of catholic spirit, of broad culture, of thorough intellectual training and of conscientious convictions, must enter philosophically upon the investigations of this subject. Men must question the Bible exactly as scientists question God in his natural works. The attitude of the advanced scientists of to-day is the attitude of reverential inquiry—what has God revealed in the world of science? And unity of scientific thought is impossible, except that unity is based upon phenomena establishing laws that can be neither disproved nor doubted.

So long as a single doubt remains, universal acceptance is impossible. So long as a doubt remains it is hypothesis, not science.

Demonstration, not hypothesis, is an absolute necessity. This principle must be admitted into our investigations of the Word of God. Every principle of error must be eliminated. The enlightened, universal Christian consciousness will never rest satisfied until bed-rock is reached. The Church of Christ may be slow in admitting this principle, but it is, we believe, fundamental :

“ What hath God spoken ? ”

“ What does God require ? ”

If any body of Christian men possess the truth, others must essentially accept that truth. If error mingles with their doctrines or Church polity, that error will be discovered and must be eliminated. I think it is a most pleasant reflection that within the last seventy-five years there has been, on the part of other Christian bodies, a remarkable approach to some of the principles which we hold as scriptural, and hence fundamental. Hence the organic Church union of Christendom is possible only as Christians accept the principle that the Bible, and the Bible alone, must be the basis of this Church union.

During all the ages past a large part of Christendom has accepted the principle unquestioningly and without hesitation that tradition was co-ordinate in authority with the Word of God. In fact, in the Roman Catholic Church the Bible is subordinate to tradition, inasmuch as the Bible cannot be correctly interpreted except through tradition.

Now, so long as any body of men arrogate to themselves the authority to make additions to or emendations of the divine plan, so long as men teach that it is a matter of indifference whether or not the divine plan is followed, so long as assumed authority is vested in conference, assembly, communicational council, house of bishops, college of cardinals, or pope of Rome, to fashion a plan after the wildest vagaries of human inventions, so long will the earnest, conscientious Christian consciousness of a large part of God's elect protest against and unqualifiedly refuse to submit to such unauthorized assumptions, and organic Church union is an impossibility. There always have been, there always will be large bodies of men whose loyalty to Christ will never permit them to be governed by this slavish subjection to unauthorized human assumptions or traditions. They must have a “ thus saith the Lord ” for their pattern of the Church of Christ. You might as well attempt to remove the Andes from their everlasting moorings as to attempt unity of Church organization upon any other principle than unquestioning submission to the divine plan as revealed. Myriads of men to-day would

impale themselves on this principle, and all the power of all the governments of earth could not compel uniformity.

These principles accepted, two or three additional principles are logically developed.

(a.) Organic Church union is impossible upon any other principle than that of a regenerated Church membership.

We admit that a large part, perhaps the larger part, of the Christian world repudiate this principle. Nevertheless, the teachings of God's Word are believed to be so uniform and emphatic upon this point, its responses are so clear and unmistakable, that the universal recognition of this principle is an indispensable necessity to organic Church union.

This principle never will be abandoned so long as men exist who regard loyalty to Christ as paramount to every other obligation. So long as large numbers of men must conscientiously adhere to this principle Churches formed in harmony therewith are an absolute certainty.

(b.) These regenerated persons must be baptized after regeneration, not before, because they are regenerated and justified, not that their sins may be forgiven, and this baptism must be immersion. No other form of baptism can possibly command universal acceptance. There may be differences of opinion in regard to the question of the relation of a proper administrator to the validity of the ordinance, but the *subject* and the *act* will admit of no diversity of opinion. From the days of the apostles until to-day men have existed who have held rigidly to this principle in the face of persecution, confiscation of property, exile, imprisonment and death in its most dreadful forms.

Our brethren on ten thousand spiritual battle-fields have sealed their testimony with their blood. They have transmitted to us a priceless legacy. Fealty to Christ will ever compel that this legacy be transmitted with ever increasing lustre to the generations to come. Let Judson's translation of *Baptizo* stand as an everlasting rebuke to those who would dare to put their theological forceps upon that word and extort from it a meaning which has been repudiated by the Christian scholarship of the world. Sanctified Christian scholarship with wonderful unanimity has sanctioned the scripturalness of the act, while illogically and inconsistently employing a substitute. And the tendency to the scripturalness of our views of the *subjects* of baptism is increasing in almost geometrical ratio. Infant baptism is already *obsolescent*; let us devoutly hope it will soon become obsolete. Then, and not till then, may we hope

for the speedy approach of the period when the universal organic Church union of Christendom is a possibility.

(c.) The universal recognition of the principle of the entire *separation of Church and State* is an absolute condition of organic Church union.

Since the days of Constantine the Great the principle of the union of Church and State has received the unqualified approval of the largest part of Christendom. No single act of any potentate of earth was ever fraught with such direful effects to the Church of Christ as when that powerful monarch, at the council of Nicaea, in the year 325, A. D., determined to use all the power at his command to compel all Christian bishops throughout the Roman Empire to subscribe, on pain of deposition and exile, to the *homoousion* creed of Athanasius. Then the Church and the world entered into unholy wedlock, and from that hour the strong arm of the civil power has been evoked to compel religious uniformity in all the Christian governments of the world, our own not excepted. While the union of Church and State may not be regarded as fraught with unmixed evil, yet no mind but the Divine can measure the enormity of those evils. Until this principle is completely abandoned in the old world as it is in the new, the organic Church union of Christendom is an impossibility.

(d.) The principle of *Congregational Church government*, we believe, must be universally accepted.

The form of political government in any country, by an inevitable law, exerts vast control over the form of church government in that country. Any one observing the trend of political thought cannot fail to discover that within the last one hundred years wonderful strides towards a republican form of government have been made in the old world. The Scriptures teach the essential equality of all men—the universal fatherhood of God, the universal brotherhood of man. Our own government, though not perfect, is the best in the world. Its leading principle is the sovereignty of the people, and this is but the legitimate outgrowth of the teachings of Christ. “We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are born free and equal and are endowed with certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.” Thomas Jefferson, in attending the services of an obscure Baptist church in Virginia, under the pastoral care of Rev. Mr. Trimble, which resulted in his embodying largely in our organic law the purest democracy of earth, caught but the accents of the teachings of the Nazarene as they reverberated through the hills and dales of God-honored Judea: “Call no man master.” “All ye are brethren.” “Thou shalt love

thy neighbor as thyself." Every political oligarchy or despotism on earth has trampled beneath its unhallowed feet the God-given inalienable rights of its subjects. Emperors and kings have combined with spiritual despots to crush out any aspirations after liberty by the masses. But as the means of culture are enjoyed these rights will be recognized, demanded and secured. There goes forth from this government to-day a power well nigh omnipotent, that mocks every effort of emperors and kings to suppress. The divine right of kings is denied. The mere accident of birth or blood, of political elevation or military success cannot give the right to hereditary, perpetual, inalienable royalty; every throne must totter, every crown must crumble, every sceptre must be broken, every vestige of kingly power must disappear. Possibly many and great revolutions and disorders in the old world may precede man's universal enfranchisement, but its coming is as inevitable as fate. As in politics, so in religion. Man's essential equality must be recognized. Intense individuality must be developed. Every spiritual autocracy, oligarchy, aristocracy must be subverted. Man's complete spiritual autonomy must become his universal inheritance. Until these principles are recognized and secured, the universal organic Church union of Christendom is neither possible nor desirable.

(c.) In the last place, the organic Church union of Christendom is only possible as it is based upon the *fundamental doctrines* of inspiration.

No doctrine, however repugnant to both reason and revelation, has ever been advocated that had not secured the recognition and belief of multitudes. We may be astonished that for so many scores of years after the council of Nicaea, the entire Roman empire, political and spiritual, revolved around the Greek letter "Iota," as Athanasianism or Arianism was in the ascendant.

We may condemn their rigid adherence to religious principle. We may stigmatize their earnest devotion to principle as bigotry, intolerance, fanaticism. "Athanasius contra mundum, mundus contra Athanasium," may seem unjustifiably harsh to the more cultured, refined and loving hearts of our day. The advanced orthodoxy of the nineteenth century may attempt to emasculate the so-called harsher doctrines of God's word. The doctrine of a second probation may be pleasant to the refined sentimentalism of the present age; but if there is anything that calls forth the highest admiration of my entire being, it is just such loyalty to trust and to God's word as Athanasius exhibited, when, with the utmost cheerfulness, a half a score of times he came under imperial Arian interdict, and was compelled to seek in exile the peace and liberty of worship denied him at home.

I admire Luther at the Diet of Worms.

I admire Roger Williams, as banished from Massachusetts in mid-winter, he sought more friendly hospitality among the savages of rock-ribbed Rhode Island, and left—

“What there he found,
Freedom to worship God.”

I admire those prisoners in Virginia, whose imprisonment for preaching the Gospel contrary to the statutes of Virginia enlisted the sympathies of Patrick Henry, and called forth one of the grandest efforts of his life. I admire the grand army of martyrs, 50,000,000 strong, that under Catholic persecution have gone up in their chariot of fire. And while sincerity is no test of truth, I am thoroughly persuaded that the leading fundamental doctrines of the Divine word must be recognized as essential to the “organic Church union of Christendom.” The existence and essential attributes of God, the Trinity, the eternal and essential Deity of Christ, the personality of the Holy Spirit, the fall and consequent depravity of man, the incarnation, death, resurrection, and ascension of Christ, the regeneration and sanctification of the heart by the agency of the Holy Spirit, the resurrection of the dead, the final separation of the righteous and the wicked, the eternity of rewards and punishments—these truths must be believed, and embodied essentially in articles of faith before organic Church union is either possible or desirable.

Hence, a consummation so devoutly to be desired is so far off in the distant future that it seems to me our mission in the future as in the past must be one of perpetual and earnest protest against any departure from the Divine Word in Church organizations; it must be one of unflinching loyalty to the permanent and paramount authority of the Word of God; it must be one of earnest solicitation to the most extensive and thorough examination of that Word by the broadest culture of the age. And withal we must give our most earnest endeavors to the cultivation of the most friendly relations with and warmest Christian fellowship for our brethren of other denominations consistent with loyalty to Christ, while we adhere with unswerving fidelity, as our fathers ever have done, to the teachings of Christ, and earnestly contend for the faith once delivered to the saints.

In essentials, unity; in non-essentials, diversity.

The Breckenridge Monument Association recently invited the Grand Army of the Republic to attend the ceremonies of the unveiling of the statue of John C. Breckenridge, at Lexington, Ky.. to-

day. Dr. Bowman, commander of the Department of Kentucky, in reply, expressed his high appreciation of the invitation extended, and asserted that whether as a body they were present or absent, "The Grand Army of the Republic have only tears and love for the blue, and love and tears for the gray." So we have only fellowship and love for our people, and love and fellowship for all God's dear children this wide world over, who are with us striving to fill the earth with a saving knowledge of a once crucified but now risen and exalted Christ.

In the discussion of the papers, the REV. E. A. WOODS, D.D., of Cleveland, O., said :

W.H.S.
 The secretary asked me to speak on this subject. But I did not understand that I was to speak first. We have heard three very interesting papers. I think the next thing in order would be to appoint some one to write a paper on the organic unity of these three Baptist Doctors of Divinity. I hope that Dr. Wilkinson will attend to that responsible duty. No one of us could have failed to note what was declared by one of the speakers as the great mission of Baptists. For one, as a Baptist, I would take exception to this characterization of the distinguishing peculiarity of Baptists. If we did not have anything save what he says : if our mission is simply to secure obedience to the one ordinance of baptism, I should cease to be a Baptist. I believe we have other objects. Most prominent is loyalty to God's word. I believe that to be the mission and meaning of our work. I remember words of Dr. Hague. He was one of the early students of Newton. He told me that the mission of the Newton Theological Seminary was to give to the world Bible theology : not Calvinistic theology, but Bible theology. I believe that to be one part of our mission : that our theology takes no man's name, but is strictly scriptural. A Baptist clergyman is responsible to no man in his theological belief.

I believe, also, that what Dr. Boardman names as the characteristic of Congregationalists is just as much a characteristic of Baptist churches. A Baptist church implies democracy ; it is Congregational in its polity.

I believe, further, that our mission comprises loyalty to God's word in its teachings of a converted church membership.

And, lastly, as to the ordinance of baptism, to exalt which is thought by some to be largely the one mission of Baptists. Here in a measure all three of the papers agree : that a peculiarity of Baptists is loyalty to God's word in the matter of baptism. Yet, there

are times when this practically becomes secondary or is placed in suspense. Practically, I hold that Baptists as represented in this Congress, believe in the organic unity of Christendom. Our view finds an example in a case like this: Here are some villages where there are already three or four churches of other denominations, and no Baptist church. Now the practical question is: Should a Baptist church be placed there? I am led to say, no!

I believe that the great religious denominations, without ignoring each other's peculiarities, are coming together in practical work. One of the agencies of our day, the Evangelical Alliance, illustrates the form of work attempted. The endeavor is to have the forces fully organized, so that we can divide the work among the churches. While acknowledging the peculiarities of each, they should work together to bring all men to a knowledge of Christ. In the city, we see no denomination going into more than a part of the field. We could, by a systematic canvass, go over all the ground. This was done last year in Philadelphia. Thus, within four weeks an invitation to attend some house of worship was given to every family. Now, unity of this kind is what is to be commended. I doubt whether the world would be better off if we were all one denomination. Something is gained by our separations. Immense mistakes may be made in trying to bring all into one. While clinging to my own views, as I allow that every man may do, I would have a unity of work. The work will go on. The time will come when all denominations will see the paramount duty of loyalty to God's word. For that let us labor; for that let us pray.

The REV. A. M. PARMENTER, of Huntington, Ind., said:

It may surprise some of my brethren, who recognize me as a corporal, having the command of a squad over at West Union and Huntington, that I should accept this invitation. Please, then, let me quiet their surprise by saying I come not as a general to command; or, in plainer language, I come not here to assert or instruct, or to amplify or illustrate, but to ask a question am I come. My question has reference to the use of certain phrases in Christian teaching. One of the speakers on this platform speaks of the Roman Catholic branch of the one Church. Sir, if it is in order to speak of the Roman Catholic Church as a "branch of the one Church," then I rise to ask, "Who and what is the anti-Christ of the Scripture?"

When I remember the word of God concerning "the woman that rode the scarlet-colored beast;" and, also, that the same spirit of opposition is spoken of as "wearing out the saints of the Most

High ;" and, remember this in the light of the history of the Inquisition, and the twelve or fourteen centuries when the Roman Catholic Church imbrued her hands in the blood of evangelical Christians, I ask to know, who is the anti-Christ ?

Again, sir, if it be proper for me to speak of the Roman Catholic Church as "a branch of the one Church," and still remember that the Scripture speaks of the spirit of opposition that exalteth himself above all that is called God; and, sitting in the temple of God, showing himself that he is God? and, consider this in the light of the pretensions of the Romish priesthood to stand for God in the forgiveness of sins,—sir, I rise to ask, who is anti-Christ? And, sir, when I consider the pride and arrogance of such a priesthood, that, when invited to meet with the ministers of the city, replied, "I am not a minister, I am a priest"—this, in opposition to the spirit of Christian humility—I rise to ask, who and what is anti-Christ? And, sir, when the war is ended, and the smoke of battle over, the "organic unity of Christendom" has cleared away, and we have taken account of the slain and wounded, then, sir, let these great teachers tell us, who is the anti-Christ ?

The REV. W. C. WILKINSON, D.D., of Tarrytown, N. Y., said :

I have every excuse this afternoon for following these three thoughtful papers. I feel disposed to thank Dr. Woods for the suggestion that I should attempt to mediate a unity between those distinguished Doctors of Divinity. I observe that Dr. Bulkley said that he found himself in hearty agreement with everything said by Dr. Boardman. But he did not say that he was in agreement with everything said by Dr. Fox. This, doubtless, was from lack of leisure on his part. I did not expect to speak; so I was able in thought to reach that higher point of observation, of which Dr. Boardman spoke; and in looking down I found unity in most of what was said by the three.

In the time allotted to them, I do not think that even brethren so wise and thoughtful as they are could say all that they thought on the subject. Certainly I should have said one thing that these brethren did not say, as I would have said some things that they did say. But, "there are diversities of operation, as there is one spirit."

Dr. Boardman spoke eloquently of the sigh in the prayer of our Lord for the unity of his disciples. Yes, that was then the chief burden of our Lord. But this is noteworthy,—that the prayer fol-

lowed a long conversation of his in which unity was not the burden of his words, but something else that was to precede, and to secure the unity. He prayed for unity in himself; and that was to be secured by adhering to what he had said. The chief burden of our Lord in his conversation was that his disciples should obey him. He said: "Ye are my friends if ye do whatsoever I have commanded you." He that hath my commandments (and we have them), and keepeth them, he it is that loveth me. If a man love me, he will keep my words." Multiform, as in a kaleidoscope, the one idea is distinct, that of fulfilling His will. After all, the unity of Christendom is not to be secured except by obeying the Lord Jesus Christ. I would not have unity which did not involve obedience. This is the oneness of having the same will, and that will is the same for all times. In our hearts, in our efforts, our one, crowning, supreme desire should be that his will be done. And unity will come with more speed if we would seek simply to obey our Lord Jesus Christ. I venture to say that the chief distinguishing, the growing peculiarity of Baptists, should be that we strive for obedience to the Lord Jesus Christ; that, not simply in baptism, but in everything His blessed, holy, omnipotent, and finally to be accomplished will be done. Amen, and Amen!

The benediction was pronounced by the Rev. G. W. Lasher, D.D., of Cincinnati, O., and the afternoon session closed.

First Day.

Evening Session.

A large audience filled the church at 7.30 P. M. After singing by the choir, the Rev. B. F. CAVINS, of Peru, Ind., offered prayer. The subject for the evening was Phases of the Labor Problem. (a.) The Land Question. (b.) Profit Sharing. The Hon. J. R. DOOLITTLE, of Racine, Wis., was then introduced, and read a paper on

THE LAND QUESTION.

THE Land Question is as old as the human race. It began when God created man male and female, and said to them: "Be fruitful, multiply, replenish the earth, and subdue it," and gave them full

dominion over the earth, and over every living creature in earth, and sea, and air.

In the beginning, however, that question brought no strife between man and man. All the world was open; on every side, room enough and to spare. It was then simply a question between man and the wilderness; between man and wild beasts. That was its first stage.

But the first step toward civilized life, passing from the hunter to the pastoral state, changed the land question. Yet, so long as men dwelled in tents, or in the open air, and roamed from place to place with their flocks and herds, seeking better pastures, they had no fixed abodes, no homes, and there was little or no tillage of the soil. The land question was still very simple and easy to solve.

The Bible tells how it arose, and was settled between two rich men in the pastoral state, more than 3,000 years ago. I refer to Lot and Abram. When they returned from Egypt, to which they had been driven by famine, to their former abode in Palestine, Abram was very rich in cattle, and silver, and in gold; and Lot, also, had herds, and flocks, and tents. The land was not able to bear them. They could not dwell together because their substance was so great. There arose strife between the herdmen of Abram's cattle and the herdmen of Lot's cattle. But Abram settled it in a few words. He said to Lot: "Let there be no strife, I pray thee, between thee and me, between my herdmen and thy herdmen, for we are brethren. Is not the whole land before thee? Separate thyself, I pray thee, from me. If thou wilt take the left hand, then I will go to the right; or, if thou depart to the right hand, I will go to the left." That settled the land question for them, once for all. Lot chose the plains of Jordan and Abram dwelled in the land of Canaan. (Gen. Ch. xiii.)

Five hundred years afterward, the descendants of Abraham were led by Moses out of Egypt, to which their fathers had been driven a second time by famine. But they were then a great people. They numbered six hundred thousand men of war, counting only those above twenty years of age able to bear arms. Include old men, women and children, and there must have been five times that number, or three millions. When so great a people were to be settled in fixed abodes, in so small a space, the land question was very different from that between Lot and Abram, five hundred years before. As William the Conqueror, about eight hundred years ago, took possession and divided all the lands in England according to the Domesday Book, so the land of Canaan was taken and divided by Joshua, the Hebrew general, among the tribes and families of Israel.

But that division was made, and the land question was settled, under the laws of Moses.

Those laws provided, *first*, that the whole land should be divided among the twelve tribes; *second*, that the lands of the tribes should be subdivided among the families of each tribe, for an inheritance forever.

But it is expressly provided that the title in fee of the family to the land could not be sold forever. Only a lease of it, for fifty years or less, might be sold; a lease until the year of Jubilee, which came once in fifty years. And even that sale was conditional. It was always subject to a right of redemption by the seller, or by one of his family. It could be redeemed at any time, "by counting the years of the sale thereof, and restoring the overplus to the purchaser, that he (the seller) might return into his possession. But if he be not able to restore it, then that which is sold shall remain in the hand of him that hath bought it, until the year of Jubilee; and in the Jubilee it shall go out, and he shall return into his possession." But even if not redeemed before the Jubilee, that sacred event, which proclaimed anew "liberty throughout all the land unto all the inhabitants thereof," restored every man into his possession. Thereupon all grants, mortgages and leases were discharged and cancelled forever. The Jubilee was a species of bankrupt law for the benefit of all debtors; or, rather, a homestead redemption, without money and without price. This was Moses' way to guard the Israelites against land monopoly, and to secure the independence of families, which alone are the true foundations of a commonwealth.

Such was the tenure to land among the Jews everywhere, *except within walled cities*, in which there was a very different tenure; what we call a tenure in fee. "If a man sell a dwelling house in a walled city, then he may redeem it within a whole year after it is sold. But if it be not redeemed within the space of a full year, then the house that is in the walled city shall be established forever to him that bought it, throughout his generations. It shall not go out in the Jubilee." (Lev., Ch. xxv.)

In the ancient republics of Greece and Rome the land question was deemed of the greatest importance by their lawgivers. Lycurgus and Solon among the Greeks, and Romulus and Numa among the Romans, met that question by fixing a limit to the amount of land which any citizen could hold and then by an equal division of lands among citizens. All Greek statesmen and philosophers during the republic favored this system. Plato's ideal republic was based upon an equal division of land. Montesquieu, among the great modern writers upon fundamental law, says it is not

enough in a good republic that the portions of land held by citizens should be equal. It is also necessary, as among the Romans, that they should be moderate in extent. (Liv. V., Ch. vi.) The exact extent must, of necessity, depend upon the density of population, and upon soil and climate.

Among the Romans, in that rich, warm soil and climate of Italy, and in a territory small in comparison with its population, that limit was first fixed at seven acres. No citizen could hold more. The farm of Cincinnatus, when he was called from the plow to be Dictator of Rome, contained *only seven acres*. When his daughter married he gave her one-third, thereby reducing his farm to four and two-thirds acres. So small a limit was only adapted to the warm climate and rich soil of Italy near the capital, where every farm could be made a garden. But when the territories of Rome afterward became enlarged, that limit was extended to fifty acres. It remained at that point for centuries; during all that period of the republic when Romans were distinguished above all other men for their greatness, strength, courage, integrity, good faith and frugality, as well as for the purity of their lives, their manners and their morals. It was during that period that the Senate of Rome appeared to the ambassadors of other nations like an assembly of the gods.

But a long career of conquest laid the whole world under contribution, from the wall of Antoninus between England and Scotland, to the River Euphrates. The corruption of great riches and slavery, with all the luxury, vice and crime which are sure to follow them, at length enervated the Romans. All labor upon the farm was done by slaves. All republican equality, and with it all limit to the holding of lands, was broken down. Then immense domains held by the rich were cultivated by slaves. This undermined all ideas of equal rights among men. It gradually enslaved the masses, and laid the foundation for an empire, to be seized and ruled by one man, **IMPERATOR** (which simply means General), at the head of an army.

In his work on the grandeur and decay of the Romans, Montesquieu says: "The founders of the ancient republics made an equal division of lands. That alone made a powerful people, and that alone makes a well-regulated society. That, also, made a good army, each one having an interest, and a very great interest, to defend his country. But when these laws as to the holdings of land were disregarded, and the avarice of some and the prodigality of others caused the land to pass into few hands, there came that state of things which always comes when the few are very rich and the

mass are very poor; the rich became luxurious and effeminate, the poor became degraded and debased by their sense of dependence and their poverty. Neither rich nor poor were capable of being good citizens, or soldiers worthy of the name. Between these extremes the republic perished. The empire came—which simply means one military master, all the rest slaves.

Tiberius Gracchus sought to resist this progress toward empire and to save the republic. He sought to restore an equal partition of lands. He appealed to the Roman Senate, in whose members much of the wealth of Rome and a large portion of the lands were concentrated, to restore the ancient law for an equal division of lands. In that appeal he used these memorable and prophetic words: "Which is worth the most, a citizen, or a perpetual slave; a soldier, or a man wholly unfit for war? Do you wish, in order to hold more acres of land than other citizens, to renounce all hope of the conquest of the world; or *to place yourselves in danger of seeing your enemies take from you those very lands which you now refuse to share with your Roman fellow citizens?*"

But, alas, the avarice, effeminacy and luxury of the rich, and the debasement and demoralization of the poor, were already too great! The fatal disease was too deep-seated for any cure. The Gracchi struggled, they laid down their lives, but in vain; for republican equality was already gone. Their struggle came too late to save.

The progress of decay went on. The Roman aristocracy became too feeble to defend themselves against the stalwart hordes of Germany. The poor and enslaved masses had no heart or interest to do so. The government was overthrown and utterly perished. All their territories were overrun by the sturdy barbarians. The words of Gracchus were more than realized. That very class, the rich land-holding senators, to which Gracchus appealed in vain, were doomed to suffer most. They lost not only all pretence of power in the government, but they lost all their riches, all their immense landed possessions, and all their slaves. When the barbarian leader took Rome with fire and sword and stabled his horses in the palace of the Cæsars, when those rich and effeminate senators were his prisoners they appealed to his clemency for their lives and their property. They asked him in piteous terms: "What ransom shall we give?" "Give," said he, "all your lands, all your gold and silver and jewels, and set free every slave." "Ah!" said the degenerate Romans, "what, then, will be left to us?" "I leave you your souls," was his stern reply. He spared their lives, but would promise nothing more.

But to return to the land question. When those immense Teu-

tonic hordes from north and east of the Danube, under the various names of Franks, Goths, Visigoths, Ostrogoths, Burgundians, Lombards, Huns and Vandals, had overrun the Roman Empire and spread themselves throughout Italy, Gaul, Spain and Northern Africa, the very first question to arise was, of course, the land question. In Spain, Italy and Gaul the barbarians took and held about two-thirds of the lands, those best adapted to flocks and herds, to which they were accustomed from time immemorial. They left about one-third, those best adapted to tillage, to the old inhabitants of the empire. For, as Cæsar and Tacitus inform us, those warlike barbarians did not desire to attach themselves to the soil. They did not love to till the ground. They lived, mainly, upon the milk and cheese and flesh of their flocks and herds. It was far less easy to persuade them to work the soil and wait a year for its crop, than it was to call them to arms at the risk of death and wounds. They would not earn with their sweat what they could purchase with their blood. In Africa, however, the Vandals took all the lands and enslaved the inhabitants.

Out of this Germanic overflow into Europe grew up the feudal system of land tenure, which has given shape to the land question in Europe, to a great degree, even down to the present day.

Time forbids us to trace it through the dark ages in detail. It is enough to say that throughout Europe it was, in most things, like that which was established in England by the Norman Invasion under William the Conqueror, the fundamental maxim of which is: "that the king is the universal lord and original proprietor of all the lands in his kingdom, and that no man doth or can possess any part of it but what has mediately or immediately been derived as a gift from him, to be held upon feudal services." The grantor was called proprietor or lord; the grantee a tenant or vassal. Besides an oath of fealty, or profession of faith to the lord, the vassal was required to do homage to his lord by openly and humbly kneeling—being ungirt and uncovered—and holding up his hands both together between those of the lord who sat before him, and then professing that he did become "his *man* from that day forth, of life and limb and earthly honor;" and then he received a kiss from his lord. After this homage he was bound to follow and do suit to the lord in his courts in time of peace, and in his armies and warlike retinue when necessity called him to the field.

These feuds or tenures, being merely gratuitous, were held at the will of the lord, who was the sole judge whether his vassal performed his services faithfully. At a later day they were extended for life, and at length made hereditary in the eldest male heir. But

the vassal could not sell, mortgage, exchange or devise, without the consent of his lord. (Blackstone, Book II, p. 52.)

But centuries have passed, and many modifications of land tenures have been made in Great Britain, and many more are yet to come. The land question in England and the land question in Ireland is, to-day, the question of all others most vital and paramount.

That question is also beginning to press upon us in this country. A deep sense of the dangers of land monopoly to our Republican institutions, and to the welfare of our country, led, I doubt not, to the request that I should speak on that subject on this occasion, and give my opinion as to the wisest, simplest, and most practical solution of the land question for the people of the United States. In few words, my opinion is :

1. *In the First Place*, no revolutionary method is necessary, or should be proposed. Whatever is done should conform to the theory of our system, which is, progress under law ; peaceful revolution, by framing wiser laws, and better constitutions, in order to conform to a more enlightened public judgment.

2. *In the Second Place*, no confiscation of any property, real or personal, of any person, is necessary at all, or should be proposed. Whatever law is enacted bearing upon the land question should recognize that, among the foundations of human liberty, none are more important than that portion of the Bill of Rights, which denies the right of the Government to take away any man's property, even for public use, without just compensation ; and this *applies to property in land, as well as to all other property.*

3. The idea of some, that a law or constitution may declare private property in land void, or confiscate its value, by taxing that alone, can never find support in reason ; nor can it ever receive the practical support of a civilized people ; because the strongest natural instinct, and most earnest desire of every man, is to assume all the duties of manhood ; to found a family ; to have a home for his wife and children ; and, to crown all, **TO HAVE A HOMESTEAD OF HIS OWN**, in which to live and rear up that family. It is as natural to man to seek and have his own home, as that a bird should seek and have its own nest. It is only in a free, separate, and independent home, that he becomes a full man. There, alone, is he prophet, priest and king. There, alone, is every wife a queen. And there, alone, are the children reared up to manhood, and to womanhood, who are themselves to be the future republic. Among the greatest of the blessings of that promised happy state, when the reign of universal peace on earth and good will to men shall come, is, that every

man shall have his own homestead ; shall " sit down under his own vine and fig tree, with none to molest or make afraid."

4. The idea that all taxes should be abolished, except direct taxes upon land to support the federal, state and municipal governments, would result in great injustice and inequality. Besides, it would require fundamental or radical changes in the federal constitution, and in the constitutions of all the states,—such radical changes as could hardly be brought about in a century.

5. But what, then, should be done to prevent the future growth of land monopoly? And what should be done to relieve us from the evils of such land monopoly as already exist? The answer is very simple: Prevent its future growth; and what now exists will disappear of itself.

To prevent its growth in the territories, no amendment to the constitution is necessary. Congress has full power now. But to prevent it in the States, an amendment to their constitutions, I suppose, would be necessary. Such amendment should provide that the legislature, at stated periods, say, once every twenty years, or once for every new generation, should fix a limit to the amount of agricultural land, the amount of land in villages, and the amount of land in cities, which any one person could *thereafter* take, hold or acquire, by gift, grant, purchase, devise or inheritance, with power to enforce it by appropriate legislation.

What would be the proper limit for agricultural holdings, for holdings in villages, and for holdings in cities, would be fixed upon by the legislature of the state at these stated periods, and each state would determine for itself. This would act, not upon present, but upon future acquisitions only. It would take from no man *any portion of his property*. It would only prevent in future the growth of land monopoly. What the legislature of each state, in view of its population, soil and climate, would regard as a proper limitation upon farms, upon village, and upon city property, would be controlled by the enlightened judgment of the people of the state represented.

But it may be said: this would give the legislature power to prevent a rich man from controlling his property after his death, and making his children a landed aristocracy. That is true. He would not be able to devise to any one land in excess of the limitation. But that does not take away his property. It is death which takes him and severs him from the control of his property. A dead man has no right to control his property beyond what the law specially gives him. There is nothing in the Bill of Rights or Declaration of Independence which gives to a dead man the right to control his

property in this world after he leaves it. The earth belongs to the living, not to the dead; and, the law is to provide for the living and not for the dead. Our ancestors declared against the law of primogeniture which exists in England, in order that great estates might be subdivided by death. This proposed law of land limitation upon gifts and inheritances is in the same direction. It looks to the same end,—the prevention of Land Monopoly and Land Aristocracy; and this should apply to citizens as well as to aliens. Some men now-a-days think themselves very brave and very patriotic in denouncing a foreign landed aristocracy; while a home-landed aristocracy is equally dangerous to the Republic; perhaps even more so. Such, in brief, is my opinion of a true, wise, and practical mode of securing ourselves against the dangers of land monopoly.

But as intimately connected with this subject, after thus fixing a system of land limitation which would prevent the monopoly of lands by the few, and would thereby give to every honest, frugal and industrious man, who has capacity to govern himself, an opportunity to become a landholder, and to purchase and pay for a homestead for his family, I would go a step further. In order to favor and induce, and to some extent to aid him to do so, I would favor also a further amendment to the constitutions of the several states, which, besides exempting homesteads from forced sale for debt, should also, within certain limits, exempt that homestead and necessary furniture from all taxation whatever; and, further, that in the assessment of all farms and homesteads, only their value over and above the amount fixed for homestead exemption from taxation should be assessed at all.

And, what is equally important, the constitution of each state should provide that every householder, and head of a family, who should live with and support his family in such separate homestead for such time as the legislature shall prescribe, in addition to the one vote, to which he is now entitled at any election, should have an additional vote to represent his family; so that every such permanent householder, occupying a homestead, shall have two votes,—one to represent his manhood, and one to represent his family and household. This is a most important matter, which I have discussed elsewhere, but cannot now enlarge upon. Nothing, however, can be more certain than that the man who takes upon himself the responsibility of founding and rearing a family, has a double responsibility, compared with the single and unmarried man, and should have a double vote.

Should either of the present political parties, or, better still, if both of them should take hold of these questions of Land Limita-

tion, Homestead Exemption from taxation, as well as from forced sale for debt, and Homestead Suffrage, there is no doubt, after a fair discussion, they would command the judgment and support of the great majority of thoughtful Americans. They certainly would prevent all future land monopoly. In the course of one generation, those estates now existing which tend to build up landed aristocracy, would quietly disappear under the operation of natural laws. The Household and Homestead Suffrage would place the voting power in our Republic where it was in the beginning, and where it should forever remain,—not in the floating vote of homeless, houseless, unmarried men, crowded in great cities and towns, but in those men who are the “Hheads of Families,” who reside and preside in the millions of happy, free and independent homes all over this broad land.

No better measures can be conceived to allay all the causes, and all the elements of that unrest, discontent, anarchy, and corruption which exist in the larger cities. If they did not disappear altogether they would certainly be rendered harmless for generations to come.

The HON. ALLEN ZOLLARS, of Fort Wayne, Ind., presented a paper on the same subject, as follows :

Mr. Chairman :—In all ages, the wealthy and strong have been the comparatively few. The great mass of humanity have been compelled to wage the unequal, bitter, and never-ending struggle for the necessaries of life.

In the short time allotted here, I cannot enter upon a discussion of the various causes which may have produced, and which are still producing, the inequalities and poverty which have always existed. Nor could I, in that limited time, properly discuss the appropriate remedies had I the wisdom to devise them.

From Plato until now there have been persons and associations of persons who have decried private ownership of property, discovering, as they have thought, in such ownership the cause of inequality and poverty, and who have proposed as a remedy a reconstructed society, in which all property shall be held in common, and equally for the use and benefit of all.

At this time Mr. George and his co-workers claim that they have discovered the prime and important cause of inequality and poverty, and that that cause is the recognition of private property in land. Their theory is that the Creator of all things intended the land for the use and maintenance of all his children in all genera-

tions; that he alone is the owner of it ; that man can own nothing except what is in some way the result of his labor; and that, therefore, and in the nature of things, there cannot be private and exclusive property in land whereby, under the laws of descent, or by devise, one generation may pre-empt it as against a succeeding generation. As an amelioration of the condition of laborers, and as a remedy for existing inequalities and poverty, they propose that all land, whether in the city, town, or country, shall be taken from those who now claim it and be held in common for the use and benefit of all; that the government shall parcel it out to those who may wish to occupy or cultivate it ; that as a substitute for all existing taxes, and methods of taxation for the support of government, those who occupy the land thus parcelled out to them shall pay a rent to the government according to the value of the land, and that neither personal property nor improvements put upon the land by occupying tenants shall be taxed, because they are the result of labor.

Without giving technical definitions it may be said that, for all practical purposes, property consists in the right to hold, occupy, use and enjoy the products of a thing to the exclusion of all others, and to transfer that right by sale for value, or in the way of munificence to children, relatives and friends.

Property in land, doubtless, had its origin in occupancy. In the beginning, man was given dominion over the whole earth. The earth, therefore, in a sense, became his property. With the increase of the race each, of necessity, at every moment of his life, occupied a portion of the earth. And as two persons could not occupy the same place at the same time it necessarily resulted that he who had the prior occupancy had the superior right. And so, as two families could not well occupy the same place at the same time, the superior right of the first occupant of any particular locality as a home, was readily recognized.

So long as the population was sparse, and the people were pastoral or lived by the chase and in rude dwellings, the right of any one to any particular portion of the soil did not survive his possession. When the possession was voluntarily abandoned the first-comer might acquire a superior right by a like occupancy. Abraham and Lot in separating, the one to the right and the other to the left, acted upon the assumption that they might rightfully occupy whatever land was not already occupied, and that one should not encroach upon the occupancy of the other.

But as the race multiplied it became necessary to live by agriculture. That sort of life naturally led to longer occupancy, more definite and fixed tenures, and the erection of more substantial hab-

itations. Additional labor in the way of permanent improvements upon the land occupied followed the advancement of the race. The improvements came to be of such a fixed, valuable and permanent nature that the land could not be abandoned without great loss. He who erected permanent and fixed buildings, felled the forests, drained the low lands and rendered the soil suitable for cultivation, so mingled his labor with the soil that to deprive him of the exclusive use of it would have been to rob him of his labor.

Naturally enough, therefore, resulted the acknowledged claim that the occupant not only had a right to the use of the land but to the land itself, and hence resulted the practice of selling the land and of transmitting it to children and relatives who were the objects of the owner's bounty. For all practical purposes, the result was the same as if such occupant had been allowed to sell or transmit his right to the exclusive possession of the land.

It is a mistake to say that there can be no private rights or property in land.

Such private rights and property in land were recognized in Italy, France, Spain and portions of Britain for a long time prior to the overthrow of the Roman Empire by the Goths, and Vandals, and other Northern races, commonly called barbarians.

Among those people, of the North there was no such thing as private ownership of land. With them the proprietorship of the soil was wholly national or tribal. The head of the nation owned the whole of the land. He allotted portions of it to the chieftains of the different clans, and they in turn divided the portions thus allotted, among the heads of families for use and occupancy only and not in the way of ownership.

Those distributions were made annually, and professedly so, lest the thoughts of the people should be directed from war to agriculture, and lest luxury and avarice should be engendered by the erection of permanent houses, etc.

And so in Ireland, prior to the conquest, the lands were held by the heads of the clans and not in private ownership. It will be observed that the reasons for those Northern nations not recognizing private property in land are, to some extent, the reasons why we do. They wished to discourage agricultural development and cultivate a spirit of war. Modern nations must, of necessity, encourage agriculture, and as Christian nations they ought to discourage a spirit of war.

With the overthrow of the Roman Empire, the Northern nations carried with them into the conquered territories their peculiar notions and practices in relation to land. The constitution of feuds

had its origin in the military policy of those nations, and was continued in their newly-acquired territories as the most likely means of permanently securing them. To that end, the lands were allotted by the conquering generals to their superior officers of the army, and by them dealt out again in smaller parcels or allotments to the inferior officers and most deserving soldiers. Those allotments were called feoda, feuds, feifs, or fees, which in their language signified a conditional stipend or reward. The condition annexed to them was that the possessors should do service faithfully, both at home and in the wars, to him by whom they were given. If the possessor violated his oath of fealty by not performing the stipulated service, or by deserting the lord in battle, the lands were again to revert to him who granted them. Without being more specific, it is sufficient to say that out of that relation there resulted the obligation of mutual support and defense on the part of the lord and the possessor, and a strong military establishment. The conquerers found the people in the possession of their cultivated lands, claiming to own them absolutely. They did not wish to turn soldiers, nor did they wish to lose their personal proprietorship of their lands. In many instances they were accommodated by being allowed to retain their lands and pay money in the shape of annual rental to the lord, who took the money and hired soldiers. In some instances they were allowed to pay a sum in gross and thus discharge themselves and their lands from further charges or military duty. In such cases, the possession was called allodial. The tenancies in such cases became fixed and hereditary and had nearly all the incidents of what we call a title in fee simple. It will be observed that I have been speaking of what is known as the feudal system. That system, which became established over all the continent of Europe, was not fully established in England until the reign of William the Norman. During his reign the lands passed largely into the hands of his Norman followers, and the whole of them came to be held by the lords and barons, and until King John, continued to be held by them, by strict feudal tenures. They, in turn, parceled the land to others under the rules of the feudal system. In the course of time feuds became hereditary, and that led to the rule of primogeniture. The lands went to the son because he could render the military service upon which the feud was held, and to the oldest son, because he soonest became able to render such service. In the course of time, too, those to whom grants were made by the lord were allowed to fulfill the conditions of the grant by the payment of rent. Those lords, occasionally, made absolute conveyances of portions of their lands; granted them as an unconditional reward; granted them, in

other words, in fee simple. The people of England, Ireland, and Scotland, unlike the people of France and Southern Europe, were too long content to hold the lands under feudal tenures. As the lands increased in value the landowner grew in importance, and grants in fee simple became less and less frequent.

The result of the feudal system has been that, in those countries, the lands have remained in the hands of the few. In England, with a population of thirty million, about thirty thousand persons own all of the land, and all of the balance of the agricultural population are tenants; and in many, very many instances, very dependent and poor tenants. Nineteen hundred and forty-two persons own two-thirds of all the land in Ireland. Nearly the whole of the Irish people, by the legislation of England, have been compelled to be agriculturalists, and the result is that they are tenants, either starving, or eating their scanty bread in poverty, sorrow and discontent. The difficulty, however, is not private ownership of the land, but the ownership of it by the few. That country is the strongest, most prosperous and loyal where the largest number of the people own their own homes and the land which they cultivate. That is the source of the patriotism, loyalty and prosperity of the French people and of the strength of the French nation.

That must be our final security against communism and anarchy. And we must look to it speedily that our lands, in large quantities, shall not pass into the hands of non-resident and alien owners, who may make of a portion of our people a poor and dependent tenantry. Already we have wholesale evictions by alien and non-resident landlords. The largest landed estates in the world are in the United States, and some of them are owned by aliens. We cannot confiscate those lands, but we may say that after a fixed time in the future no alien can own lands in the United States. We have wasted and given away our public lands with a prodigality that is a shame and sin. I have not the exact figures, but I feel warranted in saying that by acts of our congress we have given away enough land to make nine States as large as Indiana—and Indiana contains a million more acres than Ireland. Much of that land has passed into the ownership of aliens. Through fraudulent claims, the trickery of surveyors general, and corrupt lobbies at Washington, we have lost from our public domain millions of acres that ought to have been preserved for homes for our people. At present rates of disposal we shall have but little, if any, valuable public lands in fifteen years from this time, unless the government shall reclaim a considerable amount of those heretofore granted to corporations. With the exhaustion of the public domain the price of land will

rapidly advance beyond the reach of the poor. As predicted by Lord Macauley and Carlyle, our real trouble will begin with the exhaustion of our public lands and the increased population. Whatever can be, must be done in the way of getting those lands, in reasonable and limited tracts, into the ownership of settlers who will cultivate them, and in the way of preventing the building up of large landed estates.

I am unable to discover anything in Mr. George's theory that will benefit the poor, or the laborer. To my mind it is very clear that there are insuperable objections to the theory, and insuperable difficulties in the way of carrying it out in practice. In the brief time allotted here, I can do nothing more than suggest them. In the first place, how are the lands and lots to be wrested from those who have paid value for them in good faith, believing that by the purchase and payment they acquired a title which the government would protect? Since the formation of the government, public lands, out of which have been formed many large and now populous states, were first sold by the government, and purchased by citizens, who, in good faith, paid the purchase price fixed by the government. Those lands have passed by mense conveyances into the hands of those who claim to own them. They have been made valuable by the removal of dense forests, by draining and tilling, by the planting of orchards, and by the erection of valuable buildings. Shall the government now, in the name of the whole people, seize those lands, and without compensation take them from its grantees, direct, or remote? Shall the government muster the army and override and trample under foot the constitution in the accomplishment of that end? Shall the people amend the constitution, state and federal, in order that that end may be accomplished?

If the government shall thus take the lots and lands, and pay a just compensation, of course that compensation must be for the lands and lots as they now are, with all such improvements as cannot be removed without detriment to the owners. To how many thousands of millions of dollars would such a compensation amount? By what method of taxation shall those thousands of millions be raised?

How many thousands of governmental agents would be required in appraising and fixing the compensations to be paid to each of the millions of owners? What would be the limit of the frauds and briberies that would intervene in the assessing and fixing of the compensation to be allowed? And, after the wholesale condemnation shall have been completed, and the government shall have the absolute right to control and dispose of the lots and lands, who shall have the preference as governmental tenant? Shall it be those who now

occupy them? If so, what will be the measure of the benefits to the present landless class? Shall the children, at the death of the tenant, have the first right to occupy as tenants the lots or lands occupied by the father? If so, according to Mr. George's theory, a wrong would be committed against the coming generation, for, and by the occupying family. If such children are not to be thus preferred, or if they should not wish to become tenants, what is to become of inseparable, necessary, valuable and lasting improvements that may have been added by the tenant? Such improvements, according to Mr. George, would be the result of labor, and hence the subject of private ownership. Shall the government take them at the death of the tenant without compensation, while his widow and infant children suffer for the necessaries of life? If such improvements are to be paid for, how, and by whom shall they be appraised? What shall be the number of government agents for the collection of the rents? What shall be the method of enforcing such collections? Under the present system, the real estate of the private owner is made liable for all taxes, both upon the real estate and upon his personal property. If the taxes are not paid, they are made by the sale of the real estate. That method is a certain one, and the only certain one, because the real estate cannot be spirited away. But suppose the tenant, under the system proposed, shall sell his crops and abscond with his other personal property without paying the rent; what then? By what method shall the deficit in the government's revenues be made up? Shall the rent of the honest tenants be increased to meet the deficit caused by the dishonesty of others? If two persons shall wish to rent the same land or lot, which shall have the preference? Shall it be given to him who is the most able, and for that reason, the most likely to pay the rent? If so, where is the relief for the poor? If a tenant of a particular farm or lot shall let the buildings, fences, drains, and other necessary improvements go to wreck, or shall so abuse and wear the soil, that it will not produce a profitable crop, and hence cannot be rented, how shall the soil be recuperated, and the buildings, drains, etc., be repaired, so that the farm or lot may again be rented? A tract of land may be so heavily timbered as to require the labor of two generations to remove it, and make a farm. How, and upon what terms shall the government procure such land to be cleared and improved, so that it will produce revenue in the way of rent? How long, think you, would it have taken, under the system proposed, to fell the forests, drain the low lands, and bring the states of Ohio and Indiana, and other like states, up to their present state of cultivation, production and wealth?

The theory of taxation has been, that each citizen should pay for the protection of person and property afforded him by the government ; and that he should pay the most who has the most property to be protected. If the entire revenue for the maintenance of government is to come from the land, what shall be done with the fortunes of the railway kings, amounting in some instances, to hundreds of millions of dollars? Their occupancy of land has no proportion at all to their fortunes. The railway stock, tracks, depot buildings, machine shops and tools, according to the theory advanced, are the products of labor, and thence, not to be taxed. The right of way, and the land occupied by buildings are as nothing compared with the property as operated. May the owners of the road pay the small amount that may be assessed as rent upon the comparatively small amount of land occupied, and hold their millions, guarded and shielded by the government, without taxation?

And what shall be said of the bank with a paid up capital of a million of dollars, and a surplus of \$400,000? The corporation occupies no real estate, except that upon which the banking house stands. The capital stock, representing \$1,400,000, is personal property, and according to the theory proposed, is not to be taxed.

Shall the bank pay \$2,000, \$3,000 or \$5,000 as the reasonable rent for the land occupied, and the million of stock and the \$400,000 of surplus escape all taxation? Shall the government take of the land rent, including that collected from the widow and shop people for the land occupied by their residences, and with it equip and maintain a fire department to save the bank building and its contents from the ravages of fire, and pay the policeman for guarding the vaults and the \$1,400,000 of stock and surplus go untaxed?

For the poverty and inequalities existing everywhere, a remedy other than that proposed by Mr. George must be sought.

I must be content here, to state generally in conclusion, that it may be confidently hoped, that when all the nations shall have become Christian nations, and when all the Christian nations shall have become nations of Christians, there will be much more charity and justice, and much less selfishness and oppression on the part of the wealthy and strong ; that there will be more common brotherhood, less inequality, less pinching poverty.

PROF. JOHN W. MONCRIEF of Franklin, Ind., read the following paper :

PROFIT SHARING.

The cautious thinker touches no phase of the Labor Problem without trepidation. Behind him are the economic blunders of the past with their frightful consequences following in train. About him are many and grievous economic ills, and a crowd of economic doctors, representing all stages of quackery from the extremest *laissez faire* to the extremest socialism. Before him is darkness. He fain would prophesy, but he remembers the fate of prophets.

Just here he has an inspiration. It is the conception of progress. True, the ills of humanity are numerous and great, but after all an increasing purpose runs through the ages. He is about to rest on this comforting thought when the dark visaged pessimist steps in and declares that there is no such thing as progress ; that : " The probabilities seem to be that human progress moves in cycles, and that we are now on the upward turn of a revolution which, in its mighty and unswerving course, may carry us again to the bottom, only to commence afresh the painful ascent."

Now, it makes a great deal of difference what one believes in general, because his general views largely control his particular views. We must hasten, therefore, to say, that we have no sympathy with the pessimist, but we must say with equal emphasis, that we find nothing in history or human nature to warrant the belief that the millennium is about to burst upon the world.

We have no doubt as to the fact of progress, but it is slow—*very slow*. Those who work at it must have patience—*infinite patience*.

We believe with Edmund Burke that : " Society is a partnership in all science, a partnership in all art, a partnership in every virtue and in all perfection. As the ends of such a partnership cannot be obtained in many generations it becomes a partnership not only between those who are living, but between those who are living, those who are dead, and those who are to be born. Each contract of each particular state is but a clause in the great primeval contract of eternal society—linking the lower with the higher natures, connecting the visible with the invisible world according to a fixed compact—sanctioned by the inviolable oath which holds all physical, and all moral creatures each in their appointed place."

We believe that the history of industrial society shows remarkable progress ; that the present industrial agitation, if kept within rational limits, portends nothing, but good. But we have not yet reached a

point at which we are ready to formulate a science of society. We are in the era of experiment and criticism. It is energy wasted when we set up faultless ideals and try to realize them at once. A postulate of social science must be : Take humanity as it is, and humanity, as it is, is *bad* humanity.

Now, we have many remedies for our social diseases, originating some times in virtuous hearts, some times in vicious ones. Among these remedies is profit sharing. Of course we all know that whatever success may have attended it, profit sharing is only an experiment. Keeping this fact in view, let us for a little while consider *The Feasibility of Profit-Sharing as a Solution of the Labor Problem*. It is not our purpose to write either an historical or a statistical paper, but rather to view the subject in its general relations. Assuming, then, that we all know something of the history and statistics of our subject, let us try to answer :

- 1st. What is Profit-Sharing ?
- 2d. What are the difficulties of Profit-Sharing ?
- 3rd. What are the Prospects of Profit-Sharing ?
- 1st. What is Profit-Sharing ?

It is a phase of coöperation. In nearly every treatise on coöperation we find more or less of the idea of Profit-Sharing. We may have coöperation : 1st. In production. 2d. In distribution. Profit-sharing belongs primarily to the latter, but may very easily have a secondary connection with the former. In order to make it perfectly clear, I select a typical one from numerous circulars that have been issued to employés :

“ Beginning with January 1st, this year, we propose to divide the profits made in our business upon the following basis : After allowing seven per cent. of interest on actual capital invested, the remainder will be equally divided upon the total amount of wages paid and capital employed. Each employé will get his proportion according to the wages paid him for the year. This will apply to persons who have served the company six months or over within the year, and who have not been discharged for good cause. Dividends will be paid in cash or may be left in the business to share the profits same as our own capital. You may select a man to examine the closing of our books at the end of the year.”

Now, on the assumption that everybody wants to be just, that everybody is industrious, virtuous, frugal, benevolent, and that all this is based upon a broad common sense, every one must say that this plan has much to commend it. But we must keep to our postulate. We do not live in an ideal world. We do not have an ideal humanity to deal with, but exactly the opposite, and a remorseless

logic drives us to the conclusion that everybody does not want to be just—everybody is not industrious, virtuous, frugal, benevolent—and that broad common sense is a comparatively rare jewel. These are not *a priori* conclusions, but they are conclusions at which every one must arrive who forms a correct induction from facts in his own experience and observation.

The longer I live the more I am convinced that Grandpa Spicer, a character in Cape Cod Folks, uttered a profound and universal truth when he said : “ We are all born under a cuss.”

We are thus led to ask :

2d. What are the difficulties of Profit-Sharing ? *

1st. Employers as a class will hesitate to adopt it. The experiment began a half century ago. But it is still an experiment. It has had some success, but the success has been isolated. Every one must be struck with the fact that the enthusiastic advocates of Profit-Sharing have brought up such isolated cases as M. Leclaire and the Paris and Orleans Railway until they are worn threadbare. Does it not at least suggest poverty of illustration rather than adequate basis for induction ? Why, then, have not employers more generally adopted it ?

1st. They are suspicious of it. They see in it a beginning, the end of which they do not see, but imagine with apprehension. Give an inch take an ell is a maxim that continually comes up in their minds. They fear that this point yielded will but prove the stepping stone to another point, and so on until socialism is reached and possibly communism. They are not sure that the masses of the people have that sense of justice and propriety which will show them where to stop in their demands.

2d. They feel that their responsibility ends when they pay their employes.

The *laissez faire* principle controls us to a greater extent than most of us are aware. We like it, except where a deviation from it means dollars in our pockets.

A fine illustration of this in general economics is the anomalous Professor of Political Economy in Philadelphia. He is extremely *laissez faire* in everything, but the tariff. At this point he believes in governmental interference.

But for our special purpose, the case of Mr. James Nasmyth is opportune. Mr. Nasmyth says he has often increased his receipts by replacing able-bodied men by apprentices. When asked what be-

* For some of the more obvious difficulties, see Quarterly Journal of Economics, Vol. I., pp. 232-242. For a very able reply, see same journal, same vol., pp. 367-376.

came of the discharged workmen and their families he replied : " I do not know. I left their fate to the natural laws that govern society."

Where could we find a more heartless indifference to suffering ?

3d. They consciously or unconsciously dread anything that tends to bring themselves and their employés nearer together.

We hear much on the Fourth of July and other such occasions about freedom—equality—the dignity of labor. We enjoy telling how our forefathers lived in log cabins on the plainest fare, did their own work with their own hands, and so on. We appear to take real pride in it, too. But in these latter days, how about the man who cleans our streets, heaves our coal, or the woman who cooks our meals and looks after our general domestic affairs? All these things have to be done by somebody. The necessity is just as rigid as ever. No machinery has been invented enabling us to dispense with what we call menial service. Suppose the one who does the menial duties is courteous, cleanly, honest, Christian. Are we ready to receive him as an equal ?

Let us pass a few facts under review :

1st. The question arises as to the propriety of Harvard students serving as hotel waiters during summer vacations ! The logical mind wonders how in a country with such pretensions as ours a question like this could ever arise. But it does arise and is discussed in all seriousness. Here is what the *Epoch* says about it : " It is degrading, and always has been considered so, for a man to wait upon his equal in the capacity of a servant."

The words, " But I am among you as he that serveth," are worthy of consideration at this point.

2d. A fine looking young lady came to one of our churches and sat with the family of a prominent member. A great many college students were in that congregation. They did not rest until they learned that the lady was Mr. So-and-so's housekeeper, and then they *rested*.

3d. A cultivated lady, the wife of a well-to-do merchant, had very poor health. After trying many physicians she concluded that exercise was the needed medicine and took it in the form of house-work. She afterwards told a friend that she was " practically ostracised from elite society."

4th. " Clara Bell " has this to say on working girls : " Here is an accurate picture—of whom do you suppose ? A Fifth Avenue nurse maid. Where is her white cap ? She doesn't wear any. And her apron ? That is gone, too. How, then, is she to be known from pretty girls who are not servile ? By means of her very wide white

linen collar and cuffs. The fashionable matron concerns herself as accurately about the costuming of her household servants as in clothing herself. She seeks to keep different from and ahead of the common herd. White caps and aprons on children's nurses have become *common*. Therefore the *swell* mother sends her offspring out for an airing with a newly dressed servitor. This young person is clad neatly, but plainly. Her bonnet is stylish, her bodice is fitted like a glove. Her skirts are gracefully draped, and her feet are in French heeled gaiters. But conspicuous badges of her menial calling are a dead white collar and equally clean, but glossless cuffs. These impart the desired singularity."

A newspaper very appropriately observes: "The collars and cuffs used to be of iron; they are linen now—but they are still badges of slavery. Isn't it curious, when you think of it, that the 'servant-girl' can't be told from the 'lady' except by badge?"

I have selected these cases out of many. I can vouch for every one of them.

After all our gushing, quasi-patriotic talk, *is* labor dignified? Has not the time come for those of us who profess to be followers of the lowly Nazarene to turn aside and spend a few days in earnest, solitary, prayerful meditation? When we do we shall find one of the fundamental difficulties, not only of Profit-Sharing, but of the whole Social Problem.

But, 2d.—Employees as a class are not likely to be satisfied with Profit-Sharing.

1st. We do not find it mentioned in the platforms of the great labor organizations.*

There are now three distinct parties of Socialists in our country; the International Workingmen's Association, or Anarchists; the Socialistic Labor Party, and what may be called the George Party. The Knights of Labor claim that they are not Socialists, but the one who reads their publications and hears their speakers clearly sees that they are strongly inclined that way.

The hostility of these parties is directed against competition and the wage system. The sad feature of it all is that these people who have real grievances are in large measure controlled by vicious demagogues and it is very difficult to win them to any reasonable remedy for their ills.

2d. The necessities of organization present enormous difficulties. There cannot be a dead level in an organization. There must be the relatively high and the relatively low. The organization must

* The one who does not have access to labor literature will find several of these platforms and declarations in the Appendix to Ely's *Labor Movement in America*.

have a head and subordinate members in various degrees. The members of an organization must be rewarded according to the degree, quantity and quality of their work, and as long as the human heart remains as it is, the organization is in danger of being suddenly taken off with an attack of acute politics. If sudden death do not ensue, the politics becomes chronic and dissolution is only a question of time.

We all know that the last reports from cooperation in England are not encouraging, and these reports only confirm what is commonplace to every student of political and industrial history, viz.: that unwillingness to yield to superior organizing power is a difficulty peculiar to nearly all democratic societies.

3d. The apathy of the people. By reading labor papers and hearing labor orators, one would suppose that laboring men, without exception, were imbued with the highest and truest ideals. Of very many laboring men this is true; of very many it is not true. We are told, however, that the cause of this apathy is the oppression of the heartless capitalist. This is no doubt partly true, but, after all allowances, we must remember that the laboring man, just the same as the capitalist, is born with a great deal of *nature* in him.

Then while recognizing the sterling merits of the laboring man—*and they are very many*—we must not lose sight of the apathetic, thriftless mass.

4th. The vicious. These are they who are too lazy to work, who will not work, but who, if they dared, would gain their nefarious ends with dynamite and conflagration. Touching such as these employe and employer together should all look well to it that the treatment be heroic and swift.

The greatest difficulty, then, of Profit-Sharing is *ourselves*. Wordsworth is not far amiss when he says :

"God's most dreaded instrument,
In working out a pure intent,
Is man—arrayed for mutual slaughter."

Then, taken as a whole, we, employer and employe alike, are not willing to do right.

They tell us to educate, but Alcibiades and Aaron Burr were educated men. There were many educated men in all ages, but that simple fact meant nothing good.

There is but one remedy—it is an old and radical one—a regenerated humanity. . The state would not then cease to exist, but it would appear in its true glory. The statesman and economist would have a great and perpetual—but comparatively easy—work in mak-

ing the proper adjustments, if all men—or even a large majority—were truly converted.

You may lay out your purely intellectual schemes by which all men shall be obliged to do right, but the crushing answer of all history is—*failure*. Unless you can work through men's hearts—capitalist and laborer alike—you need not begin.

When the American Economic Association was organized a prominent place was given to the Church. The social problem will never be solved without the aid of the Christian Church and the Christian ministry. They have a most important work in preparing the material for the political philosopher and the statesman. The student for the ministry should early seek the historical professor and begin at once the work of grounding himself profoundly in all Political Science, as it appears from the historical point of view. The philosophical point of view, while equally important, is less apt to be neglected.

I have now most briefly and imperfectly sketched Profit-Sharing and its difficulties.

It appears that employer and employe are about equally in the way of any just solution of our labor troubles. It also appears that we are not very near the time when any system can be universally adopted.

3d. What are the prospects of Profit-Sharing?

The plan in itself is highly commendable. Many large establishments have adopted it and are pleased with it. The managers have benevolent hearts and fine business minds. Their employes are also honest, industrious men and are hence disposed to be reasonable. Others are looking on it with favor. It should receive encouragement from all sources. It may continue to grow until it does great things for the relief of the suffering that undoubtedly exists.

Then let us welcome Profit-Sharing as one of the means by which men are to have more leisure for enlarging their minds and hearts, and hope that as intelligence increases we may find ourselves in the same ratio approaching that true co-operation of all classes in the development of things both material and spiritual, when every man woman and child, in every sphere of life, shall have an essential place in general society, and be held in high honor as duties are well performed. When we shall have reached that point our social organism will be the organism defined by Immanuel Kant: "A product in which each and every part is reciprocally means and end."

The lateness of the hour prevented further discussion of the subject. The meeting closed with the benediction by the REV. G. W. LASHER, D. D., of Cincinnati.

Second Day.*Afternoon Session.*

HON. CYRUS BENTLEY, of Chicago, Ill., Vice-President, called the Congress to order at 2 o'clock P. M. After singing by the choir, PRES. W. T. STOTT, D.D., of Franklin College, offered prayer.

The subject for the Session was "Proper Function and Net Influence of the Newspapers of To-day. (a) The Secular Press. (b) The Religious Press."

ROBERT J. BURDETTE, ESQ., of Bryn Mawr, Pa., was then introduced, and read the following paper on

THE SECULAR PRESS.

The limitations of the subject assigned me would be appalling to me, if a newspaper man could be appalled by anything. I confess, that while glancing over the boundless prairie of newspaper function and influence, I felt very much like the old lady who had so much to do she didn't know where to begin, and so she lay down and took a nap. But there are people who rush boldly in where angels hesitate, and remain outside when angels have entered, and so, bred to the easy use of the omniscient editorial "We," I cheerfully assume the task of defining the proper functions and the net influence of the secular press, as, possibly, the new reporter would undertake to present a paper on the inspiration of the scriptures, future probation, or conditional immortality. I have long felt that this question of newspaper function and influence should be clearly and definitely defined, that all discussion of the subject might be closed forever, and this I will now proceed to do, to my entire satisfaction. I will treat the matter with the serious thought and earnest appreciation which the importance and magnitude of the subject demands. If I seem to be frivolous in manner or speech, I pray the brethren to bear with me patiently, and remember that I was born that way. Ofttimes I am most deeply in earnest when I am apparently most frivolous. If I should look as wise as I sometimes feel, it would make your backs ache as you gazed upon me.

Originally, the functions of the newspaper were described by its

name, and the editor was a public gossip, who spent all his "time in nothing else but either to tell, or to hear some new thing." As the world grew, the business of the newspaper enlarged; as people multiplied, there were more good things and more mean things to chronicle; more wars and revivals, robberies and baptisms, conversions and hangings, births and deaths, marriages and divorces, sermons and stump speeches, and the newspaper told about all of them. It grew to be the great bazar of news and gossip that it is to-day; a colossal business, conducted on approved business principles, well arranged, thoroughly classified, showily displayed and splendidly advertised. The newspaper is "All things unto all men." You open your daily paper and ask for what you want. It is here: "Mr. Greatheart, please show the dominie what you have in the theological department. We're running a little low in this line, just now, sir, but will show you a full line of church notices and denominational news on Sunday morning; solid nonpareil, on the inside, next to the railroad time tables, put on your glasses and you'll find them, sir; look hard." "Something political, sir? Mr. Worldly Wiseman will attend to you; show the statesman our new chin-lift, Mr. W., that will enable a dumb man to talk for hours without saying anything;" "Mr. Badman, this young gentleman wants something in your line; third aisle on the sixth page, sir, you'll see the sign 'Crimes,' just opposite Sporting News and Stock Reports;" "Tears, lady? idle tears—something empty and soft? Show the lady to Poet's Corner, Mr. Rhymer;" "Funny column, sir? Yes, sir; Mr. Talkative, amuse this young gentleman until his friends call for him."

This is the stock. It is differently arranged and carried in varying proportions in different newspapers, but it is about all there. We question the wisdom exhibited in adjusting the proportions sometimes; many times in fact. The day John Sullivan left Boston the president of a theological seminary made an address before the Baptist Social Union. The leading independent paper of Massachusetts next morning gave five lines to the president's speech. It gave forty to John Sullivan, in which the great slugger told what he would do when he reached England, and how many human faces he proposed to pound into pulp before he returned.

We say, "That is neither right nor sensible." "It is sensible," says the Business Manager, "because it is business. More people will read about Sullivan than will read about the Baptist Social Union." But is it good business? I don't know, but I will venture to say without knowing, that the Baptist merchants and business men of Boston represent more money, better support and greater influence in the advertising columns of the Boston papers than do the

friends and admirers of the pugilist. But then, replies the Business Manager, "this isn't a Baptist paper. Your denominational paper will give your social union four columns and dismiss Sullivan with two or three lines, if it will not ignore him." That is true. The newspaper is a great business, with a religious department, to which it sometimes gives great prominence. A Chicago paper, leaping into rivalry with the Bible Society, published the revised version of the New Testament in one issue. If the church member thinks the newspaper pays too little attention to church matters, let him wait until some unlucky church gets itself by the ears in a row with the choir, or the heresy of its pastor. Then he will see a full account of it.

The stockholders and the counting room, more than the editor, manage this business and say what it must publish, and Business, with a big B, does not suffer, in any line, from an excess of Christianity. Good newspapers publish news that is unfit for family reading, and good business men, strictly in the way of business, sell goods unfit for use. Wise men lift up their voices and cry aloud against the health-destroying corset, and good business men go right on, not only selling them, but advertising them at great expense, persuading women to wear them. The newspaper loudly protests against the merciless slaughter of our beautiful song birds, and our Sunday congregations and to some extent our Baptist Congress are radiant with the plumage of the slaughtered innocents, butchered in the way of business. The honest merchant, whose word is as good as his bond, nevertheless sells all-wool shirts that shrink up into mere short sleeved bandages, adulterated medicines, slate stricken coal and fishing tackle that will be used on Sunday. As a gatherer and distributor of news, the press conducts its business on accepted business principles. "I sell what the jobber sends me," says the retailer. "My goods are up to sample," says the jobber, "and I sell just what the manufacturer supplies me." "And I make what sells," says the manufacturer. "I," says the editor, "print what the associated press sends and the reporters bring in." "And I," says the reporter, "send in what happens; I don't make the news." And he doesn't; unless it is a very dull day. He may manufacture an interview occasionally, but an interview is never news except to the man that is interviewed. "But," says the world, "you mustn't print everything we do." "Then," replies the editor, "you must quit doing it. Go slow; run your manufactory on shorter time and make better goods."

But it should give the news "straight." It should not, and it has no right, to distort and garble, and misrepresent. A Democratic

speech should read as fairly in Republican type, as should a Republican speech in Democratic columns. And usually it does. Or, rather, it reads as unfairly. But you catch my meaning. The great function of the newspaper is to tell the news truthfully; to report the world's doings honestly. The newspaper that misrepresents its bitterest opponent weakens its own influence and injures its own cause. Must it, then, only tell the news, without comment? Oh, no.

The primary function of the newspaper, of course, is to print the news. What is the first thing you do when you pick up your daily paper? You turn to the telegraph page and read the head lines. You want to know what has happened. Then "she" turns to the "marriages" and "deaths," and you look at the editorials. Because here is another important function of the press. You have read what happened, now you want to know what the editor thinks about it. For the newspaper has grown to be a teacher. The editor, devoting his life and talent to the work of distributing information of current events, grows into the habit and acquires the right of saying something about it. It is his right. When a newspaper sends a reporter into the wilderness to discover a lost explorer, and follow the Congo from fountain head to the sea, shall it not preach from the text he has discovered? When it detects a fraud, unearths villainy, exposes rascality, must it be content with furnishing the text, while the rest of us develop it, and preach the sermons?

The newspaper cannot help teaching. If it had never an editorial, still it would teach in its news columns, and it would impress upon us the editor's views and opinions. Noah Webster sought the newspaper as an ally of the dictionary. To the country offices he went, laying upon the case of the compositor a little list of printed words. "My boy," he said to the printer, "when you come across any of these words in copy, spell them as you see them spelled here." The first time "Constant Reader" saw the new spelling in print he stared at it, but thought it a typographical error. The next time he wrote to the editor, calling attention to the glaring inaccuracy. The editor defiantly referred him to the dictionary, and "Constant Reader" looked, rubbed his eyes, put on his spectacles, read again, and was silenced but not convinced. But the newspaper thrust the new spelling under his eyes day after day, and soon he forgot that the word had ever been spelled differently.

How often do we see a little six line dispatch made to mean just what the designing correspondent did not want it to mean, but the editor did, not by a labored editorial, but by a keen little head line?

How often the caustic head line, like a counterirritant, takes the sting out of an equally caustic paragraph?

This was the evolution of the newspaper. It began as a mere bulletin board; it grew into a teacher. It became the public voice. "Old Subscriber," "Constant Reader," "Tax Payer," "Citizen," and all the rest, scores and hundreds of good men who had something to say, but couldn't get anybody to listen, and who were unable to hire a hall, found an audience and a rostrum ready for them, and rushed into anonymous publicity with their wants, their aims, their suggestions and complaints. The newspaper caught the contagion, and began to teach and to preach. It sifted the mass of news laid at the doors of the sanctum daily, and told us briefly what it all meant. It assists its readers in making deductions from events; in forming their judgment. If the editor does not or can not do this, why is he an editor? As well might some men go into a drug store and attempt to diagnose their own maladies and make up, from the bewildering array of healing medicines and deadly poisons, their own prescriptions, as to digest all the news of a single day to their own good. You and I could do this, of course, but other men can not. It is the other men who need the editor. And even—well, I will confess, that sometimes I am at a loss to know just what I do think about four columns of assorted news until I turn to the fourth page and see what my favorite paper thinks about it. I know some men who never accept any assistance or suggestion in forming their judgment upon anything. And at the same time I know some men who never think on any subject as any other living man does. For myself, I am very much given to consulting wiser men than myself; hence I go to the physician for medicine, to my pastor for advice, and to my favorite newspaper in dark and troublous times, when I don't just know what my politics are. A newspaper without editorials is Lebanon without its cedars, a farm without an orchard, a dinner without plates, a church without a preacher, a song without a tune. The editorial "We" is a power. It does not mean the man who writes it; it means the editorial room and the business office, the subscriber, the advertiser, whoever reads the paper, except only the man who borrows it.

The wise men recognize the fact that journalism has grown to be a teacher without education, a learned profession without a college or a course of study, a skilled trade without a training school, and recognizing this, they have deemed it a wise and necessary thing that schools of journalism shall be established, in which men of education and talent shall be prepared for the profession of jour-

nalism as carefully and thoroughly as they are now prepared to practice law, and medicine, to teach and to preach.

And out of all this great wilderness of news, this chaos of gossip, of chatter of prize fighter and opera singer, anarchist and peace society, burlesque actress and home missionary, sporting events and theology, crime and Christianity, vice and virtue, vile rubbish and pure gold—out of all this can there come anything good?

I believe the net influence of the newspaper is for good. There is much to be weeded out, much that is frivolous, coarse, and bad. The newspaper is not the advance courier of the millennium, but I do believe its tendency and its net influence is good. No man fears the dreadful "newspaper boss" unless he has something in his mind and plans that he dreads to have discovered. The daily paper is not a religious teacher; that is not one of its functions. The editor does sometimes preach, but when he does he preaches a vague, wild, unintelligible theology, that passeth the understanding of the layman, and is marvellous in the eyes of the ministry. As a rule, lay-preaching is mainly to the edification of the preacher's self. But in its own sphere, the newspaper is an active ally of the pulpit. Between law and anarchy, between a Christian Sabbath and a Godless Sunday, between morality and vice, the influence of the newspaper is cast on the side of the right. Reputable journalism can be held responsible for the scallawag papers no more than the Christian church can be held responsible for the bad men who make hypocritical profession of religion. A good newspaper is a public conscience. There are men who have no fear of doing wrong, who are held in check by the dread of exposure. The newspaper is the only conscience of the evil doer who knows but one commandment, "Thou shalt not be found out." Often it is even the partisan paper that rebukes what is wrong in party methods. When the Independents determined to Mugwump, they were at no expense to establish new journals, for party papers, well established and influential, went out before them and led them out. If it shall be proper for them to return the newspapers will go at the head of the column. The newspaper makes mistakes. Nothing is infallible about the newspaper except the man who could edit it, but who never does. The newspaper might be better, and I think it will be. I think it shows steady improvement. If sometimes, in a flight of unchained fancy, it somewhat exaggerates its own circulation, it generously strikes a fair average by underestimating that of its loathsome contemporary, and by and by the average will be more justly established and divided. The newspaper is growing in wisdom, in sense of justice and fairness; in a truer apprecia-

tion of its own responsibility and influence ; in everything that will make it a leader and a moulder of public thought, and not a mere follower of the passing whim or craze of the crowd. I hope, even as I believe, that the world is growing better and that the newspaper is one of the helps that can make it continue to grow better, that the newspaper of to-day will go on increasing in wisdom and strength and truth, until it may become what it should be, not an echo of the voice of the people, for an echo is weak and unmeaning ; not the voice of the people, because the voice of the people may be and sometimes is, unreasoning and wrong, but the still small voice of a conscience that rebukes the clamor of a wrong-headed multitude, and calls men out of the storm of passion, or the calm of indifference, up to their nobler, wiser, and better manhood.

The REV. G. W. LASHER, D. D., of Cincinnati, O., read a paper on the same subject, as follows :

THE SECULAR PRESS.

The late Samuel Bowles, long the noted publisher of the sprightly and enterprising *Springfield* (Mass.) *Republican*, is quoted as saying that the function of a newspaper is, "To publish the news and tell the truth about it." Mr. Murat Halstead, the able editor of the Cincinnati *Commercial-Gazette*, has said that the function of the newspaper of to-day is, "The diffusion of intelligence ; the sale of information which has become property."

However correct, with regard to the newspaper of to-day, either of these statements may be, historically it can hardly be regarded as accurate. The *Acta Diurna*, under Julius Cæsar, were news publications, telling "what had been achieved by Roman arms, what the dangers that had been averted ; the prognostications of the Augurs ; the combats of the gladiators ; the decrees of the Ædile, the movements of the Consul ;" but they were not newspapers, in the modern sense. The Venetian manuscripts which were hung up in the public galleries, and read by those who could read at the cost of a *gazetta*, were not newspapers, in the modern sense. When Lord Burleigh advertised England of the movements of the Spanish Armada, he did not issue anything like a modern newspaper ; and if his expedient, the product of an emergency, can be regarded as the earliest of English newspapers, it died with the emergency which gave it birth.

Properly, the enterprise of Nathaniel Butter, in 1622, is to be regarded as the earliest genuine newspaper. A writer of manuscript

letters, containing accounts of events occurring in London, and sending them to his customers living in the country, he conceived the idea of multiplying copies of such letters by means of the press, thus supplying a larger number of customers, at a smaller expense to them, and at a greater profit to himself. His was strictly a newspaper. It was a narrator of passing events. It had no character, except that given it by the facts recorded. It did not aspire to the expression of opinion. It told its story, and left the reader to form his own opinions. The *Weekly News* came to an end, probably with its enterprising publisher, who gave to the world an idea which could not die. Other similar enterprises succeeded it, if they were not contemporary with it, and even the "patent insides," which the letter-writer bought, and, having filled its blank page with his own hand, despatched to his customer in the country, had an origin long anterior to such a publication as goes under the name of a newspaper to-day.

The great political excitement—the overthrow of the Monarchy and the establishment of the Commonwealth in England—was the period when the newspaper, as such, began to make itself known and felt; but the restoration of the Monarchy was fatal to all newspapers but one, and that published in the interests of the King and his favorites. It cannot be denied, therefore, that historically, the newspaper is a political institution. When Sir Roger L'Estrange, Oliver Cromwell's "fiddler," was made, by Charles II., Surveyor of the Imprimery and Printing Presses, and speedily exterminated all the newspapers which did not fall in with the new (old) order of things, it was because of the political influence which those papers were exerting, and because of the exclusive political influence which it was expected that the one paper would exert. The *Intelligencer*, under Sir Roger L'Estrange, was the precursor of the London *Gazette*, which had its origin in 1665, and continues until the present time. It was issued on Mondays and Thursdays, and its contents were usually "a royal proclamation, two or three Tory addresses, notices of two or three skirmishes between the Imperial troops and the Janizaries on the Danube, a description of a highwayman, an announcement of a grand cock fight between two persons of 'honor,' and an advertisement offering a reward for a strayed dog." We smile; for we cannot help noting the similarity between the genuine newspaper in the days of the frivolous Charles and the average newspaper of to-day. And yet, the similarity is only seeming. There has been a growth, and that growth has been both the cause and the product of the

greater liberty enjoyed in the nineteenth century, as compared with the seventeenth.

It was a newspaper publisher who drew down upon himself the wrath of England's Prime Minister, whose speech, in the name of his Sovereign, the man of the press dared to criticise, and who, in a six hours' imprisonment, did more for the establishment of great principles, involving the rights of the people, than had done all the political reformers who had preceded him for generations. When, in the famous "No. 45," of the *North Briton* newspaper, Mr. John Wilkes reviewed the speech of King George III., written by his Prime Minister, Lord Grenville, he vindicated the right of a people to inquire into the official conduct of a Sovereign; and when, having been apprehended and thrown into jail, he appealed to the Courts, and finally drew from the Chief Justice the memorable decision which has been in force from that day to this, he achieved a victory not for the Press merely, but for humanity. That controversy introduced a new era in newspaper writing, and made way for such writers as Horne Tooke, the author of the Junius Letters, and that "fulmen Churchill," who "knocked down the foes of Britain with the statues of the gods."

The time speedily came when the contest was between the newspapers and Parliament itself, and when the former conquered by virtue of an influence which they themselves had generated. Parliament was sensitive to criticism, as public men have ever been, and tried to keep its proceedings, and especially the speeches of its members, from the public ear. But the newspapers were irrepressible. The speeches were got and published. To arrest a printer, in the city of London, the warrant must be countersigned by the Lord Mayor, and the Lord Mayor was a creature of the people. The people demanded the reports, and the printer could not be arrested.

A function of a newspaper, in the eighteenth century, in England, was the scrutiny of public acts and political measures. For this it employed the brightest minds and the most facile pens, men of wit and political position; and for this it sought entrance to political gatherings and listened to the whisperings of caucuses. When it was proposed to clear the galleries of the House of Commons, in order to get rid of obnoxious press men, it was said in opposition: "The best thing you can do with the Press is to let it alone. It may publish some very bad speeches, but it is impossible that it can publish very much worse speeches than some that have been made in this House, and many of them are very much better." Never until this time (1769) would it have been possible to publish more

than one such letter as those of Junius ; yet never did a series of letters produce a more salutary influence upon rulers and councillors ; and though then, as now, there were those who found no words adequate to express their abhorrence of "the Satanic Press," yet we, to-day, owe more than we can fully estimate to that same press, which held up sovereign and councillors and legislators alike to the gaze, the admiration, or the condemnation of their age. True, men were "written up," and men were "written down," as they are to-day ; but a Nero, a Hildebrande, a Henry VIII, is an impossibility under the scrutiny of and the strokes of a free press.

Thus far, English newspapers. In America their history has not been different, though not dating back of 1690, when Boston saw its first local newspaper, of which only two issues appeared, because, in the estimation of the Governor, "it contained reflections of a very high nature." At the outbreak of the Revolution, the number of newspapers was small ; but they were the *media* of political communications which gave strength, as they gave definiteness, to the patriot cause. As a rule, the newspapers which have succeeded have been those which were established for a purpose, and that purpose the defence of truth and the propagation of ideas bearing upon human rights and political interests.

It was in the *Boston Gazette and Country Gentleman* that Samuel Adams, James Otis, John Adams, Joseph Warren and their compatriots issued their criticisms on the policy and the methods of British rule. It was the *Maryland Gazette* which published the fiery speech of Patrick Henry, in the Virginia House of Burgesses, which stirred the hearts of the men of America to resist the encroachments foreshadowed in the Stamp Act. It was the *New York Journal* which furnished a medium for Alexander McDougall, George Clinton, Alexander Hamilton and Philip Schuyler to get their patriotic ideas into the minds and the hearts of their neighbors and countrymen. It was the *Massachusetts Spy*, with its dissevered serpent over the motto "Join or Die," which fled from Boston to Worcester, at the landing of the British troops sent to awe the "rebels" into subjection, and, in the latter city, continued to fire the hearts of its readers and helped mightily to usher in the era of American nationality. He who thinks that the publication of poetry and *belles lettres* articles is the function of a successful newspaper makes a great mistake ; and he who thinks of Addison and Steele as ideal newspaper writers fails of a true conception of the newspaper of modern times.

From the days of Washington and the formation of the two great parties in American politics, the attention of the newspaper has been turned not simply to the collection and publication of news,—the

passing events, at home and abroad,—but to the discussion of governmental affairs, whether of the nation or the hamlet. That there has been an occasional exception to this rule does not establish its negative. More than this, that has been the successful newspaper which could give, as the reason for its publication, some great and true principle, a cause needing and deserving defense or promotion. Only in rare instances has a newspaper risen to a position of influence and made itself a power, in either political or social life, unless it had, as its *raison d'être*, some special object to gain or defend, and not simply the retailing of news.

The history of newspapers, whether in this country or Great Britain, is marvelous, in view of the peculiar fortuities which have marked the rise of one and the decline of another. The London *Daily News* boasted Charles Dickens as editor, and Douglass Jerrold, Dr. Lardner, Harriet Martineau and McCullough Torrens as staff contributors; yet the publisher saw £200,000 of good English money go down into the depths, before he saw anything returning to his own pocket; but when all the above named contributors had become disgusted or starved out, Archibald Forbes, McGahan and Skinner were sent to write up the Franco-Prussian War, with instructions to spare neither rhetoric nor expense, and at once the *News* sprang to the very front of English journals, even the great *Times* doing it obeisance. A quarrel between the proprietors of the *Morning Herald*—the stronger party determining to double the expenses in order to starve out the weaker,—and lo, the income was trebled, and the paper was at the head of the great metropolitan press, and the only thing the militant owners could do was to make up their quarrel long enough to sell the whole thing out, for three times what it was worth when they began, and retire from the management of a paper which they could not destroy. It is said of the notorious founder of the New York *Herald*, the late James Gordon Bennett, that the most fortunate thing for him was to be prosecuted for libel; and the Philadelphia *Ledger* is said to have laid the foundation of its prosperity by allowing obituary writers to have their own way, publishing their own estimates of their deceased friends, in their own language, on grammatical rules of their own construction, paying a price which brought great gain to the sagacious publisher.

According to Mr. Bowles, the function of a newspaper is "To publish the news, and to tell the truth about it." Very well; then it is not simply to acquire knowledge of a fact, to state that fact in unmistakable language and to issue it to the world. It is something more than that. There is the telling of *the truth concerning the fact*; the presentation of the fact in its relation to other facts. Does

the fact pertain to social life, it must be presented in its relation to the family, the school, the mart, the profession, the trade. Does it pertain to the acts or aims of a political party, it must be presented in its relation to the platform, the traditions, the aims and methods of the party. Does it pertain to commerce, it must be presented in its relation to supply and demand, the balance of exchange, the coming and going of merchandise. Does it pertain to literature, it must be presented in its relations to other literary productions, in its own or an adjoining field, or in the whole range of letters and those who conjure with them. Does it pertain to science, it is to be presented in its relation to other sciences and to the history of science. Does it pertain to art, it must be presented in its relation to the great world-gallery, whether of painting, sculpture, architecture, poetry or the drama.

It has been said : "Newspapers, in themselves are not literature except in the sense in which political play-bills are literature. They are political circulars, trade circulars, price currents, weather charts, advertisement sheets, Congressional or Parliamentary reports, police reports—all very excellent, all very necessary things, in their way, but they are not literature. * * * *"

"The primary and principal use of newspapers is to reproduce for us, day by day, a picture of the state of the world, to give us an account of what has been said and done, and to tell us, with all this, what we ought to think and feel about everything—about an opera, a speech, a crime, or a crisis—what we ought to think, if we are Liberals, what we ought to think, if we are Conservatives, and even what we ought to think and feel if, instead of coming under either of these two classifications, we chance to belong to some less comprehensive category and happen to be Radicals, Positivists, or Æsthetes. To report and to criticize, that is the main business of a newspaper that does its best to be a newspaper."—CHARLES PEABODY.

And this view of the function of a newspaper being accepted, the statement of Mr. Bowles, with which we began, is not far wrong.—"To publish the news and to tell the truth about it."

An eminent jurist has recently said : "The modern newspaper is not merely a private enterprise. It is as truly a public institution as the railway and the telegraph ; and enlightened jurisprudence will declare that the public newspaper, encouraged and protected by the highest guarantees of constitutional law as indispensable to a free government, is subject, not to merely private callings, but to broad and equitable principles, springing out of its relation to the public, and its duty to serve the people in the collection and publication of information relating to their interests. The business of journalism is

no longer a mere incident to the printer's trade. It has become a great and learned profession, with honored fraternal organizations. The government should also consider that the newspaper is, after all due allowance for our system of schools, the great educator of the masses of the people. * * * The man who reads the newspapers is a citizen of the world. He feels an interest in the people of all lands, for their doings are brought home to his door. He learns to deplore their misfortunes, and to rejoice in their achievements. This knowledge enlarges the world in which his soul lives."

But it is objected that the newspaper of to-day does not stop with the publication of that which is adapted to directly benefit society ; that the young person who reads the average daily paper is receiving impressions of evil, as well as of good ; that interlarded with accounts of deeds of virtue, of patriotism, of humanity, of philanthropy, are accounts of murders, adulteries, thefts, frauds, the outcome of passion, avarice, sensuality, covetousness ; that the currents of newspaper literature flow from the gutters as well as from the mountain springs and the melting icebergs. We grant it ; and it is because humanity is human ; that is, because in this world, everywhere, evil and good walk side by side and jostle each other in the thoroughfare. The daily paper which should undertake to keep out of its columns all that a daughter might not read aloud in the presence of her parents and her brothers would not be a newspaper, and would soon cease to have a place in the newspaper world. The truth is, as has been well said, "The newspaper of to-day is just as good as the people will let it be." And it is thus for two reasons : first, because the work of the world is the work of men and women, not of angels nor of saints. Men and women are moving in the world, and the truth concerning the world's movements is the truth concerning men and women. There are evil men and evil women, corrupt men and corrupt women ; and these are doing their work and exerting their influence upon their age. They are close beside the virtuous men and the virtuous women. They are infusing their virus into society at every pore, endermically and hypodermically. Their breath is contaminating the atmosphere breathed by the pure and the noble. To ignore them is to become dehumanized rather than immaculate. Friar Philip's scheme for promoting the unalloyed happiness of his son was not a success ; and no more will be any scheme for keeping the facts of current events away from those who have reached an age to read understandingly the average daily newspaper.

But this is not saying, nor is it intended to say, that the methods

of the newspaper press are always above criticism. There are newspapers and newspapers. The difference depends not so much upon the facts presented as upon the manner of their presentation. True, there are many things which the wise man does not care to know; which may not profit the average reader of the daily paper; which may prove a positive injury to the young man or the young woman. But the same may be true of the food set upon the table. There are things there which no one ought to eat; things which one may eat, with impunity, and which another should avoid as poison; and the question just how much food, just what proportions of each kind of food, just what should be eaten by one and avoided by another, has not yet been definitely settled by even the scientists of this wonderfully scientific age. So there is a wide margin for difference of opinion as to the pabulum which should be served up to the mental and moral faculties of our being, just what should be apportioned to each individual soul.

But, after saying all this, there is sufficient occasion for the use of the phrase, "the Satanic Press," but not to characterize the press as an institution—not even to characterize the daily newspaper.

There is a satanic press; but it does not always work upon newspapers; though there are newspapers whose publishers seem moved by satanic influences. They are manufacturing moral poison, intellectual dynamite.

They are putting before the eyes of the young, and not infrequently before the eyes of the old, that which is adapted to put out the moral eyes and blunt the moral sense; to minimize the things that are honest, and just, and pure, and lovely, and of good report; and to magnify the things that are false, and treacherous, and deceptive, and degrading, and filthy, and hateful. These are they who put sugar coating upon bitterness; who dress corruption in gaudy attire; who hang gold chains and diamonds upon the necks of moral skeletons and burn red lights over putrid moral corpses. But it is our privilege to discriminate these.

Ex pede Herculem. We do not need to read every issue from such a press, in order to be made aware of its character. I one day bought a copy of a Cincinnati daily, because it was the only one I could get, and I had nothing else to read as I rode. But it was years before I bought another copy of that paper, and then it was under similar circumstances. And yet, strange to say, that is reputed the most widely circulated daily in the city, and its country circulation is held to be nearly as large as that of all others combined.

And this leads to the second reason why the newspaper of to-day is "just as good as the people will let it be," viz.: the popular demand.

We may blush to say it, but it is true, that the paper which gives the most space to things which are questionable in morals, which are vitiating to the taste; which tend to degrade, rather than to elevate—the paper which gives most space to ball-parks, the race-course, the prize-ring, the police-court, the salacious intriguer, the unfaithful spouse—that is the paper which is most eagerly sought for and which is read with the most avidity by young men, and oftentimes by the older. It is the paper which is claimed to contain more "news," more advertisements of things which a large part of society seems to be specially interested in. However it may be, it is certain that the paper referred to is that which fathers buy and read, though confessing that they would not have it in their houses, and declaring that they never take it home to their families. It is the paper which young men buy, because it contains a kind of "news" in which they particularly delight; which young women of a certain class buy and scrutinize to find things which are particularly interesting to them; and it gets the name of being the most enterprising and complete of our city dailies. And what is true of the paper referred to is true also of similar sheets, in other great cities; and they are all just as good as the people whom they serve will let them be.

What, then, is the net influence of these daily and weekly journals, taken together? Is it good or bad, and how far does the one element preponderate over the other?

A prominent editor said, the other day, that the newspaper is not now what it once was; that to-day there is no Greeley, nor Bryant, nor Bennett, who gives tone and character to a paper by his tremendous individuality. To-day the powerful "leader" is no longer what it once was. The principal business of the newspaper of to-day is the collection, the collocation and the publication of news. "Here I sit," said he, "in this room and hold converse with my correspondents in New York, Philadelphia, or Washington, or anywhere else in the country, and I can get a communication to Washington more easily than I can get it to the composing room, on the floor above me. The newspaper of to-day is but the expression of the thought and actions of the men and women of to-day, the world over."

Our judgment is that even that able editor does not correctly estimate the influence of his own paper. He does not fully conceive the power for good or evil lodged in his own hands; that, though the editor of to-day does not make his journal the personal

organ that his predecessors did, nevertheless, the influence of the leading dailies and weeklies of this country was never greater than to-day. Never were those papers so widely read; never were the ideas and the facts put forth more carefully studied; and, no matter what the editor may say, his treatment of facts and questions of society and of state are suggestive of thought which is finally realized in action. We believe in the predominance of the good; because we believe in progress, in the direction of more correct thinking, more upright action. We are mindful of reforms brought about largely by the newspaper press. We remember the *National Era*, of thirty-five years ago, in which Mrs. Stowe first published her Uncle Tom's Cabin. We remember the mighty controversy out of which came the war for the perpetuation of slavery, resulting in the downfall of the institution. We remember the grip which a gang of scoundrels got upon the throat of the city of New York; and how a single newspaper grappled with it; and how, finally, by the help of its contemporaries, it broke that grip and liberated the city. We have witnessed a similar contest in Cincinnati, and have rejoiced with those who did rejoice in the deliverance effected principally by the daily press. We believe, with the eminent jurist from whom we have already quoted (Judge Bonney, of Illinois), when he says: "The newspaper of to-day is the great agency of progress in all reforms. Abuses do not reform themselves; and few reforms originate within the circles where evils are entrenched. Nearly all reforms have humble beginnings, and suffer many tribulations before they command success. The newspapers bring them to the attention of the public and state the arguments urged in their favor. Slowly the work goes on, and finally the public mind is changed and a measure, which at first seemed hopeless, advances to the front and is crowned. By the voice of the newspaper public opinion proclaims its imperious decrees."

What is true of the newspaper in Great Britain is true of the newspaper of the United States: and, *mutatis mutandis*, the language of a forceful writer (Mr. Charles Peabody) is applicable to the newspapers of our country to-day. He says:

"It was said a few years ago, that newspapers did not lead public opinion—that they were simply its expression; and the observation was true. But it is no longer true. The press of to-day is an independent power. It is independent of the government in its intelligence. It is independent of Parliament in its criticism. It is independent of everything, except the public sentiment, and that it aspires to form and lead. Hardly a question is asked Parliament that the newspapers have not anticipated; and before either Lords

or Commons can criticise the answer, it is criticised with all the necessary sagacity and acumen by the press.

“It is the business of the newspaper press to report everything—from a revolution to a horse-race, from the suicide of a sultan to the crowing of a cock in the back-yard of a country villa; to have an opinion on everything—a prompt, precise and clear opinion—and to express that opinion while other people are thinking about it. And the press is equal to all its duties. All the public bodies in England sit in the newspapers to-day. Parliament sits in the newspapers; merchants, brokers, all transact their business, like bees in a glass house. Secrets are things of the past. Scandals, which formerly were hardly whispered in private conversation, are now published without the slightest attempt at concealment. Everything is known that used to be hidden, and everything that is known is proclaimed on the house-tops.”

And it may be said, in conclusion, that this proclaiming upon the house-tops is one of the mightiest facts of the age. It makes it more difficult for rogues to do their work, more easy for upright men to exert their influence upon society; more easy for truth to meet and overcome error; more easy for righteousness and truth to win the world.

The paper of the REV. H. L. WAYLAND, D. D., of Philadelphia, Pa., in his absence, was read by the REV. G. D. BOARDMAN, D. D. The subject was

THE RELIGIOUS PRESS.

The Secular Press has already been referred to (presumably) so fully and so ably, that I shall not allude to it except incidentally, by way, possibly, of drawing a parallel or a contrast, or of pointing a moral or adorning a tale.

The motive of the Religious Press I suppose to be the advancement of the cause of Christ by the illustration and enforcement of certain views of truth and duty. While, however, this is its ideal motive, and while it may be presumed that no one enters upon this priesthood merely that he may eat a morsel of bread, yet it is equally true that the religious newspapers must be supported, or, more properly, must be self-supporting. The theory, long and affectionately held, that it does not cost anything to carry on a newspaper; that printers and paper makers and type founders and mail carriers work for glory or for the good of the cause; that the editor's front yard is daily bestrewn with manna and quails, and that ravens laden with

bread and meat apply for entrance at every window, and that his garments wax not old—this theory has not been sustained by facts. A lady of a somewhat azure turn of mind, visiting the office of a country newspaper, was lost in admiration of the vast possibilities of achievement and usefulness which seemed spreading before her; presently she said to the editor: "Now, of all the cares, and labors, and demands which come upon you, I should like to know which it is that taxes you most heavily?" With a far-away look, he replied, "The weekly bills." Nor are these weekly bills payable (contrary to the general supposition) in the resolutions of associations and ministerial bodies, or in the sympathy of friends.

In the execution of its mission the Religious Press is a chronicler, a teacher and a prophet.

The *Secular* Press is expected to chronicle all things, including among these "all things" the leading religious events. You are not unfamiliar, however, with the space that is given to a religious event, and on the other hand the space that is given to a horse race, a base ball match, pigeon shooting, to go no lower; and yet (I wish to do justice to the Secular Press) I do not think this proceeds from choice or from depravity. I have no doubt that it gives to various subjects the space which is suited to the demands of the readers. When there is a religious phenomenon, when Mr. Moody, or Sam Jones, or Sam. Small is holding a series of meetings I have no doubt that the editor gives without regret for the time being a back seat to many secular topics. When there is a heated term in a ministerial conference or in a church, then the fulness and vividness of the reports are such as to make us wish that their truthfulness were in equal proportion.

The Religious Press chronicles, first, all events of religious and denominational significance, and then secular events in their relation to the advancement of Christianized humanity. In its chronicling of events whether secular or religious, the Religious Press should be truthful, enterprising and timely; its statement of facts should be colorless; its comments, of course, are colored. It is very easy to chronicle events in a way that shall be true in form but false in spirit; if we leave out all that is damaging to one side, and all that is favorable to the other, we have said nothing false in words but we are false in essence. Words true in form are susceptible of a great variety of significations. If one should say, for example, "a party of wealthy merchants and leading politicians started for a fishing excursion carrying with them a large amount of bait in bottles, and after their return home they were absent from their places of business for a considerable time," every word might be true, but whether a true

or false impression were left would depend on a good many circumstances. I should like to see the time come when the press would state facts with absolute and transparent truthfulness, whatever side is helped or hindered. Suppose that a discussion takes place through the papers or magazines, or on the platform, between the advocates of opposing religious views; does it ever fail to be the case that the journals on the one side and on the other assign the victory in the discussion to their own champion? Has it ever happened that the paper has said: "We agree with the *position* of our advocate, but the ability in presentation and argument lay on the other side?"

The same principle applies to the chronicling of literary events and the discussion of literary efforts. Every book or article ought to be treated on its own merits, regardless of the source from which it comes; but, unfortunately, it is considered the duty of the Religious Press, if not to belittle that which proceeds from its opponents, yet, at least, to coddle and praise that which comes from its own side. As was justly observed by Dr. Broadus at Washington, in 1874, if a Baptist criticises at all unfavorably a Baptist article or book, it is at once supposed that he has some personal hostility to the author or editor.

The Religious Press is a teacher. Of course it teaches to some extent in the very act of chronicling; but, in addition to this, it interprets events. The Religious Press also teaches largely by discussion; in fact, it is only by discussion that we reach safe and final conclusions. Where there is no discussion there is no judgment that is reliable. We do not know whether our view is sound until we know what can be said against it. Truth is the daughter of Time and of Discussion. Light, intellectual and moral, is the spark that is struck out by collision between two or more minds, two or more sets of ideas.

I have no sympathy with the dread that is entertained as to the consequence of the freest discussion of all topics. I fully accord with the sentiment which I have heard in my youth from lips that have ceased to utter wisdom. From one in whom largely the spirit of Roger Williams lived again, "Truth asks only a fair chance; if it cannot conquer then it is not truth."

The human mind cries out for discussion; discussion it will have; discussion is the necessity of its being. If discussion cannot be, then it takes to dynamite. In Russia dynamite is the only form of discussion; but where discussion is free dynamite is damnable and devilish, and deserves the gallows, which it sometimes receives.

Nor should discussion be conducted with the sword of Damocles

suspended over one's throat. It is a mockery to say : "Yes, you may discuss, but you do it at the peril of loss of respect, and position, and confidence." Of course, if a person, after mature reflection, finds himself permanently and radically differing with those with whom he has been associated, only one course is open to him ; but short of that there is a very broad field for discussion. As Dr. E. H. Johnson has shown in his able article in the *Baptist Quarterly Review*, there are many open questions within the limits of denominational unity.

In this matter of discussion the Religious Press has a very leading place. I do not think that the pulpit or the Sunday school is the place for discussion ; in fact, discussion here is an impossibility. The pulpit and the Sunday school are for the inculcation and application of truths whose binding force is already recognized. But the newspaper is a conference, of which the editor is the Moderator. Any member of the denomination is entitled to send up his card ; it is for the Moderator to give a fair hearing to the various aspects of current questions. There is, however, this advantage in the newspaper, that he who sends up his card sends up his remarks along with it, whereas the Moderator of these meetings does not know into what wanderings the speaker will lead the audience. But it is an error to suppose that the editor can afford to everybody an opportunity to say everything that can be said on every subject. While it is theoretically and philosophically true, no doubt, that time and space are infinite, yet relatively to the newspaper and to the editor, and no less to the reader, time and space are very limited. You cannot put ten columns of reading into five columns of space ; it is the business of the editor to exercise a judicious and judicial impartiality, and to give, as I said above, within certain bounds, a fair showing to all sides.

Perhaps it is proper here to correct another misapprehension, which is that the editor has absolutely nothing to do and can easily take time to revise and correct and re-write and condense every communication.

We all believe in free discussion for other people, in other countries, in other parties, among other denominations—somewhere else. We all believe in free discussion when we are the minority, but it may be said of discussion, as was once said of constitutions : "Constitutions are for the defense of the minority; the majority will defend themselves."

The party of progress must be the party of liberty ; the reaction party has no need of discussion, has no place for it ; it has no need of *mind*. The stupid party (as some one has called the Conservative party

in England) has nothing to do but to obey orders ; but the party of progress is made up of people who think, and if people think they will sometimes differ in their thinking. It is not unlikely that some of us will think erroneously ; but if a man has an error let him bring it to the light, let it be seen ; if he is mistaken, let his mistake be shown morally as well as physically. The great disinfectants are light and air.

It is a significant fact that the most dangerous and atrocious theories of government morals have been engendered in those countries where discussion is a crime, and that nowhere are opinions so sound as in the countries where discussion is the most free. Macaulay has referred to the fact that just in proportion as the periodical press in England was free from restriction, just in that proportion its tone became reasonable and decorous. Of the seven condemned anarchists six came from a land where absolutely free discussion is unknown.

Great abuses, great errors, cannot long co-exist with free discussion. Over and over again a free press has broken up municipal and national corruption. If there had been a free press and free discussion throughout the breadth of America during all the years preceding 1861, the problem of slavery would have settled itself without bloodshed. I confess I often wonder when men, after seeing the truth come safely through the most tremendous storms of war and persecution, turn pale when the sea is gently rippled by the breezes of discussion.

The Religious Press is a prophet. It must look beyond the present ; it must lead its readers into larger fields, clearer light, more advanced positions, greater achievements. While it must so far satisfy the demands of the people that they will sustain and read it, yet it must go beyond this. If it merely tells the people what they want to hear, and what will please them, it is not a prophet ; its mission must be to awaken in men a Divine discontent with what now is and a Divine aspiration for what may be. In regard, for example, to what our own denomination is doing for the intellectual and moral advancement of mankind, it is the duty of the press, while thankfully recognizing the blessings which God has given to our inadequate labors, yet no less to recognize the fact that these labors are painfully, sadly, humiliatingly inadequate. It is the duty of the Religious and Denominational Press to remind Christian readers that the great resources of Christ's Church, so far from being exhausted have yet scarcely been touched ; that self-sacrifice for the good of others, which is the central idea of the whole Christian system ; that denial of self for the good of others, which is the one

distinguishing element of Christianity, is unknown among us except by a few of Christ's poor and a few of our missionary laborers at home and abroad. It is the duty of the Christian Press to point out the magnificent resources that might be achieved if every one in Christ's Church should count one.

Of course, while the Religious Press leads the way, it is essential that there be a bond between the leader and the led; it will hardly do to raise the standard so high that men cannot grasp it, that they can hardly see it. We must reach the ideal by way of the possible. It will not do for the locomotive to start off at such a rate as to break the couplings and to leave the loaded train far behind.

It is a peculiarity of the leadership of the Religious Press that its word of inspiration must be spoken when the time comes. The Religious Press cannot wait until day after to-morrow for the word that is needed to-day. From this necessity it follows that its utterances may sometimes lack something of infallibility. The word which it speaks to-day would perhaps be a wiser word if it were deferred until to-morrow. Why not, then, defer it until to-morrow? Because, by the same token, to-morrow would have just the same right to wait for the wisdom of the day after. My eminent and reverend friend, Rev. Dr. Day, an honored resident of the city in which we meet, once said to the President of Brown University, "I fear that I have made a mistake in the decision which I have formed." The President replied, "Did you act according to the best light that you had at the time?" "I did." "Well, shall we ever act if we wait for the light which is going to come to-morrow?"

And who is to-day wiser than yesterday? And why will to-morrow be wiser than to-day? If everybody had kept silent, waiting for the light which is to come day after to-morrow, we should be no wiser than our fathers or our former selves.

It is because people speak to-day with the light which is given us to-day, that the light of to-morrow is brighter.

Like every true prophet, the Religious Press addresses itself to the best that is in man and to the best element in each religious body. It speaks to the minister, to the Sunday school teacher, to the laymen and the laywomen, the people with brain, and heart, and conscience, and soul; in other words, it speaks to those who have the future in their keeping. To this priesthood men are called as truly as to the pulpit. There are labors, there are trials, there are crosses, there are proportionate rewards. When I consider the wide field of usefulness I cannot doubt that the Apostle Paul, if he were living now, would be the editor of a religious newspaper; and I

know what would be his thorn in the flesh. It would be the obituaries and the Church resolutions—twin miracles of truthfulness.

I believe that the Religious Press among us has in it the promise of a larger, brighter day. I rejoice in the achievements of the Baptist Press, under the conduct of brethren, South, North, East and West, white and colored; and knowing that freedom is the atmosphere and breath of the highest journalism, I believe that nowhere are the possibilities of the Religious Press higher and larger than within our own denomination.

In the discussion the REV. T. T. EATON, D. D., of Louisville, Ky., said:

There is one point that has not been brought out which it seems to me well to consider. It is said that the business of a newspaper is to publish what happens and make needed comments. Yet no paper publishes all events and the practical question is: what sort of an event must it be in order to be published? Not long since a man in Louisville killed his wife, child, and brother-in-law and then killed himself. He said he killed his brother-in-law because he was not fit to live. Our daily papers covered a whole page with the details of the horrible affair. The pictures of all four were given and a picture of the room where the murders took place as it looked when opened. This was news so important as to fill the first page of a large daily. Not far away lives a man who has been obliged to quit work to nurse three members of his family sick with the typhoid fever. That man is showing himself a moral hero. But this is not regarded as worth publishing. The papers have not mentioned that at all. The action of the villain was "news," and that of the hero was not. What, then, is "news?" A man brains his baby. That is "news," and the papers must be filled with it. A man nurses a sick baby through weary nights and days. That is not "news," and nothing is to be said about it. So, only certain sorts of events are to be regarded as news. The paper does not want what happens, but only certain classes of happenings. Now, if any one present can tell just what is news I will be greatly obliged.

ROBERT J. BURDETTE, in reply to DR. EATON'S question, said:

I have said my piece, but I will answer the question. We do not tell about the man who cares for his sick baby because a man cannot ask to have commendation for doing what he should. We tell of the other man to deter still other men from doing the like crimes. If a

man will not take care of his wife and baby, he has no right to get married or have a baby. If I ran a paper I would cut out the personal column. The bad things are events and so are to be published. Then, we do not tell of the good man's doings, because all the subscribers take care of their wives and babies. It is true that a great many take a paper for the news of a startling nature in varying ways and degrees. If we told of one who cared for his sick baby every man might come up and complain that he had not been noticed. We propose to put it on his tombstone some day.

REV. T. T. EATON, D. D. :

Am I to understand that the crime is published in order to deter people from doing such things?

The REV. M. C. LOCKWOOD, of Cincinnati, O., says :

It is evident that the ministry of our denomination do not always appreciate the extent of their indebtedness to the religious press.

1. In the practical administration of the affairs of our churches, we receive a large amount of helpful suggestions from our editorial brethren who, though themselves wanting in many instances of illustrious success in the practical work of the pastorate, are yet able to speak with authority and have large proficiency for theorizing, settling thereby any difficult problem that may vex a pastor of the largest experience.

2. We, as a denomination, have no Presbyteries, Bishops or Presiding Elders, no one to superintend our affairs, no one authorized to fill vacant pulpits with suitable men; so in the evolution of our denominational history the editorial fraternity have worked their way to a position for which their abilities singularly qualify them, and by due deference to their excellent judgment. Church committees in search of our qualifications can learn of our acceptability, spirituality, intelligence, scholarship, dignity, oratory power to "*draw*," and all those little things which pulpit committees deem desirable in a pastor. Of course the editors are irresponsible, not being official, but this may enhance their frankness, and lends the charm of mystery to the back stairs influence, by which we may rise to that eminence that our abilities merit. The impartiality with which they exercise these powers is phenomenal. Still let me advise you to always keep in with editors and make such speeches as this whenever opportunity opens and don't fail to subscribe for their papers.

3. Again : The lack of authority on questions of doctrine has inspired the prediction, among denominations that have formulated

creeds, or are under a hierarchy, that we would fall into disintegration and decay. The rights of private judgment have been exaggerated, and though this may appear to some to be the period of transition in theological thought, the one thing that holds us to unity of opinion is the assumed and conceded infallibility of the press. This is a relief to some ministers; a deacon sitting under the administration of a scholarly and even famous pastor, whose wisdom is universally respected, is saved the trouble of annoying his pastor by simply writing to the paper, which, in its queries and answers, illustrates the attribute of omniscience and settles the problem for the deacon, and possibly a large portion of the church who takes the papers, and if the opinion be an adverse one to the pastor's, he must expect the authority of the impersonal, mysterious and royal, with the complacency of a Gallican bishop receiving the decisions of Ultramontanism. Thus the freedom of truth is vindicated.

The mission of securing a uniformity of theological conceptions undoubtedly belongs to the religious press. How large our indebtedness here is will never be known until eschatology has become a positive science to us and editorial decisions relating thereto have been confirmed. The religious press is the great conservator of the *Faith*. And when we grow restless with doubt, we may pillow our weary heads upon its infallibility, or cover our faces with a latest issue as a protection from the rude flies of speculation.

4. It is an authority from which there is no appeal. The editor may meet us on the floor in debate, and we may deem him an ordinary mortal, whom in equal warfare we may successfully oppose, but in the editorial chair he becomes endowed with superlunary wisdom, and from the decisions there we have no right nor power to appeal, unless we are willing to be held up to the scorn of his large constituency and be relegated to the obscurity we deserve and to which we normally belong. This personality, then, becomes sacred, and we have no right to invade it without willingness to concede him that which chivalry concedes to the weak and the fair, viz.: the last word.

Lastly: The religious press is to be commended, in that if any men arrogate to themselves the privilege of airing some opinion which they think will tend to ameliorate society, the press, regardless of any foolish supersensitiveness of these erratic brethren who imagine that their feelings have been lacerated, their influence disparaged, their statements caricatured and their utterances misrepresented, wisely shut them off from the opportunity of availing themselves of what, in the parlance of the vulgar world, is called the right of self-defense, under the impression that the owner of a newspaper has not the right

to use his columns to the gratification of the prejudices of his constituency and the enlargement of his subscription list. In olden times the utterances of infallible wisdom came from the oracular gems in the ephod of the High Priest, whose sole right it was to stand in the presence of the Divine glory and make known the will of Jehovah. It is our high privilege to live in an age in which the literal ephod suited to a primitive time has been transfigured and transferred from the sanctuary to the sanctum and the urim and thummim; the light and truth which flashed from the breast-plate of the high priest now borrows an added splendor from the luminosity of the editorial brain, and casts a brighter radiance on the sacred page for the guidance of its teachers and the enlightening of the Church that waits to learn the eternal verities of God.

The REV. L. M. WOODRUFF, D. D., of East Saginaw, Mich., said:

If the object of publishing news is to deter men from committing crime, I wish the editor had published my speech this morning. I do not know why Dr. Woods insisted on writing my name and sending it to the platform. Now that I am here, I will say that even Burdette is sometimes caught in the cobweb of a mistake. The first thing I remember to have read in my early days of his sayings was: "Surprise is the soul of wit. That is what makes a boy laugh so when he sits down on a pin." But, Burdette, it is the other boy that laughs. Brother Chairman, it is not in me to make an extempore speech. I tried once three days to get up such a speech; but it was an utter failure. Our brother here says that the object of the editor is to publish the news and to tell what is new about it. Well, I think that is what our brother from Cincinnati sometimes does, though he publishes a very interesting paper. Now, it is said that Cæsar, by the help of forty horses, could carry news two hundred miles in a day. Now we can carry the news over the land and under the sea in a twinkling of an eye. That inventor, Edison, does bring forth many things, and that one thing he has just invented is interesting—the phonograph. You can sit down before it and talk to it. If you are in need of a wife and wish to pop the question, you can sit down at the phonograph and after talking for fifteen minutes, you can send what you have said bottled up; and she sits down and hears your very tones and words. Yet I suppose some of them would prefer the good old way and would rather have a moustache thrust into their lips than a telephone.

The REV. WM. M. LAWRENCE, D. D., of Chicago, Ill., said :

Mr. Chairman, Fathers and Brethren in the Congress :

I believe in the secular press and in the religious press. I suppose I have had as many occasions to become vexed at the course pursued by both of them, as any other man. Sometimes, under the urgency of the moment or the misapprehension of facts, I have been led to say things which had better been left unsaid ; and I have not been a little nettled when the press has been prompt enough to say that my views ought not to have been expressed. I have found myself very much helped by their cold, quiet, and sometimes terribly deliberate criticisms. I have gained in my life as much from those who have differed from me as from those who have agreed with me. I have often found myself helped by the press, when it has felt itself called upon to dissent from me. I believe for Christian zeal ; for devotion to denominational interests ; for loyalty to the truth ; for defense of the right, the editors of our religious papers rank side by side with the best men in the Christian ministry, and the best men we have anywhere among all professions. There have been times in my life that seemed to me that life presented nothing but crosses and difficulties, and that if some one would make recognition of what I was trying to do, I should be greatly helped ; and yet self-respect, as well as principle, forbade me to make the slightest effort to secure recognition of my fidelity. I remember when I came to my present charge in Chicago, there was great work to be done and I was comparatively unknown in the West. At that time, kindly—in no spirit of flattery, in no spirit of disgusting eulogy, but kindly—a little word of encouragement was spoken in one of our religious papers. It read substantially as follows: "We understand the church has been looking for a man of established reputation, but it is sometimes wise to call a man who is comparatively unknown, but who has been blest in winning souls to Christ." Then it went on to mention my name. I never shall forget, Mr. Chairman, the help that that word was to me in my own heart, and the help that it was to me in my own church. I do not know as a single representative of that paper is here to-day, and so I cannot be charged with any improper motive in alluding to it, and doubtless the fact has long since escaped the editor's memory. But I hope never to lack gratefulness for that kindness. Go back through forty years and ask yourselves briefly, how you could undertake the management of your denominational enterprises, with journalism in the condition to-day that it was then? Blot out, if you please, *The Examiner, The Standard, The National Baptist, The Journal and Messenger, The*

Western Recorder and the other papers; what would you do without them? If I were to ask every pastor here, what help had been the greatest to him in his work? wouldn't each one answer, "It has been the religious newspaper that has gone into my church." Our work is broader than our personality. It is not a question of myself, but it is a question of my work. And the question is not to ask whether the paper recognizes me, refers to me as often as I would like to have it, settles or unsettles me, but the question is, "What value is the paper to the work in which all are engaged?" I believe in what Mr. Burdette says: "If we do not want our doings represented, do not do them." Is there anyone who doubts that the meetings of this Baptist Congress are better because of having representatives of the press? I believe not. I believe that the press, because it is human, may be mistaken; I believe that it may misrepresent a speaker, but it is not right for us to sweepingly reproach the system because of incidents connected with it. I have had occasion myself to be annoyed at the misrepresentations, as it seemed to me, of language which I have used, but when I have come to take that language into my study and review it from the standpoint of a reader, and not of a hearer, it has not been difficult for me to note how it could have been misinterpreted. Let us then be grateful to the press for what it does for us, and if we feel at times that it is unfair to us, let us take the Christian, brotherly way of correcting the mistake, and let us be so careful of our words and deeds that it will be impossible for it to err. And let us not forget to give it a recognition for the wonderful service that it has rendered to the cause of Christ, and to all of us as individuals—especially the religious press.

The afternoon session was closed with the benediction by the REV. REUBEN JEFFERY, D.D., of Indianapolis, Ind.

Second Day.

Evening Session.

The Congress convened at 7.30 P. M. The HON. WM. S. HOLMAN, JR., President, in the chair. After singing by the choir, the REV. F. M. HUCKLEBERRY, of Aurora, Ind., offered prayer. The subjects for the evening were "Improvements in the Methods of Theological Education," and "Woman's Work in the Church."

The REV. W. C. WILKINSON, D.D., of Tarrytown, N. Y., read the following paper on

IMPROVEMENTS IN THE METHODS OF THEOLOGICAL EDUCATION.

Anything like a full discussion of the subject suggested in the title to this paper would include a consideration of four points, namely:

1. The Choosing of Teachers.
2. The Choosing of Students.
3. The Choosing of Subjects to be Taught.
4. The Choosing of Methods for Teaching.

Of the four important points thus stated, the stringent constraint, and just, of the present occasion, limits me to treat of but one; and that shall be the last. I take up the topic of choosing Methods for Teaching.

This topic admits of being for convenience divided into two parts, namely, first, the question of organization for the seminary as a whole, and, second, the question of procedure in the class-room, in the face to-face relation of teacher with pupil. Let us consider these two points in their order.

1. As to the organization of the seminary.

This I would completely revolutionize; the organization, that is to say, such as it is generally found among the seminaries that exist. I would make the studies of the course, all of them, elective; "elective," that is to say, in a certain sense, a sense which I will presently describe; and all of them, so, with one very important exception, an exception which I will presently name.

The sense in which I would establish the elective system is this. I would erect each department of instruction belonging to the seminary into a kind of independent sovereignty by itself, holding to the institution as a whole somewhat the relation of the individual state to the general government in our own American political system. Each department, under the autocracy of the responsible head of the department, should have full power and authority to graduate its students. Graduation from all the different departments should constitute in the end graduation from the seminary as a whole. I have thus indicated the organization actually, I believe, adopted, from the example of the University of Virginia, by the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary at Louisville, as also, more recently, from the model of the Louisville institution, by the Baptist College, a theological seminary, in Toronto. The different departments are in these institutions called "schools." There will, for example, be the "school" of Hebrew, the "school" of New Testament Exegesis, the "school" of Church History, and so on. The seminary is the collective group of these several "schools."

The obvious advantages of this plan are very great, and the disadvantages are practically nothing. The disadvantage likely first to be thought of, in instinctive objection, is that students, remitted to their own preferences, would often, in leaving out the studies to which they were least inclined, leave out the very studies of which they were most in need. But election would of course always be made by the student somewhat under the advice and direction of the faculty, whose influence could practically, in every individual instance, be carried as far as might be found desirable toward the limit of the virtually compulsory.

One advantage of the new organization recommended is that students pursuing studies elected by themselves, rather than studies required of them by others, would be pledged and incited to an indefinitely increased zeal of proficiency. The professor, on his side, meeting only students animated with such zeal, would be agreeably and helpfully stimulated to do better in teaching than under existing conditions is impossible to him. The misery of, for instance, a Hebrew professor compelled by the faculty of a cast-iron organization embracing his seminary, to drag along a dozen reluctant students, who will eventually learn nothing valuable, all for the sake of two or three eager students who, but for their loth compulsory companions, might learn thrice as much—the misery, I say, of a Hebrew professor so conditioned is an occasion for pity. The absurdity of a plan of organization that inflicts this misery on the teacher and this real wrong on the best students, is too transparent to be argued.

There is really no reason in the world, none but the impracticable inertia of a false conservatism, why the change to a rational system should not be immediately effected. Under the mediaeval system that prevails, we waste more than half our teaching force.

If it be feared that ministerial scholarship would suffer, should Hebrew and Greek no longer be required of ministerial students, two things to reassure may justly be said: First, that scholarship is not indispensable to ministers; and, second, that ministerial scholarship would gain, rather than lose, by the change proposed. You do not make scholars of men by choking Greek and Hebrew down their gorges. Some degree of relish for food is agreed by physiologists to be necessary for successful digestion. The like is true in matters of intellectual assimilation and nourishment. What you make of men by compulsory doses of Hebrew and Greek is, at most, and at best, mere sciolists in those languages. You fit them to be pretenders in scholarship, not scholars. God be thanked, men may be good preachers and not know anything of tongues save of those manners of speech wherein they were born. Undoubtedly it is better for a minister to be a good scholar in Hebrew and a good scholar in Greek, if such he may be, than it is to be utterly ignorant of those languages; but I insist it is better to be utterly ignorant of those languages than that he impose on himself or impose on others the idea of his knowing something effective in this line, when in fact he knows nothing whatever as he ought to know. The pulpit suffers perhaps less by ignorance than it suffers by vain pretensions of knowing. Scholarship is good, but genuineness is still better than scholarship. Let us have genuine scholars; and willing students will be found to have made the only genuine scholars. But let us also admit that men may make first-rate preachers, and not be more than third-rate scholars.

The historical argument in favor of organization by schools is already strong, and it grows stronger and stronger year by year. The experience of the Louisville and Toronto institutions leads, I believe, all the members of their faculties to regard their own adoption of the scheme as a measure of high advantage to both teacher and student.

So much, briefly, on the subject of changed organization for the theological seminary. I have yet, however, to name the one exception I would make to the rule of electivity for all the studies of the course. That exception should be the Bible. I would require every seminary student to go through the Bible under a teacher, before becoming a graduate, either of the seminary, or of any department in the seminary. In now and then a case, it might be well to let an ex-

amination resulting satisfactorily exempt a student from the necessity of so studying certain parts of the Bible with which he might already by exception be intelligently and effectively familiar. But graduation, either complete or partial, should always mean that the graduate is, by test, reasonably proficient in knowledge of the Bible.

Just how this comprehensive study of the Bible should be accomplished, is an important question of detail, into which I cannot here enter at large. There are weighty considerations in favor of the plan of dividing the Bible into sections for study, to be judiciously apportioned among the several departments of instruction already ordinarily existing in our theological seminaries. Thus the department of systematic theology—Biblical theology, perhaps, would be a better name—might take the more distinctively doctrinal parts of the Bible; the department of Church History, those parts which are prevailingly historical; the department of Homiletics and Pastoral Theology, those parts which contain specimens of preaching, formal or virtual, or which contain directions specially addressed to ministers, and so forth.

I here make of course the merest tentative hint toward a possible arrangement of the matter. The departments of Hebrew and New Testament Greek might reserve to themselves such portions of Scripture as they severally judged to be best adapted to serve as discipline to mastery of the languages and of the principles of Biblical interpretation—while, additionally, they should take their proportional share of such parts of the Bible as were not found naturally assignable by preference to any one particular department of instruction more than another. This whole affair is, as I have intimated, an affair of detail, which I am far from undertaking, even thus tentatively, to settle. The thing on which I feel prepared to insist is that somehow the whole Bible shall have been effectively studied by every seminary graduate, complete or partial. Let the Christian constituency in the churches signify their will, and, it may safely be trusted, a way will be found. The will is indeed full half of the way.

2. Of importance not inferior to that of the point just treated, namely, the question of organization for the seminary as a whole, is the last question that remains for present discussion, namely, the true method of procedure to be followed in the actual business of teaching, that is to say, where professor and student come to close quarters face to face with each other in the class-room. One principle should guide, that of making the process itself of learning, on the student's part—the process, I mean, irrespective of result—

become a perpetual discipline to the future minister for the work of his life. That work is preaching and pastoral care. The theological seminary exists in order to make preachers and pastors. This I assume is a postulate that will not be questioned. If scholars, if exegetes, if commentators, if professors, as distinguished from actual ministers, are also made, that, I take it, is incidental, accidental almost. The seminary is not founded, is not maintained, ought not to be administered, for that. The theological seminary, I repeat, exists in order to train preachers and pastors. Let us keep this fundamental fact in mind and govern ourselves accordingly. Let us adopt the whole course of training as directly and as uniformly as we can to that principal, proper aim for which the theological seminary exists.

Now the recluse studious habit in a man is not the right habit for a minister. The minister's true haunt is not among books, but among men. The minister's true object is, not to learn in order that he may know, but to know in order that he may teach. The mere act of acquiring knowledge is in itself, every time, a force to disqualify, rather than to qualify, the acquiring mind for the act of imparting the knowledge acquired. For this reason, the whole seminary course, as ordinarily conducted, naturally tends to unfit the student to make that practical use of his acquisitions which nevertheless is to be the one business of his subsequent life. This, of course, is all wrong, and wrong the more because it is all needless. The intellectual training imparted in the seminary admits of being imparted in such a way that the process itself in which the student engages shall be one continuous discipline to the peculiar work of his life in the ministry.

What, to a minister, is the work of his life? That work may be said to consist of two functions, the function of learning and the function of telling. This equally, whether the minister exerts himself as preacher or as pastor. The theological student, then, should be immediately put upon the way of learning things distinctly and practically with a view to telling the things that he learns. Every exercise that a class enjoys, and this indifferently with every professor, should, to every student, be an exercise in the art of imparting ideas that have been gained expressly for the purpose of being imparted. There should be no mere pouring in, on the part of professors. There ought never to be a single passive moment allowed to any student under the hand of any professor. Every moment of time in every class-room should be to every student an active moment. If a student, in his turn, listen to his teacher, or listen to a class-mate, he should, in either case, listen actively—that is, with

judgment incessantly exercised as to that which he hears, the truth of it, the value of it, the application of it, and then, besides, as to how that which he hears is said—with silent, collaborant, creative effort maintained meantime to improve, if possible, alike the thought and the expression. Every time a student “recites,” as the word goes, he should task himself to his utmost, not only to report his matter truly, but to report it clearly, strongly, elegantly; and this in point of articulation as well as in point of diction, syntax and rhetoric. He should make sentences, short or long, whenever he speaks. All this it belongs to the province of the teacher entirely to enforce. And what I now urge applies alike to work done in whatever department of instruction—Hebrew and New Testament Greek by no means excepted. It is quite too much to expect of the departments of homiletics and of elocution that they shall, by dint of a few hours of right instruction given weekly, turn out good writers and good speakers, when, four or five times as many hours weekly, every student in the seminary is subjected, in the other departments, to a dispensation of slovenly utterance in the class-room—in which perhaps some of the professors even lead and outdo their pupils in the practice of interlarding broken syntax, vicious pronunciations and bad grammar with innumerable hems and haws.

The just limits of space forbid that I should here elucidate by adequate illustration the hints I now submit as to the true law of method to be adopted in theological instruction. The fundamental maxim is, make the activity of the student a perpetual praxis in what is to constitute the work of his life, namely, the getting and the giving of truth. This principle condemns the method by lecturing, much more the method by “dictation” in lecturing; and it condemns the use of a text-book, whether the professor's own production, or the production of another man, the use of a text-book, that is to say, as constituting the *basis* of the class-room instruction. The student should himself be set upon purveying and producing. This should not be incidental, but principal, in the part that he plays. It is a great damage to any man whose vocation will make him a finder and promulgator of truth, to subject his mind, during three of the most eager and most plastic years of his life, to a process of being filled up, without originant effort of his own, with little effort of any sort indeed, except the barren effort of remembering. A human intellect that, for three choice youthful years, has been converted into a passive “dumping”-ground to receive the thoughts, the analyses, the systems, the conclusions, of other intellects, is in a poor state of preparation for the strenuous business of the preacher and the pastor. The natural thing for a man to do who has been thus

prepared for the ministry of the gospel is to serve his hearers as he has been served himself. He will first clear his "dumping"-ground of what has been loaded upon it, shovelling it off in undigested and undigestible masses, and, this done, wonder where henceforth he is going to get his sermons—now that he has preached all the metaphysics, all the church history, all the comparative religion, all the unapplied exegesis, he accumulated while in the seminary.

If the question be asked, how can what you recommend be converted from theory into practice? Why, the answer is not very hard to give, but it would occupy space beyond what is now properly at my disposal. On a future occasion I may return to the subject, should sufficient responsive interest be awakened to justify a somewhat extended exposition and illustration of the new method recommended.

I have now only to express the trust that to earnest conviction on the writer's part will be forgiven any uncorrect dogmatism in tone of expression into which the effort to be at once brief and clear and strong may here insensibly have betrayed him.

The REV. HENRY C. MABIE, D.D., of St. Paul, Minn., presented the following paper:

IS THERE A DIVINE METHOD IN THEOLOGICAL EDUCATION?

The difficulties of theological education stand confessed. Said Mr. Spurgeon, in 1882, to a company of American ministers whom he was conducting through Stockwell Orphanage, who had spent a Sunday with him in the Metropolitan Tabernacle and whose minds were next inquiring as to his Theological School. "Ah, brethren; it's an easy matter yourself to preach the gospel to hungry multitudes, or to care for orphaned children, but when you come to the making of ministers; that's another thing. I confess that's a work that's beyond me."

The deep question everywhere arising, questionings of which the discussion of this hour is itself a sign, are all indicative of a profound search after better methods of instruction than we have yet had, and we shall have them.

However imperfect methods in the past have been, we should be prompt to recognize the elements of untold value in these same methods. No one in this presence should be more cordial than the speaker in bearing personal testimony to the eminent power and piety of theological teachers whom he has known, at the feet of some of whom he has sat, and from whom he has drawn some of the best

inspirations of his life. It is easy to demand too much of the Seminary. The Seminary cannot do everything and it ought not to be asked to do it. The family, the church, the pastors of the churches, the academies and colleges back of the Seminary, as nursing fathers and nursing mothers, of the rising ministry, are primarily responsible for the numbers and the quality of ministerial students. We must each in our department lay this matter to heart and bear our fair share of the burden.

Wherein theological education is not yet all it should be, of course we should improve it. In this discussion we are asked to let shine whatever light there is in us, and to state wherein and how we would improve the methods. Fundamental improvement in the method of doing anything can never be made except as the divine method is discovered and applied. As reaching to the core of the questions before us, I venture then to propound the inquiry: Is there a divine method, a natural order, in theological education?

There is a presumption that there is such a method, from the fact that the work under consideration is in its very nature a work of divine teaching—preeminently God's own work.

What has been God's method in divinity teaching—in teaching the teachers?

When God would perfect his instruction to the world He followed a definite order; that order was:

1. To incarnate the truth in the person of his Son, "God who at sundry times and in divers manners spake in time past—unto the fathers by the prophets, hath in these last days spoken unto us in his son." "The word, the Logos, the doctrine was made flesh and dwelt among us."

2. The next step, following naturally in God's method, was to set his Son in right social relations to his fellows—normally, to relate him to society.

3. The next step was the growth in the Son of Man of that spiritual insight, resulting from the doing of the truth, which enabled him to speak with authority.

4. The last and chief step was a devotion of himself to his task, even unto death, with the correspondent resurrection to "a name which is above every name."

My postulate is that this historic process of the Word made flesh, bore within it the sum of all wisdom in the past, as well as the archetype of all natural and true teaching in the future. There is more than a presumption that this is so; there are abundant proofs. I hint the following:

The apotheosis of wisdom in the book of Proverbs is prophetic of Christ.

Jesus said, "As (*Kathōs*) the Father hath sent me even so send I you," *i. e.*, according as—in the same method—to incarnate me, to re-relate me to the world, to re-discern and teach the truth from inward experience of it, and to die with me and rise again in the dignity of the glorified new creation.

The Apostles did historically re-enact this method in the discharge of their mission. This is especially manifest in the Apostle Paul, who said, "For me to live is Christ—and to die is gain."

The promise of the Comforter to succeed Christ declared that he would dwell in believers, and so in the same order re-enact Christ's life and works.

The history of the Church has made good that promise.

The analogy of all real and natural teaching in any department involves the same order. No method of teaching can be true which ignores the elements or violates the order which Jesus embodied in himself. To really have Christ is to have a true method; and to have a true method is just so far to have Christ and to preach him. The reproduction of Christ's life should especially characterize in all times the methods of instruction theological.

Postulating, then, that there is in theological instruction a natural and divine method, we state the following as the four governing laws of a Seminary method, which would do Christ's own work in Christ's own way:

It is required of a Seminary:

1. To incarnate and thus exemplify in its individual teachers an experimental, educated piety.
2. To illustrate in the membership of the Seminary an ideal society for the intercommunication of grace.
3. To awaken and exercise the habit of insight into the spiritual laws of Christ's Kingdom.
4. To rescue the membership of the Seminary from the current delusion of self-assertion, and, instead thereof, to ground them in the Christ-spirit of self-re-nunciation.

I. First, then, in the method of the Seminary it is requisite that there be in the teaching force of the institution an incarnation of the experimental scholarly piety sought for its pupils.

I do not mean merely that the theological teacher should be a scholar who is also converted. I do not mean that the teacher should be a Christian who is also scholarly. I do not even mean that the teacher should be a Christian scholar who has once for all laid his learning on the altar for sacred ends.

A teacher may be all this, and yet fail to embody what I mean.

I mean this that the teacher shall be indeed a Christian every inch, a scholarly Christian, and one, indeed, who shall have laid down the sum total of his attainments on Christ's altar, but I also include in my conception this, that our scholarly Christian teacher, on the pattern of his original consecration, shall so carry out his consecration as that it will result in a continual evangelical experience of divine things in his own soul.

Accordingly, his work will be done not formally, professionally, but experimentally, and the teacher himself will illustrate and glorify the truth he teaches. Spiritual living, even in ministers, is the last thing you can take for granted. The mistake of Christian teachers everywhere, Seminaries included, is that they do take it for granted; hence they neglect to cultivate it, erroneously supposing that the chief matter will care for itself.

Meanwhile the enemy sows the field for a harvest of tares. A deepening insight into my own evil heart, and an intimate knowledge of the inward experience of many ministers in several States and from all our Seminaries, has disclosed to me this, that ministers, like other men, are ever falling into a formal, naturalistic vein of thought and life characteristic of our age, and do so far unwittingly fall out of the relations of grace. They lose inward peace, and clear consciousness of grace in their work; they go astray from God and lose even the clue to restoration.

That the Seminary in some way has unconsciously misled its students at the very point where right guidance is indispensable is a fair inference.

There is abroad more than a suspicion that in cases not a few the teachers themselves are misled. There is an evil quite as serious as the much vaunted new theology—nay, which goes far to account for falsely new theology.

That evil is the loss on the part of revered representatives of the evangelical system of the manifest power of the supernatural, the only salt which can save any system from corruption, or make it worth the cost of propagation.

The theological teacher, in spite of himself, will impress upon his pupil the exact transcript of what he himself is.

Christ was the Word, the teaching of God, especially in this, that he was the truth personified, which in the Bible is only written and in nature is simply hieroglyphed. Said Jesus: "I am the way and the truth and the life." The version of the inspired word most really demanded if Christianity is to assert its ancient power, is not one revised in the Jerusalem Chamber or published in Oxford, but that

version which has become transmuted into human experience, which re-incorporates the life of Christ, and is published abroad by the Holy Ghost.

The life of the theological teacher should be preeminently such a version daily read of all men, because he is the teacher of the teachers. If he becomes this his chief daily study then must be Christ himself—not a text book, but a typical person—with whom through the book he daily communes, whom he so intimately knows as that into his image he is ever being transformed.

Paul wrote to the Corinthians, “ But we all with face unveiled, reflecting as a mirror the glory of the Lord, are transformed into the same image from glory to glory.”

With what peculiar force may we urge that the faces of the instructors of our ministry need to shine unveiled, reflecting the Lord's glory through every class room, and manifesting the transfiguration to every beholder.

Lord Peterboro, who had entertained Fenelon as a guest, declared after his departure, “ I could not have remained two hours longer in the presence of that man without becoming a Christian.”

As the halo on the face of Moses and Stephen was their authentication, so the glory of the inward life shining through was Fenelon's. If God really shines in our hearts “ to give the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ,” will it not stream through our faces upon others ?

Said Bunsen to his saintly wife, who bent over him in his dying hour, “ In your Christian life, my dear, I have seen the face of the Eternal.”

Per Contra, so sure as the living power of the Gospel as an inward experience and as an outward authentication of the teacher to his pupil is wanting, a living ministry cannot be trained thereby ; ministers like their teachers will be “ as graves which appear not and the men that walk over them are not aware of them,”—dead and buried with no sign to mark the grave.

II. It is required of a true Seminary-method to illustrate in the membership of the Seminary an ideal society for the inter-communication of grace. There is a normal, Christian, social relationship between souls through which grace flows from each to each.

We discard sacramental communication of grace by ordinances, by imposition of hands in ordination, or by priestly unction. There is, however, a Scriptural doctrine of the mutual ministering of grace between human souls as they come into right relations with each other, which our Seminaries have been too slow, or too careless, to formulate and to impress on their pupils.

The Apostle Peter in his first Epistle, Chapter 4, Verse 10, says : " As every man hath received the gift (*Charisma*, anointing), even so minister the same one to another, as good stewards of the manifold grace of God." This teaching of the Apostle implies that there is a communicating of grace by means of an anointing—a something to abide upon us. Grace is to be imparted. Impartation implies sympathy, fellowship and power from above.

The gift received implies a stewardship on the part of the recipient ; and as the grace of God is manifold, so men in every rank according as they have had poured upon themselves are to pour upon others the holy oil. To fail to communicate is to stop the flow upon ourselves ; to deny the stewardship is to have the trust withdrawn. After that we have the Christian, the minister, the church there still remain the problem of so relating all these to society, as that a good stewardship over human souls may be discharged. A fundamental law in the universe is " all life from life." The Chief conception of the Christian minister is that of a man himself spiritually alive, becoming the medium through whom life is being communicated to other souls spiritually dead. In the training of ministers the chief problem is how to so qualify them as that they may become good mediums of Jesus Christ, transmitting to others the grace which they have received.

In all our Christian society the main question is how to bring about such a state of fellowship and inter-relation between the members of Christ's body as that grace may flow unobstructed as in holy conduits from heart to heart. Now I submit, that in whatever conditions of human society there may exist impediments to the ready communication of grace from life to life, there can be no apology received for the existence of such impediments in the inter-relations of the theological seminary. Here, if anywhere in earthly society, the true relationship should exist and be conspicuous for its heavenliness. A theological professor who is not himself, by an anointing from above, so living the spiritual life as to help his brethren to live it with increasing blessedness while in the seminary, is off his true method. He may have a special stewardship for the ministering of History or Homiletics, or Hermeneutics, but it must never supplant the higher stewardship of ministering grace.

All stilted or artificial relation as between preceptor and pupil in the seminary should be at a minimum. A schoolmastership may mark a necessary stage in juvenile or early academic training, but surely by the time Christ is come, in the voluntary gathering in a seminary of a body of men divinely called to preach Christ's Gospel, men should no longer be under a schoolmaster.

A chief requisite in that institution is evangelical fraternity.

Pupils need early to learn—learn by experience and by conspicuous example in the seminary society itself, the laws of reconstructing or deepening fellowship between believers. Out of fellowship grows that religious power, ascribed in the Gospel to the united prayer, of even two souls before God. Unless the seminary pre-eminently maintain this “unity of the spirit in the bonds of peace,” the teachers themselves will be insulated against close contact with each other, and against close impact upon their pupils, do what they may besides.

Pride, ambition, jealousies, strifes, are mischievous anywhere, but they are particularly fatal, emanating from a school of ministers. Where they exist fellowship is at an end, and the relations become chaotic, even devilish. James says, “Where jealousy and faction are, there is confusion and every vile deed.”

I have heard of a theological professor in America who became the victim of jealousy and opposition, and finally withdrew from the institution in which he held a professorship, because he sought to come upon familiar ground with the students, relaxed the stiffness of pedantic, professional dignity, and won above his fellows the confiding love of his classes. “He was not ashamed to call them brethren.” Happily, blessed contrasts to this prevail, but they need ten fold more to be cultivated by all our professors.

Among the most touching things told by the pupils of Prof. Tholuck, of Halle, is that of his constant custom to take his pupils arm in arm, and one by one, in his garden walks, and draw them out in their great questionings, and impart himself to their receptive souls. He would often entice them to his own household and family altar, to engage them with himself and wife in prayer, until like a triple flame of some vestal’s offering, their spirits ascended Godward together.

III. It is requisite in a true seminary method to awaken and exercise the habit of insight into the spiritual laws of Christ’s Kingdom. “Habitual,” I say. That spiritual things are spiritually discerned we all abundantly insist upon in dealing with an inquirer in the thrall of mental doubt, but that the truth is perpetually applicable is greatly overlooked by some teachers of religion.

The Apostle John says: “For we know that the Son of God is come and hath given us an understanding that we may know him that is true, (or real) and we are in Him that is true, even in His Son Jesus Christ. This is the true God and eternal life.’ We have given unto us an understanding (*diánoian*), a thorough knowledge, an insight, *i.e.*, an experimental knowledge, the thought is, given us to

abide in us, so long as we abide in Christ. We are familiar with the birth of the Christian consciousness at conversion, when first a new spirit is enthroned in us, and the inward man is illumined. That such a Christian consciousness is to be a constantly increasing quantity is surely no strange thing. "For what man knoweth the things of a man, save the spirit of a man which is in him? Even so the things of God knoweth no man but the spirit of God." I do not use the term "Christian consciousness" in the sense that some of the new theologians do—a sense which implies that solar time may be corrected by a vest-pocket chronometer—I mean rather that in-breathed mind of the Spirit which comes from above to the really spiritual.

The Scripture cannot be intrinsically known nor deeply understood except by the illumination of the same mind which inspired it. Precious as the Scripture is, it is still but an outward revelation. In order to see light in God's light, we need an abiding, inward revelation also.

The Scriptures are like a sun-dial, which is in itself complete, graven with all the hours, and with a gnomon so prepared as to cast the exact shadow, but the dial requires for its practical value, light, the sun's light. Let the clouds overcast the sun, and let there only be a reflection as in the moonlight, and the gnomon tells no hour on the dial plate.

Says Delitzsch: "The Apostles determined the meaning of Scripture, not according to the consciousness of the Old Testament writers, but according to the meaning of the Holy Spirit, who passes into them as the one Auctor Primarius." Into us modern interpreters this same primal author must needs pass, affording us his own illumination as to the inward meaning and application of Scripture to ourselves.

Says one: "Neither shall you tear out one another's eyes over plenary inspiration and such like; try rather to get a little, even partial inspiration, each of you for himself. One Bible I know, of whose plenary inspiration doubt is not so much as possible; nay, with my own eyes, I saw the God's hand-writing."

Origen says: "No one can understand the Gospel of John, the chief of the Gospels, except by reclining on the bosom of Jesus, and so far indeed he must become another John, as John by sympathy became another Jesus. The inward mind of revelation must need be written by the Holy Ghost, as with a subtle, sympathetic ink in the consciousness of the interpreter, if he is to read out the shadowy lines in the palimpsest which underlie its surface letter."

The Bible is a great cryptogram, the cipher of which is ever in the

custody of its Holy Author. Says Peter: "We have a more sure word of prophecy whereunto ye do well to take heed as unto a light that shineth in a dark place until the day dawn and the day star arise in your hearts; knowing this first that no prophecy of the Scripture is of any private interpretation."

Now to fix in students a habit of spiritual inseeing there must be insisted upon a habitual application of such spiritual laws as lie imbedded in the Scriptures under review in the class room.

The mere examination of textual contents, however critical, can never amount to real Bible study. In addition, there must be ethical application by professors and students, every man to his own life. For example: In the unbelief of Israel at Kadesh, the student needs to discover his own fears of difficulties that stagger him in his own life of faith and resolve for himself to enter the Canaan rest then and there, instead of after forty years of the disciplinary judgments of God. If the passage be the Search of the Magi for the infant Lord, one should read the laws of a model search after God. If the portion studied be the Miraculous Draft of Fishes, one should discern the laws of a miraculous draft of men. In the Feeding of the Five Thousand, the student should discover the principles on which famished humanity may be fed even with five loaves and two fishes of human resources, if these resources be really gotten into Christ's hands.

Now my insistence is, that neither the professor in his relations, nor the student in his, has properly prepared himself on the portion in hand for the class, until in addition to the critical work done, each has drawn out the ethical principles applicable to himself, and in conformity to the mind of Jesus Christ, he has obeyed them.

Tithe your mint, anise and cummin, but omit not the weightier matter of the law, judgment, mercy and faith. Knowledge is never an end in itself, to be cultivated merely for its own sake, any more than art is to be cultivated for art's sake. These and all things are for Christ's sake. All else is atheism, disguise it as we may. Study about the Bible, important as such study in its place may be, is not a sufficient end; spiritual assimilation of the Scripture's inward substance always is. Study of the Bible as an object of study must forever stand, par excellence, on a plain transcendently above all other objects, inasmuch as the object bears within itself the law of its study; such study preeminently involves a subjective transformation of the student into the image of Him who was the Word personified. To acquire the lesson which Bible study sets is to become Christ like. But some one will say: "How can the seminary do so much within its limited time?" My answer is: "That there is no time

ever to study Scripture in any other way—certainly in any other spirit. Besides, it will be found that half the hour in class often given to free interchange of thought and experience, and even to prayer and action on Scripture laws underlying the lesson and thus brought into life, would more than compensate for any amount of mere head work.

The thing supplied would prove a mental tonic, intellectualism would rise to intuition, sentiment to divine life. Even Emerson testifies: "It is certain that worship stands in some commanding relation to the health of man and to his highest power, so as to be in some manner the source of intellect."

Were recitation rooms thus hallowed by the consecration of the reason to the Spirit, instead of being mere arenas for the exercise of conventional thought and morals, they would become Mounts of Transfiguration whereon pupils and teachers together with veiled faces would fall before the ineffable glory, and rise up to cast out devils at the foot of the Mount.

IV. The true method in a seminary education should rescue its members from the current delusion of self-assertion, and instead thereof should ground them in the Christ-spirit of self-renunciation. "Sacrifice alone," says Robertson, "bare and unrelieved, is ghastly, unnatural and dead; but self-sacrifice illuminated by love, is warmth and life, it is the death of Christ, the life of God, the blessedness and only proper life of man." "Whosoever shall seek his life shall lose it, and whosoever shall lose his life shall preserve it (alive)," or "give it a living birth."

True discipleship is to follow Jesus in the regeneration—a process of dying in a lower form of life in order to live in a higher. This is the central import of baptism. "Thus—life, by a process of dying and living again—it becometh us to fulfill all righteousness."

And yet so entirely human is the human heart, that straightway, even after a real conversion, the old man endeavors to reassert himself, and ever will till death ends the strife. Though by the terms of conversion and baptism the old man is buried, yet he is buried alive, and often rises and stalks forth ghastly enough in a carnal resurrection. In our generation temptations are peculiarly strong and peculiarly subtle, for even ministers to fall into this habit of asserting the natural man. American civilization is marked by the prominence of this thing, from the casting off the yoke of past tyrannies, and the declaration of the equality and kingship of all souls—a matter true enough in the relations of earthly citizenship—we easily slide into the assumption that in Godward relations this self-asser-

tion is equally warranted. We also assume that this assertion is power.

The exact opposite is true. Even false religions recognize that. Buddhism, Mohammedanism, Romanism, and even Transcendentalism, as represented by Goethe, Carlyle and Emerson, depend for all their power over the human mind on some modified form of self-sacrifice. These systems are not unmitigated falsehoods. They are a partial gospel. The gospel element in them is this, that they hold out to men some prospect of release from themselves. Christianity offers not only release from self, but possession by the Lord. It is the chronic weakness of modern Christianity that it does not, with a whole gospel at hand, seize upon it, especially this latter element, with a firmer grasp, and so realize its ancient and native power.

The whole gospel comprises in it two elements, renunciation even unto death and triumphant resurrection; twin parts of one indivisible experience. The resurrection cannot be known except as the renunciation precedes. Grace comes in when the carnal man goes out. We say, "Nature abhors a vacuum." So does the God of higher nature, *i. e.* of grace, and forever presses more than fifteen pounds to the square inch to enter every soul that vacates to God. Many a minister, with all his boasted enlightenment, has gone on through half his life trying to avoid the cross, living in a sort of nightmare of mortal dread of an invisible something, as a failure or poverty, holding on to himself to avert the catastrophe, whereas, if he could have believed enough in God—or which would have amounted to the same thing—despaired enough of self to let go of himself, let the thing most dreaded come and do its worst, and have risked himself in the hands of God's ultimatum, however dreadful, he would suddenly have awaked as by a strange surprise in a new heaven and a new earth.

He would have proved all his fears but miserable spectres, mere lying illusions, and have vanished them to their shades forever.

Renunciation, if it only be complete, has its glorious, supernatural counterpart, which experience of it only can conceive.

Evangelical renunciation is not then one that ends in itself as in Naturalism, now in mere fatality as in Islamism, nor in penance, as in Romanism; it is not even a renunciation which in the hard, cold terms of law, phrases itself as obedience to authority. It is a renunciation constrained by the love of Christ, impelled by the spirit of God, perhaps occasioned by the providence of God, which advances with Jesus into the death stream itself, surrenders all, and, to use Dr. Peabody's phrase, "like the mid-summer's sun when on the verge of the Arctic circle, just dips below the horizon, and lo! from the very

twilight of its setting bursts the glorious dawn of a resurrection day."

Such a renunciation bears fruits. First of all it leads to the highest as well as the truest individualism of the pupil, securing to us, each in his measure, instead of mechanical automatons, Davids and Pauls and Peters, and Johns.

Such renunciation by the very supernaturalism of the Gospel, issues also in heightened powers. Succeeding that burial, instead of corruption and decay, there is a lifting up of the holy one in Christ's image from the death-wave, and lo! the opening heavens, the descending dove, and the Father's voice approving him in a new power to the world. Hear both the command and the ideal: "Have this mind in you which was also in Christ Jesus, who, being in the form of God, counted it not a prize to be on an equality with God, but emptied himself, taking the form of a servant, being made in the likeness of man, and being found in fashion as a man, he humbled himself, becoming obedient even unto death, even the death of the cross, wherefore also God highly exalted him, and gave him a name which is above every name, that in the name of Jesus every knee should bow."

This is the very essence of the Gospel, wrought first in the experience of our Lord, and to be re-enacted in the experience of all who are to reign with Him.

Perhaps there is no alternative for poor, purblind human nature but to go on in its strong-nerved, lion-hearted will-power, destroying itself in a vain wrestling with the Infinite. Experimentally it is usually so: men resist God like a salmon on a line, running out the full limit of the reel, now sulking on the bed of the stream, then plunging into the air through a series of frantic curves and splashes, hoping to disengage the hook or break rod or line, until panting with exhaustion and drowned in its own element, it lies on the surface of the stream conquered, to be drawn to shore by a thread. This experience of self-exhaustion has in it all the elements at conversion, but the convert will not stay converted. He renounced, but he asserts again his old self, and so through the same experience he must needs be brought again and perhaps many times in the successive crises of life before he can so learn the lesson as to habitually abide in it. Human nature is indeed a stubborn element to deal with. The seminary can neither eradicate nor unmake it. It may insist, however, that when those two gladiators—the flesh and the spirit—meet in a death grapple that the former must succumb. Bourdaloue was on occasion discoursing before the Court of Louis XIV, on the Two Natures in the Seventh of Romans. When he had

reached the height of his portraiture of the two men, the King wrought to a high pitch exclaimed, "Ah, those two men, I know them well;" Bourdaloue, pausing a moment and eyeing the King, replied, "'Twere well already to have known them, sire; but one of them must perish." Should a school for ministers leave anyone in doubt which one?

The responsibility of the seminary is very great. This is the crucial point in a true method of instruction. To fail at this point is in its measure as if Christ himself, in his world-saving career, having truly lived out his divine-human service, to the point of his arrest in Gethsemane, had then recoiled from the cross that was preparing for Golgotha.

Instruction, to be successful, at this point involves a profound realization of the calamities attending a mere self-seeking life. This is sure to be realized if there has been in the teacher an experimental discovery of it in himself, a repentance of it, and a deliverance from it, but let him tell it out to the brethren of the faculty, and to every member of his classes.

Let him commit himself again and again before the very eyes of his fellows. The effect will take care of itself.

Then right instruction involves on the part of the teacher an indwelling and blessed sense of the positive compensations in grace for every thing lost through self-crucifixion. This was the only glorying in which Paul ever indulged—"That I may know him and the power of his resurrection, and the fellowship of his sufferings, being made conformable unto his death" (and between the lines, "being made conformable to his resurrection" also). When this blessed sense comes to the teacher—and come it will if he be divinely qualified and led in his work—let him also tell this out—tell it often, tell it heartily, as so much testimony for Christ. The theological professor is under as real obligation and in a degree a thousand fold enhanced, to give testimony, as is the convert of yesterday. Testimony will be, after all, his chief function, his highest power. Its power to bring others into kindred experience is invincible; nay, more, if such testimony be withheld, as if Christ had withheld that from the woman at the well of Sychar, or from the Apostles in his last discourse, or his appearances after his resurrection, as really as he would have diminished his own joy and lost power over those who heard him, so really will the teacher lose his own blessedness, and his work will set in a cloud of night.

Granting then that the ideal Seminary of our prayers and hopes is an institution of the churches, which shall find its way into and preserve the natural and divine order of teaching and transforming

men, repeating Christ's life, even unto death and glorification, we have seen that the Seminary must first of all provide teachers, who themselves incarnate the truth. Secondly, it must establish that blessed social relationship between its members, wherein, in actual living, grace shall flow from each to each.

The Seminary is indeed a gymnasium for drill, but it is also a communion feast of the elders of Israel on the lofty mount, where together they "see God and do eat and drink."

Thirdly. Consequent upon this, spiritual eyes will be opened and men will see with the intuition of God and feel the infinite nature of duty.

Fourthly. When this vision shall have come, there will remain but one step more to power supernatural, and that is to submit to duty now perceived in the light of God, even unto death. "Unto death?" Yes "the death of the day star whose death is Day."

Rare lines from quaint old Herbert tell the whole story :

Holinesse on the head,
Light and perfections on the breast,
Harmonious bells below raising the dead
To lead them unto life and rest,
Thus are true Aarons drest.

Profanenesse in my head,
Defects and darknesse in my breast,
A noise of passions ringing me for dead
Unto a place where is no rest,
Poore priest, thus am I drest.

Onely another head
I have, another heart and breast,
Another musick, making live not dead,
Without whom I could have no rest;
In him I am well drest.

Christ is my onely head,
My alone only heart and breast,
My onely musick, striking me even dead
That to the old man I may rest,
And be in him new drest.

So, holy in my head,
Perfect and light in my deare breast
My doctrine tun'd by Christ (who is not dead
But, lives in me while I do rest),
Come people, Aaron's drest.

In the discussion of this subject the REV. S. A. NORTHROP of Fort Wayne, Ind., said :

I am sincerely in accord with the mature thoughts expressed by the writers of these two papers. In my humble opinion there is great need of improvement in our seminaries respecting the spiritual atmosphere of the student. To his professors he naturally looks for direction and bias in the moral development of his nature. That this is and has been neglected in the two or three years of theological education scores in this audience, I am certain, will readily testify. I found a want of spiritual edification in my training for the ministry. Had it not been for one prayerful professor, who believed in me and took me by the arm and talked with me at a crisis in my studies, I would not be in the pulpit. Again, another improvement, it seems to me, is to impress upon the junior at the very beginning of his course that he should seek for discipline to make him not only a preacher of the gospel, but a pastor, a leader, an organizer, a many-sided and fruitful originator of practical methods and to bring the multitude to God. In other words, the idea should be driven into the mind of every student in theology that in this day and age of the world something more is required of a pastor than merely to frame and deliver an excellent sermon. Such practical questions as these should be at a proper period of his training discussed in the class room: How to reach the masses? How to lead a prayer meeting? How to develop a Sunday school? How to win souls? How to keep them after they are won? How to reach the young? How to conduct revivals and how to have them annually? How the pastor can be his own evangelist? How to manage church boards—The relation of the pastor to his deacons? How to keep a church alive? How to adapt one's self to men or to read human nature? That these questions are not generally agitated in theological schools is clearly evident, for the reason that our graduates, as soon as they close behind them the door of the seminary, anxiously ask these very questions and others of those who are our most successful pastors. I am glad however that some of our theological schools are changing old-time methods in this respect by securing our most successful pastors to deliver lectures before the classes upon these and other practical subjects which relate to an aggressive soul-saving ministry. Let there be a revolution in some of the methods which I have referred to in our seminaries and there will be better preachers, better pastors and better leaders.

The second subject of the evening

“WOMAN'S WORK IN THE CHURCH”

was introduced in an address by the REV. WM. M. LAWRENCE, D. D., of Chicago, Ill., who said :

Mr. President, Fathers and Brethren of the Baptist Congress :

In attempting to address you upon this subject, it is necessary that we keep before us certain limitations. I assume that the subject is, “That work in a church which belongs to woman chiefly or only.” It may not be an unnecessary narrowing of the theme to plan its boundaries between that work which chiefly concerns woman as a member of the Baptist church. It will facilitate the examination to keep these limits in view, because in most discussions of this character the question is really resolved into an inquiry regarding the relative values of the same work as done by either sex. It is readily and cordially admitted that much work can be done in the same field by both sexes. The Sunday school teacher may be a man or a woman, and rare instances are known where the excellent quality of the work eclipses all consideration of the sex doing it. I think similar instances may be admitted in other directions, but this is not our topic. Our theme is, What may a Christian woman do, and what may she not do because of the teachings of the Scripture? It is very important also to remember the spirit of this inquiry. It is not because woman is a nonentity in religious work, and the time has come for calling out her energies that we discuss the question, for it is granted cheerfully, gratefully and promptly, that she has exhibited wonderful activity and accomplished marvels since she has attempted service for the Master. It is because of her conservative efficiency; because of her growing influence and importance; and because we may see some of the danger which threatens her usefulness by those who, in their unwise efforts to advance her interests, would deprive her of her chief charm, her womanhood, that this topic finds a place to-day.

Never can we forget the consecrated services of one woman whose name is familiar to every lover of our land—Mrs. Bishop, nor the devoted labors of another woman whose heart sympathizes with those still in the regions of darkness—Mrs. Robert Harris, and as we gather here to-night in this room where the first money was raised for our Baptist Training School, who of us could forget the sweet word and gentle tact of our brother's noble sister—Mary G. Burdette. And if our thoughts take wider scope, we might ask: what would

temperance be without Miss Willard? what would philanthropy be without the name of Elizabeth Fry whose association in name with John Howard does honor to both sexes? To-day there are only three statues of women in England—at least it is so stated. One is to Queen Anne; the second to Queen Victoria; the third to Dorothy Pattison, better known as “Sister Dora,” who went to Walsall, England, in 1864, when the place was afflicted by a terrible outbreak of small-pox, nursing the sick and the dying; with her own hands laying out and burying the dead. She performed friendly offices that no man dared to do, and yet so violent was the antipathy, that she was stoned and driven from the streets of Walsall, with all manner of abuse; but so great was her love, and so faithful was her devotion, that she won over the multitude of ruffianly men and women, and became known as “Our Sister Dora,” and at last, falling a victim to her work, the laboring men gathered together countless small contributions from the poor and erected a statue to her, because they wanted her face, and her cap, and her gown cut in marble. I am careful to be explicit in these matters, for it is often thought when anything is said that is critical in regard to the work of women, that there is a design to undervalue her services, or to relegate her to a place of obscurity. How preposterous such an assumption is, is apparent when it is remembered that over one half, if not three-fourths of our membership, are females; and that every enterprise connected with the church would fall were it not for the patience and aspiring assistance lent by women. But our sisters themselves are asking questions concerning the proportion of female workers and the amount of labor and the results accomplished. The other day, while dining with some gentlemen, I introduced the subject of this paper. I may as well state here, parenthetically, that since accepting this invitation, I have made the life of my friends a burden by imitating Socrates, and by propounding questions connected with this subject. I think I have solicited information in the majority of states and territories in the North. Well, at this dinner, I asked a bachelor friend as to his opinion of woman’s work. His reply came very quickly and with much earnestness, “We have too much of it.” Horrified, but not altogether astonished at this answer, I turned and addressed a gentleman whose married life had not extended over many years, and his response came quite as promptly as did that of the other, “We have too little of it.” Now, I think if we take both answers, and say we have too much work done by a few women, we present a fair view of the case. Our sisters have two societies for foreign work, one in the East and one in the West, as though this country were divided. They have two great societies for home work, and

different state societies for the same work. When we come to examine the purely local aspect of the question, it is not seldom that we find the same women representing a church, not only in these societies, but also in most of the philanthropic, undenominational societies ; while if we become more specific, we note the fact that about all church work—the home church work—devolves upon a few and the same women. Such instances are not rare. We find the same woman as an official in the home and foreign missionary societies, connected with the various city organizations, also a Sunday-school teacher, and a most important factor in church work. And she is all this, not because she is ambitious to occupy so many stations, but because it appears necessary to have so many divisions of woman's work, and she seems to be altogether the most available, as well as the most suitable person to be connected with them. Meantime she is getting nervous ; her Christian patience is called upon to endure an unnatural strain ; her physical strength is impaired ; her domestic duties, while not neglected in any way, become extremely arduous, and her opportunity for quiet and for religious meditation, and for the cultivation of personal piety vanishes, and all because of so many societies and duties and so few women engaged in them. We conscientiously affirm that it is possible, desirable and necessary to reduce the female work in our churches to a less number of organizations. The very fact that there are so many societies is one of the reasons why so few women are engaged. They are afraid of becoming involved in an unending round of work ; they are afraid that if they begin to be identified with the work in any one direction, that it may mean that they will find themselves ultimately compelled to surrender the privacy of their lives, and the opportunity for religious growth. It is true that such reasons as this do not apply to all, as there are many women who have abundance of leisure, but are not engaged at all in church work. But they are the exceptions.

Let us undertake now to discover just exactly what recognition of woman's service is made in the Scripture. Beginning in the days of our Saviour, we find that to her He unfolded the greatest truths connected with His life and work, that in her presence He performed the greatest miracles, and in her companionship he found rest, and the opportunity for the exercise of the largest mercy. There are no sermons more tender than those preached upon the "Well-curb" at Samaria to a woman. It was the brother of Martha and Mary ; it was the only son of a widowed mother ; it was a little maiden whom He called forth from death to life ; it was a woman who anointed Him for his burial ; it was a woman to whom He appeared in the

early morn of the resurrection. It is more than poetry, it is the statement of a sublime fact when our churches sing "Last at the cross and earliest at the grave." And when we pass over into apostolic times, we find that woman's work is distinctly recognized in the New Testament writings of Paul. A woman is the first convert of Europe; womanhood has attained to such prominence in the church that he called for recognition of her services, and when, in one instance, two of them seemed to have had an unhappy difference, he begs them to be of one mind in the Lord. But let us be more specific in this matter. Was woman's work ever officially recognized in the church? Did she ever hold office? Was she ever set apart thereto for our own service? We cannot but feel that such is the absolute fact. There seems to be indisputable proof that her services were officially recognized in three different ways: as Deaconess, as Widow, and as Virgin. The latter organization seems to have been purely voluntary. The allusions are rare and unsatisfactory, and yet are sufficient to lead us to feel that there were those hearts that felt that in the voluntary assumption of celibacy, in the devotion of themselves to their church, in surrendering all hope of social ties, they found the highest expression of affection for their Lord and Master, who had redeemed them. Concerning the second class mentioned, it would seem that in the early church those widows who were without means of support were cared for by the church. It would also seem that their piety was of so high a character as that they were set apart to a service of prayer and soliciting alms, "asking without shame, and receiving without stint." To this class were afterward added those Deaconesses who became too infirm to carry on their work. Now, it is just here that there seems to be confusion; because on the one hand it seems to be evident that while now and then a Deaconess was chosen from the ranks of the Virgins—a very rare thing—that in the main they seemed to have been selected from the ranks of those who were both widows and mothers. It is, however, more especially with the office of Deaconess that we have to do this time. The title is found in Romans 16:1, in connection with the name of Phebe. The Deaconesses seemed to have exercised duties parallel to those of the deacons. The reason for the office existed in the social relations which the sexes sustained to each other. They administered the chrism in the ordinance of baptism; they stood at the doors of the churches and directed the females to their seats in the churches; they instructed their own sex in the duties and privileges of church membership, prior to and after baptism. Then she was set apart in the early church by a form of ordination in which the Bishop prayed as follows: "Eternal God, Father of

our Lord Jesus Christ, Creator of man and of woman ; Thou who didst fill with Thy spirit Miriam, Debora, Hannah and Huldah ; Thou who didst in the tabernacle and the temple place female keepers of Thy Holy Gates, look down now also upon this thy hand-maiden, and bestow on her the Holy Ghost, that she may worthily perform the work counted of her to Thine honor, and the glory of Christ."

She also came as an intermediary between women and the clergy. No woman was permitted to have direct communication with the clergy. But she was not ordained to preach ; she was not permitted to " Bless," and while the communion was served to her after it was given to the deacons, she was not considered as officiating in any service independently of the supervision exercised over her by the male clergy.

The office appears to have existed in the Greek Church until the 12th century. The noblest type of an apostolic deaconess which has come down to us is Olympias, the friend of Chrysostom, and the recipient of seventeen beautiful epistles from him. Sprung from a respectable heathen family ; educated as a Christian ; beautiful and wealthy ; she married in her seventeenth year, but was a widow at twenty, and remained so, in spite of the efforts of the Emperor Theodosius, to unite her to one of his own kin.

She lived in strict asceticism ; dividing her goods with the poor, and found her greatest pleasure in doing good ; died in 420, lamented by all the poor and needy in Constantinople.

It would seem that the cause of decadence of this order was due to many causes ; among which we may name the jealousy of the clergy in recognizing the order as a clerical one ; also the fact that many of those who were ordained as deaconesses, though threatened with the severest penalties, violated their obligation of celibacy and became united in marriage ; also to the discontinuance of the practice of immersion, which made it unnecessary for the special intervention of women ; and also change in the social relation of the sexes. It remains, however, to be said that the necessity for the existence of such organizations has always been felt, and that from time to time various efforts have been made to revive them. At the time of the Reformation, a serious attempt was made to re-construct the order, and it seems to have centered among the Anabaptists. In 1580, after considerable agitation, the Reformed Church recommended that it should be re-instituted in the same form and character as described by the Apostle Paul, and that widows should be chosen for the order ; but in 1581, the general synod at Middleberg decided that on account of various inconveniences, it was unwise to attempt

a revival of the order, and that when any special service among the sick was required, which would be indelicate to a deacon, it ought to be attended to through the deacon's wife, or others whose services it might be thought proper to engage. In the sixteenth century it would seem that the Puritans recognized the order, and again, as late as 1866, in our own country, in Hagerstown, Maryland, a gift of \$5,000 was sent with a proposition to the Consistory of that place, that three ladies should be chosen and ordained to the order of deaconess; and in 1835, Pastor Fleidner, of Kaiserwerth, Prussia, established an order of deaconess on a large scale, who should be willing to be servants of Christ alone, devoting their faculties entirely to him. The institution spread in Europe, and there are now orphan houses, and hospitals controlled by it at Berlin, Dresden, Frankfurt, Cologne, London and many other places in Europe, and in Pittsburg, Penn. The Roman Catholics have approached the establishment of this order by special societies, like the Sisters of Mercy; and benevolent institutions, under the name of Sister-houses, without bond of vow, have been established among the Protestants.

Such, in brief, seems to be the history of this movement. Those who desire a fuller account, are referred to the various encyclopedias and church histories, and to Ludlow's "Woman's Work in the Church." The question now remains, is it advisable to suggest the re-institution of this order in our churches? And for one, I am seriously inclined to give a decided answer in the affirmative. It must be admitted that there are numerous positions in which an order would be of incalculable efficiency. There are subjects upon which it is necessary for the younger sisterhood of the church to receive instruction, upon which it is impossible for any one but mature Christian women to treat.

But at present the idea of authority and suitability, the idea of qualification, recognized and authorized by the church, are wanting in all service rendered by woman to woman, and cannot be secured without the church selects godly women here and there upon whom it can place its official seal, and say: "Here are those suitable to give instruction, to plan the Woman's Work in the Church, and to receive those confidences which, at times, it is necessary, should be given." It is to be observed in all this discussion that I make but little reference to the many things which are without question a part of woman's work. The question with us is not to debate those occasional employments in which women find opportunity for service; it is not to decide concerning a woman's use of her voice in public, but it is to answer the question whether or not this order—with what may come out of its revival—which has been found so serviceable,

and which seems to rest upon apostolic sanction, should not again be used in the development of church life. We believe that all those irregularities of woman's work in the church are logically due to the conviction which God's Holy Spirit has put into her heart, that there is something especially for her to do, and to the denial actually given in refusing her any official recognition. For ourselves, if we were to go further, we cannot but believe that it would call women to the equality of the teachings of the Scripture that she should be accorded full encouragement in the bearing of testimony for the Lord, and in the employment of her services within the limits of the teachings of the Word of God.

Experience of our most successful churches bears witness to the importance of this official recognition of woman's work. Those voluntary associations of our sisters in our different Baptist churches, for mission purposes, together with those associations or societies which they form for the benefit of their respective churches, derive their opportunity and their stability from the quasi-recognition which is given them by the church. We find that many women arise, called of God to be leaders of their own sex, who have compelled us by the sheer force of their Christian character, and without any solicitation on their part, to recognize their services. I may instance, without any presumption I trust, such a character as "Aunt Lizzie Aiken," who is known so widely. She has received every recognition but that which is official, of her devotion and efficiency. But the advantage of an Apostolic official recognition is this: That while here and there the church virtually selects one woman who shall stand forth as a leader of her sex, as in the instance just named, if the church were to return to apostolic days, her recognition would be habitual, and any woman selected by the church would feel confidence, warranted by the fact of her selection, and those who needed her help would feel that it was not an individual person whose assistance they were seeking, and whose guidance they were receiving, but that it was one that represented the wisdom of the church and the confidence of the church. I have remarked that we have been compelled through sheer force of circumstances—perhaps I ought to say by the guidance of Providence, to give woman's work in our churches a quasi-recognition. This recognition can never be withdrawn. If we seek to correct any abuses connected with it, it cannot be done in any other way than by giving her more recognition, and practically, in my own church, I have done this. All the benevolent operations of our church are entrusted to women, and the societies which have been organized have been regularly recognized by, and reported to the church for approval all their acts. To be sure, this is not in any

sense an apostolic recognition, but it is the nearest approach to it which to the present time I have been able to bring affairs. It seems to me that all efforts to repress women on Biblical grounds is contradicted by the evidence of the Scriptures themselves. I do not think that I do any violence to Biblical interpretation when I say that it seems to be a mistake to narrow down the teachings of the Scriptures, which are universal in character, to those social foundations which do not exist at the present day, and which, because of their non-existence, necessarily widen the application of many of the texts quoted against woman's work. In a word, the spirit of the Scriptures themselves, and not the condition of human society, is to be the basis of exegesis and interpretation. By the coming of the Lord Jesus Christ; by the preaching of His Gospel, the soul of woman was recognized. She ceased to be simply a household convenience, and became a spiritual factor in the history of the world life. Henceforth her soul is to be emancipated and because, as I have intimated in the early part of this paper, here and there unwomanly women have been agitating for a license that would deprive woman of her liberty, we must not seek to withdraw from her all the recognition that is involved in the admission of her soulship. I do not suppose that those who differ from me in this paper would believe that they were doing this, and yet, at the same time, such appears to me to be the fact. I plead then for an official, Scriptural recognition of woman in her work in the churches. Years ago, a poet, whose soul was filled with music and whose heart was entranced by art, took to himself another heart, whose words had thrilled all England with their beauty and their pathos. She seemed to have but a little while to live here, that there was but little for her to do, but to-day, the traveller who stands in the little English burial ground in the city of Florence, and looks upon the grave of Elizabeth Barrett Browning, feels that the recognition by Robert Browning of the poetic nature of his wife counted as much to his immortality as it did to hers. The power and sweetness of Browning's verse owes much to the author of "The Cry of Children."

Fathers and Brethren, if we would seek for immortality; if we would rise to the highest heights of service for our day and race, we must unite our voices with the gentler voice of women, and under one name and in one work chant the praises of the Redeemer, extend the peace of His kingdom.

The REV. JAMES W. WILLMARTH, of Philadelphia, Pa., presented the following paper on the same subject :

Mr. President and Brothers:

Let us have a good understanding at the beginning. I am going to take the old-fashioned side of this question ; for I hold old-fashioned ideas about it with the tenacity born of deep and intense conviction. Whether, then, you approve or not, you will not be disappointed ; this frankness at the start will put us all at ease.

Having only twenty-five minutes, I must either, with scant reference to the principles which underlie this subject and which determine the nature and limitations of *Woman's Work in the Church*, devote my attention chiefly to details ; or else dwell somewhat at large upon these principles, with brief treatment of details. I choose the latter alternative, because in these days of restless activity there is very special need of right direction and guidance, and because details will largely take care of themselves, if great controlling principles are but clearly grasped and heartily accepted.

It is not, I judge, an open question whether women have any work to do in the church. The examples of their usefulness furnished by Scripture, by history and by our own observation, as well as the *consensus* of opinion, carried out in action, in the Christian Church of all ages, leaves here no room for doubt. Besides, women, as well as men, are redeemed by the blood of the Lord Christ, and women undoubtedly constitute a numerical majority of his followers. It were folly to think that this great host of his disciples have nothing to do in his service.

Nor is it, I am sure, an open question whether women have a peculiar work in the church, distinctively their own. This idea has been ignored. Once, not long ago, when it was asked, "Is it right to appoint a woman as superintendent of a Sunday school?" the flip-pant answer was given, "Appoint the best man, whether it be a man or a woman." It is sometimes said that whatever a woman can do, that she may and perhaps ought to do. But surely this is fruit of shallow thinking. We should ask, not "What *can* any person or class do?"—Eve could and did eat the forbidden fruit, hoping to gain God-like wisdom—but "What has God appointed?" and so "What can any person or class *best* do?"

The Bible has something to say on these matters. And then men and women differ, obviously, as to their endowment and adaptation for work. It were folly to disregard these considerations. It is the common interest of all to know the right and do the best.

There is, of course, a ground of duty and responsibility common

to all disciples of Christ. Both men and women are required to lead a godly and prayerful life; to attend upon the means of grace; to contribute for the support and furtherance of the Gospel; to exercise charity towards the needy; to use personal influence to bring sinners to Christ. Both properly engage in Sunday school teaching and various other kinds of work. But in a very large field of service, including the greater part of the organized work of the church, I am sure that no thoughtful student of the Bible and of mankind can doubt that there is a sphere of work appropriately belonging to man and a sphere of work appropriately belonging to woman.

We have to inquire, then, "*What is Woman's Distinctive Work in the Church and what are its Limitations?*"*

We must answer this question in the light derived from three sources: 1st. From the express teachings and precedents found in the Bible; 2nd. From the ideal of saintly womanhood given us in the Bible; 3rd. From the nature and unperverted instincts of woman herself.

We need not fear that conflicting responses will come from this three-fold oracle. He who gave us the precepts and examples of Scripture is the author of the bright ideals that shine on its pages; and he also inlaid his own plans in the constitution of human nature. His word and his work must agree.

I. The express teachings and precedents of the Bible unquestionably assign public and representative functions to man. No woman, under the Old Dispensation, was head of a patriarchal clan, ministered at the altar as priest or ruled as theocratic monarch. A few had the gift of prophecy. But all the great prophets and leaders of Israel were men. Even Deborah did not take the direction of affairs into her hands; she went with Barak to the field under protest. There were many women among our Saviour's disciples whom he loved and blessed; but no one of them did he choose as apostle or send forth with the seventy. There were multitudes of godly women in the Primitive Church; but no one of them was called by the Holy Spirit to be evangelist, elder or deacon. Perhaps there was a church office of *deaconess*, but, if so, it was for "woman's work for woman." Here and there a woman had the

*The question of woman's Christian work is a timely one. Some women are now engaging in new enterprises, attempting great innovations, and undertaking kinds of work hitherto supposed to be unsuited to them. The great majority of Christian women look on with a sort of confused wonder, inquiring whether they ought to follow the example of their sisters in various new departures. Christian men and even Christian ministers hardly know what to make of the present state of affairs. Some applaud whatever the women do; some, with many misgivings, float with the current; some disapprove of many things, but remain silent; here and there a voice is raised in protest. It is very desirable that clear ideas should prevail as to the distinctive nature and proper limitations of woman's work in the Church and for Christ; desirable in order that legitimate activity may not be discouraged and that unwise and unscriptural methods may be condemned at the bar of Christian public opinion.

"gift of prophecy", but its exercise in the church was either forbidden or guarded by careful restrictions. The Apostle Paul, writing by inspiration to the Corinthians, forbids "a woman to speak in the church." Writing to Timothy, on church order and life, he says: "et woman learn in silence (or, "quietness,") with all subjection. But I permit not a woman to teach (*i.e.*, as a minister or leader), nor to have authority over man, but to be in silence" (or, "quietness"). It is continually said that these precepts were only local and temporary, being simply adjusted to existing conditions of society, Oriental or otherwise. But not so does Paul state the case. In regard to his directions to the Corinthians, he says, (1 Cor. 14: 34-36), "as in all the churches of the saints—as also saith the law"—"What! did the word of God come out from you?" Evidently the rule is a part of the unchanging law of Christ. And to Timothy he assigns these reasons (1 Tim. 2: 11-14) "For Adam was first formed, not Eve. And Adam was not beguiled; but the woman being beguiled, fell into transgression." "What grave arguments," says the eminent commentator, Ellicott, "these few verses supply us with against some of the unnatural and unscriptural theories of modern times." It is not customs of Orient or Occident. Paul goes back to the fall and back of that to the creation of the race. The original headship of man and the greater liability of woman to be deceived are the grounds, given by inspiration, for these restrictions. We have no wish to press these teachings beyond their obvious meaning; on the contrary, we would construe them as liberally as possible. We think that they do not prohibit women from taking part in purely social meetings, in a womanly way. They certainly leave her free for the work of Sunday school teaching and for individual or combined effort for the welfare of the church, not involving public and representative functions; they put not a straw in the way of womanly work for women, for children, for the suffering. But it is evident that they do forbid a woman to preach or make public addresses from the pulpit. Female preachers, "lady evangelists," female lecturers and orators are abnormal in the church. Such things, and the encouraging of such things, are in disobedience to the commands of God. No plea that good appears to be done can justify anything clearly forbidden in the Bible. Such irregularities lead the way to fanaticism and grave moral perils.*

The work of women in the church, then, must be done, according

*The newspapers inform us—whether truthfully or not we do not know—that on a recent Sunday most of the pulpits of Nashville, Tenn., "were occupied by the W. C. T. U. women." Such things have often been done in other places. Is it not a fearful sign of the times that flagrant disobedience of explicit divine commands should be openly committed, apparently in the full belief that this disobedience is a service for God and well pleasing to Him?

to the teaching of the Holy Spirit, in "quietness," and without exercising "authority over man." The ministry, general executive functions, offices of rule, debate in church meetings, seats as delegates in ecclesiastical assemblies (such as associations, conventions, councils, &c.), these do not belong to her. Let no one think that such restrictions are unfriendly to woman's welfare or proper development or are "behind the age." Welfare and proper development for any creature of God, in the nineteenth century or any other, is to be found, not in ways of self-will, but in implicit obedience to the revealed will of the all-wise and infinitely good Creator.

.II. The Biblical ideal of saintly womanhood is incomparably beautiful. Let us note three passages, with which all other Scriptural representations are in harmony.

To Timothy Paul writes (1 Tim. 2: 8-10): "In like manner also that women, in becoming apparel, adorn themselves with modesty and sobriety; not with braided hair or gold or pearls or costly raiment; but which becomes women professing godliness, with good works." Peter says (1 Peter, 3: 1-6): "In like manner ye wives, being in subjection to your own husbands; that if any obey not the word, they may without the word be won by the deportment of their wives, when they behold your chaste deportment coupled with fear. Whose adorning let it not be the outward one of braiding the hair or of wearing golden ornaments, or of putting on apparel; but the hidden man of the heart, in that which is imperishable of the meek and quiet spirit, which in the sight of God is of great price. For so in the olden times the holy women who hoped in God adorned themselves, being in subjection to their own husbands (as Sarah obeyed Abraham, calling him lord, of whom ye became children) doing good and fearing no alarm." And Paul writes to the Ephesians (Eph. 5: 22-33): "Husbands love your wives as also Christ loved the church and gave himself up for it. * * * So husbands ought to love their wives even as their own bodies. * * * This mystery is great: but I am speaking of Christ and of the church. Nevertheless, do ye also, severally, each so love his wife even as himself, and the wife see that she reverence her husband."

"Antiquated notions!" I think I hear some one say. Well, this is God's own ideal of saintly womanhood; if we deem it antiquated, so much the worse for us! This is the woman that pleases God. Not refusing all outward adornment, she is intent on something infinitely better. Not vain or bold, she is lovely, gentle, meek, modest, retiring, adorned with an inward and imperishable beauty which the Maker of the stars deems worthy of his own approval and estimates as beyond all price. Not ambitious to transcend her own proper

sphere, she takes gladly the place which God assigns her in a relation which typifies the ineffable union of Christ and his Church. Not indolent or selfish, she is full of good works, done in a womanly way. Such a woman, how rich a treasure to her family and to the church! How precious in the remembrance when He who formed her by his grace after his own ideal has taken her to himself! Now contrast her with the woman we sometimes meet. She is a public character; no modesty embarrasses her in addressing large assemblies; she scorns the idea of submission to her husband (if unfortunately she has one) as the Church submits to Christ; and, of course, she knows little and cares less about the protecting love of the husband, who would die for his beloved as Christ for the church. She wishes a "separate sphere," "emancipation," independence. She wishes to preach, to vote, to sit on juries. I know not what she does not wish—unless it be to perform her proper family functions as wife and mother; perhaps to bear arms! Ah, me! if this is to be the coming type of womanhood, thank God that some of us find a few gray hairs upon our heads! But I count it a slander upon the sex to make this kind of woman its representative. No better type of womanhood, in my judgment, can be found on the face of this broad earth than the average American Christian woman. Her heart revolts against these perversions of the divine ideal. If she is ever led to take a few reluctant steps away from it, it is with pain and misgiving, and because she is told that these are the steps of duty and progress. May Heaven bring to naught the projects and teachings of those, who, in their self-will and blindness, are seeking to deface God's ideal of saintly womanhood! May that fair ideal survive and remain, incarnate in living forms, to bless the world with its sweet, calm radiance, to the end of time! And as education has great molding power, may those features of our school-systems which tend to eliminate modesty, by bringing girls upon the platform as declaimers, &c., be speedily reformed out of existence!

Christian work by women ought to be conducted in harmony with this divine ideal; and so that it will be brightened, not marred. Those who do womanly work for Christ and the church may perhaps, like the sweet "wild-flower, hidden among the meadow grasses," fail of any great notice by the world; but God will approve and hearts will be blessed! It is impossible to pursue this thought further; but it is a seed-thought, and it will apply itself.*

*The Scripture doctrine of the family is in point here. The Bible knows nothing of the idea of "two equal partners." The family is a little monarchy with a king and a queen; but the queen is subordinate to the king, the man is "the head of the woman," the wife is commanded to "obey" and to "revere her husband." It is evident that while Christianity has done every

III.—The nature of woman, God-given, is the foundation on which, and in correspondence with which, saintly womanhood is to be built up; though the latter transcends the former, as the works of redemption always transcend those of creation. And unperverted womanly instincts cannot safely be ignored.

Woman's physical constitution has its own peculiarities, including the sacred function of maternity. This fact alone incapacitates the normal woman, wife and mother, from uninterrupted and (so to speak) professional devotion to any work whatever outside of the Home. Woman's mental constitution, also, is her own. In general, she is inferior to man, not only in physical strength, but in robust vigor of intellect, logical power, self-dependence, aggressive courage, and fitness for business, for rule and for conflict. In general, she is more richly endowed than man, not only with physical grace and beauty, but with tenderness of heart, power of intuition, patient endurance, submission and fitness for gentle ministries of love to the child, the suffering and the sick. Her instincts lead her to lean on man, to trust in his superior strength and to yield to his direction, while in her own way influencing him and often very effectually. Shrinking from publicity, turmoil and insult, she courts retirement and quiet in her working. These instincts have been rudely reviled as weak and ignoble. Her self-sacrificing devotion to the man she loves and implicit confidence in him, unhappily described as liking "to make a mat of herself for him to walk over," have been mercilessly ridiculed and denounced as slavish. But I take it upon me to repel the taunt and the reproach, and here to say that these instincts are from God, that they give to womanhood its charm and to human love its sweetness; that they cannot be suppressed, except by perverse and persistent training, and at the cost of all that raises life above a struggle for animal existence, self and power—despoiling life of the sentiment, the romance (if you will), nay, more, of the fragrance of home, without which it would be a veritable Desert of Sahara. These unperverted instincts must be taken into account in assigning to woman her work in the church. Full applications of

thing for woman, and makes the husband a loving protector and provider instead of a sensual and selfish tyrant, it does not teach the equality of the sexes. It knows no such idea as that a woman may do anything which a man may do, provided she can. It assigns to each a distinctive sphere; man's sphere includes public and representative functions, woman's does not. Hence, the idea of female suffrage and female political activity is anti-Biblical. It is part of the infidel outcome of the French Revolution. It now masquerades in a Christian dress, but it is thoroughly anti-Christian. The logic of it is that the family consists of two co-equal partners. But such a society can not have permanent existence. Differences cannot be decided on the majority principle; there can not be a majority in the number two. Hence, irreconcilable differences must end—just as they do in business relations—in dissolution of partnership. This means easy divorce, and the next step is free love. It is amusing to hear a certain class of women clamoring for "equality" and "suffrage," and also for strict divorce and enforced moral purity. The two things are logically incompatible, and "all things follow their tendencies." God has made the husband and father the head of the family, lodged ultimate authority with him and holds him responsible accordingly. He has made him the representative of the family in all public relations; hence, the project of female suffrage is subversive of divine appointments.

this principle I cannot now make ; but it is self-applicatory, as those who seek to misdirect our women will find out, as I trust, to their cost.

Having thus far dwelt chiefly on general principles and on limitations, I will say what I may on some practical details of *Woman's Work in the Church*. That work, I think, may be mainly described as (1). Work in the Home and in Society. (2). Direct Church Work. (3). Special Missionary Work.

I make no account here of female intrusion into politics, either in seeking for the suffrage or by attendance at the polls to influence voters, or in attempts to promote alleged " reforms " by female oratory or other public demonstrations. For this is not woman's work, because it is not womanly work ; and it is not church work, though it may be miscalled " Christian," because it is wholly foreign to the spiritual sphere of the church's activity.

(1.) Woman's highest mission is in the home as wife and mother.

Here is a work which no one else can do ; and it is one vitally important to the welfare of the church and of the race. If she creates there an atmosphere of Christian love and peace ; if she is a true helper to the Christian husband or a perpetual winning example to the unconverted ; if she gently leads her children in the path of peace, teaching them to love God, to reverence their father and to follow all that is good, seeking to bring them to Christ; if she orders her household duties with fidelity and success; if she exerts her benignant influence in the society in which she moves; if her power is not only in what she says, but in what she is and in her ministries of love; then this work will be the most fruitful service, possible to her for the cause of Christ and for his church. It will leave her, of course, but limited time for outside activities ; in some cases will debar her from them almost entirely. That need not trouble her. Here is her special sphere of duty. This sphere of duty must not be neglected for any other, not even by the minister's wife. No activity elsewhere can make up for neglect here. The same principle applies, in a greater or less degree, to other women in a family—sister, daughter or any other.

(2.) The women of a church ought to do local church work, as godly women were helpers of Paul, and this work ought to be organized. As collectors and solicitors of money they have special skill. By " Mite Societies " they have greatly aided the finances of many a church ; saved some from ruin. This power might be utilized to increase our contributions to missions. Female prayer-meetings, Mothers' Meetings, Dorcas Societies, Sewing Schools, Pastor's Aid

Societies for women's work in the parish, Missionary Societies, or Circles, are all excellent.

Believing, as I do, in the autonomy of the local church, I deprecate the growing custom of having various societies within it which owe allegiance to organizations outside of it. Whatever forms of organization are adopted, for whatever purpose, I am certain that they ought to be a part of the church work, should report to the church, and should not be auxiliaries of something outside of the church. Then let the churches of each association confer, in their annual meetings, concerning their whole work, including Sunday-school work, young people's work, woman's work, and every other kind of church work. And so, on a larger scale, in State Conventions and General Conventions, or societies. A Baptist church, cut up into sections, each of which belongs not to it but to some outside special convention, society or union, is an anomaly; I am prepared to say almost a monstrosity. And inevitably the church itself, established by Christ and led by his Spirit, is ignored, undervalued and undeveloped.

We believe that the very best plan for woman's work in the local church is to organize as many of the female members of the church as possible into what might be called a "Pastor's Aid and Missionary Society." Such a union for woman's work would have several departments, directed by several committees. It would maintain female prayer-meetings and missionary meetings; through committees look after sick and strangers; gather children into the Sunday-school, and, if necessary, clothe them; look after poor, ignorant, wandering or imperiled female members of the church, not as a part of church discipline, but in aid, and indeed in prevention of it, and in the manner of private, motherly and sisterly love and counsel; it would raise moneys for "woman's work for woman" in home and foreign fields; indeed, the ways of womanly Christian usefulness open to it would be almost innumerable. It should exist and work, avowedly, in aid of the pastor in his work; should be in constant consultation with him; he should be present at at least a part of many of its meetings, and it should be in harmony with him and guided by his counsels. (So should every other form of church work be guided by the pastor and be auxiliary to his work.) Except in matters of church finance—where, perhaps, the old-fashioned Mite Society would better be retained to aid, not for current expenses but for special needs—we believe that this plan of woman's organized work in the church, is the best yet suggested—simple, feasible and full of promise.

In this connection, an important inquiry arises. At the North, separate and very complex organizations exist for woman's home and

foreign missionary work, with innumerable meetings and "wheels within wheels." And such organization is at least talked about in the South. Is this necessary and economical of time, toil and expense? Why should not such "Pastor's Aid and Missionary Societies," in each church, send through the treasurer of the church, special contributions for woman's missionary work direct to the Boards of Home and Foreign Missions, just as other designated contributions are sent? Why should not the Boards, as to this specialty of woman's work for women and children, appoint advisory committees of Christian women and avail themselves of their counsel and assistance? It would certainly simplify machinery very much. These suggestions will not find favor now, but they may later. The truth is that our machinery is already complex and cumbrous beyond all reason, and growing more so continually—we mean as to the whole of our work. There is no end of societies, unions, conventions, boards, committees, anniversaries, meetings, special days and appeals, and what not. This machinery will by and by break down by its own intolerable weight, and inevitably compel a simplification of methods.

Christian service, of the sort we speak of, will qualify women to do other work not distinctively Christian—such as that of school-teachers, nurses, etc.—in a Christian spirit. Above all, it will develop a beautiful Christian character. And let us remember that the most important work of the church is the development of just this character, in all its members, and according to divine ideals.

(3.)—In special missionary work, women having no family duties may find a sphere of usefulness. Bible women, female missionaries in parish work, and among the poor and neglected in cities, missionary teachers abroad, among the Freed-people, among the Indians—all can do a noble work. Of course theirs should be woman's work and not man's work. This rule is strictly adhered to, I think, by our brave sisters on the foreign field. Sometimes left alone for years at a station—to our shame be it said—obliged to become guides and advisers to the native ministers and churches, they have done this abnormal work in a right womanly fashion, and so as to occasion no confusion in the native mind as to woman's proper work. If I might suggest anything, it would be (1), that the wives of missionaries ought not to be *required* to do missionary work, and ought to be encouraged to do only so much of it as is compatible with their home duties and the preservation of their health. They ought not to be permitted to commit suicide through their Christ-like devotion. (2.) Discriminating care should be used in sending out unmarried women to the foreign field. The main ultimate reliance

must be placed—as in the case of men—upon a native force. Women of sound health, who feel that this is their life-mission, and have ability not only to teach, but to train native women for “woman’s work for woman”—these should find generous encouragement. There may be danger in sending out a large number indiscriminately. It may not be wise to make the impression that large numbers of our young women are called to labor as unmarried missionaries in Asia and Africa. More laborers are needed at the South, perhaps, yet the same general principle holds good unless it be as to school-teachers, strictly so-called. Our missionary sisters there are confronted with ignorant ministers and churches needing instruction, and men are lacking for the work, thus sometimes requiring from them more than ought to be laid upon them. But they will remember, we trust, that if, in such emergencies, they should openly take the position of public teachers, the ultimate effect may be unexpected: it may result, with such impressible and imitative minds, in a burlesque in ebony of man’s work by women, altogether undesired by themselves. And they ought to discourage the young Freed-women from entering upon political work, even in the supposed interest of “moral reform.” It is saintly womanhood which every race imperatively needs.

May Heaven’s richest benediction rest upon every self-sacrificing woman who is striving to do missionary work for woman, at home or abroad! May they be kept from all mistakes, richly blessed, and comforted in every hour of darkness or discouragement! Evil would be the day when such service should be discouraged or intermitted. But in a time of restless activity like this we should remember that no work, however pure the motive, can result in pure good unless done in strict conformity to the will of God. Forgetting this, both men and women are liable to become, through self will and error, artificers of evil.

In the views of Woman’s Work in the Church, thus hastily and briefly expressed, I believe that I am speaking in accord not only with the teachings of Scripture and Nature, but also with the instincts and wishes of the great mass of Christian women. I know that I am speaking for the women who are dearest to me, and for those who, organized on the plan just commended to you, are aiding me, as Pastor, in every good work. And there rise to-night before me, out of the misty past, faces of saintly loveliness, to be seen no more in this life, faces of those that I

“have loved and lost awhile.”

I know that I speak for them. I know that I speak in harmony with the Baptist traditions and sentiments of the heroic past. Let,

then, whoever may disapprove, I am content with such high authority and such precious approbation. I am glad to hold up in this presence the ideal of Christian womanhood which shines on the inspired page. I am glad to call on our sisters to bestir themselves in work for Christ, on lines in harmony with that ideal. Of them, each, may it be said :

Blessing she is ; God made her so ;
 And deeds of week-day holiness
 Fall from her noiseless as the snow,
 Nor hath she ever chanced to know
 That aught were easier than to bless.

In the discussion ROBERT J. BURDETTE, ESQ., said :

I would rather agree with a thousand men than disagree with one. I am so liberal and great-hearted in my views. I often wonder why it is that so many people differ from me. Now I, as Bro. Willmarth, draw my ideal of Christian womanhood from the Bible. But I think the Bible woman is fitted for broader and grander work than mite societies, oyster suppers and church fairs. The brethren may want the sister to keep silent in the church, but at the same time he wants her to keep busy. So busy in fact that she will have no time to talk. The brethren decide to build a new church. Women know nothing about business and they are not expected to take any part in the discussion regarding the new church. The brethren build it, don't pay for it, the interest on the debt is due ; the sisters are urged to get up a fair and raise money to help the brethren out ; half a hundred of the best women work night and day for three weeks, and come out \$40 in debt. And we will say : "We told you so." The idea of some of the brethren seems to be, "We care not who does all the work of the church so long as we do all the talking." I don't think woman is so much inferior to man in physical strength. She cannot sit so long on a backless, uncushioned log and hold a fishing-rod, but she can walk the floor all night with a sick baby in her arms, while her wearied husband snores a father's vigils. She can't sit on a board seat at the circus for two hours, but she does not find a cushioned pew too hard for a thirty-minute sermon, as her feeble brother does. Is she deficient, and the inferior of man in business ability ? I wonder. Let's see. There is not a man, not one solitary, much-speaking and business-like brother in the Woman's Baptist Home Mission Society, and yet that society, organized and managed by women—not silent women either—either by carelessness, by dishonest employès, by mismanagement or lax business methods, has never lost a dollar. The woman isn't such a bad business man after all. I approve of

the Pauline woman. I take the Apostle Paul at his word ; and when he takes great pains to commend unto me all the noble women in the sixteenth chapter of Romans, most cordially and right gladly do I receive them at his own estimation. "I commend unto you Phebe our sister,—Deacon Phebe she was. I see no mention of Phebe's husband—no, looking all through the chapter, I find that Mr. Phebe is not commended. "Greet Priscilla and Aquila." Paul boarded with them, and he knew whom to mention first. "Likewise greet the church that is in their house." Do you suppose Priscilla kept silent in that church? "Greet Mary ;" "Salute Tryphena and Tryphosa." "Salute the beloved Persis :"—why, the closing paragraph is usually the best part of a letter, wherein the best and dearest friends are remembered. Keep the women silent in the churches ! All the pulpits and all the preachers in all the land cannot do it. Can you silence the voice of Miriam echoing and ringing over the roaring billows and down through the centuries ? Will you hush the song of Deborah, and bid Mary keep silent when she would cry to all the coming generations of the church, "My soul doth magnify the Lord?" When Elizabeth is filled with the Holy Ghost shall she not prophesy ? Why, there were godly women lifting up their voices in prophesy long before Paul began to preach. You cannot make woman keep silent. If we laid our hands upon her lips and sealed her voice forever, still her beautiful life, her unselfish devotion, her unwavering faith, and measureless love would speak in tones that would be heard to the end of time.

The REV. W. C. WILKINSON, D.D., said :

I know that it is about time that we should go away. But I was once the guest of a man who was accustomed to attend the theatre. He asked me if I knew the hour for closing the theatre. I was obliged to say that I did not. He then told me it was eleven o'clock ; "I believe," he said, "we do not generally stay at church as long as that."

I have been very much interested in all that has been said on this topic. I was charmed and attracted by the sweet spirit pulsing under Brother Burdette's graceful flow of humor. We, as Baptists, ought to regard the subject before us as a spiritual matter. Since I have made it a matter of study of Scripture, instead of theory, or desire, or my reason, or the instinct of my own heart, I have been put in honest doubt.

Thus, only the other day, after writing on the subject, and showing what was written to my wife, in view of publication, she asked me: "Why will you say, if you should consider reason, observation

and instinct, you would favor woman's right and duty to take part in meetings of the church, yet confess you are in doubt, because the word of God puts you in doubt? Not only is the Word of God against it, but nature and reason and experience are against woman's speaking in the church."

I am here to put in that testimony from a true woman, in confirmation of what Brother Willmarth has said. We ought to disregard mere sentiment and accept what the Word of God says about this matter. We are here in the Western States in a minority. Dr. Broadus recently said to me that throughout the South the universal sentiment is against woman's speaking in the church. So the Christian world, the Evangelical Christian world at large, is against the practice. We ought absolutely to hold to the Word of God on this subject.

The REV. REUBEN JEFFREY, D.D., said:

It is too late to enter into a discussion of the significance of Paul's prohibition of woman's speaking. I think, however, we have a right to interpret the letter of the Word, by the promptings of the Spirit. My experience has been that the prayer meetings have been enriched, our spirituality quickened and revivals begun by the contribution of women's voices in our public exercises. We have felt their power. We have ascribed the results to the approving presence and power of the Holy Spirit. Have we been mistaken? If so, how are we ever to judge of the verity of spiritual exercises?

This I know, that the simple utterances and prayers of little girls and mature women have cheered me in moments of depression, clarified my vision and given me new strength and courage. I have carried on many successful revivals in connection with these womanly ministrations. The results bear witness that these forms of womanly labor are of grace. Many a time have I felt that I would far rather conduct a series of meetings in which women were the principal co-laborers, than listen to the pious fossilizations of some brethren who only mumble the same round of words in the intervals of their waking moments.

The evening session closed with the benediction by the REV. G. H. ELGIN, of Indianapolis, Ind.

Third Day.

Morning Session.

Congress convened at 10 A. M. After singing, the REV. A. S. CARMAN, of Cincinnati, O., read the Scriptures and offered prayer. The subject for the morning was, "Proper Attitude of the Church towards Amusements." President HOLMAN introduced the REV. C. H. WATSON, of Boston, Mass., who read as follows:

PROPER ATTITUDE OF THE CHURCH TOWARDS AMUSEMENTS.

A former writer for this Congress declared the present age to be "the age of man. That in this age man is becoming conscious of himself; he is seeking to rule himself; he is trying to adjust the complicated questions that concern his rights and duties."

No one could give earnest thought to the Proper Attitude of the Church towards Amusements without giving a new emphasis to those words. In one approach, it is not a great question, only a miserably perplexing one. In another, its perplexities diminish and its greatness becomes clear.

There is only one approach for this age. Never, perhaps, until now, could the church take it fairly, honestly, bravely; so free from unreasonable prejudice, from worn-out traditionalism, and from crude conceptions of the nature of man. Time was, when we could shut the question out of the church with sweeping prohibitions; wave off its perplexities with some snap-rule of arbitrariness. That time has passed. Now, we must let nature make out her case, give her the credit of telling the truth. Tell the truth ourselves. Put ourselves in happy agreement with the truth, to secure a high issue of spiritual character.

From this point of view, then, the Proper Attitude of the Church towards Amusements is defined in three words: Recognition, Discrimination, Direction.

1. *The church must recognize that the necessity for amusements is grounded in the nature of man.* The term "Amusements" is used in the comprehensive sense, as generally used. To include recreation, pleasure, diversion—an outlet for the play element in man's nature. All recreation in some sense amuses, but all amusements do not re-create. Were we to go into finer distinctions, recreation and diversion would be found to define the more natural and uplifting

privileges of amusement. However, the necessity for what the term commonly means is grounded in the nature of man. There you find this play spirit living, moving *pari passu* with the work spirit. One the complement of the other; its helpmeet; keeping nature's balance; maintaining her moral equilibrium. The one demanding work to limit its exhilaration, the other demanding play to recreate its power. Let the balance be lost, and the man be nothing but a working machine, and you have a slave. Let him be merely a rickety pleasure-seeker and you have a fool.

The church must recognize both of these necessities in man's nature. She has hitherto befriended and stimulated only one. As a consequence she is suffering from what might be called "over-production." There is a glut in the work department, and men "vibrating constantly between the extremes of abnormal activity and abnormal exhaustion," are complaining because the church does not give them what she should have taught them to give themselves—play. Is this an explanation for the unnatural appetite for Sabbath sensationalisms for our modern piety of the frantic and "bustling" type, and for the rise in the church of what has been happily termed "the Cooking-stove Apostasy." Noble and ennobling as work is, it is not all of life, nor can it be, until that day has dawned, when having used all possible means to one high end we shall find that end to be *work* that re-creates, and "shall run and not be weary and walk and not faint." But that lies at the issue of an experience in which sorrow, love, toil, wear and conflict have freely mingled. We are upon the hither side of that ripe period now. What shall we do for life that is young? Surely we must take youth as it is, not as it might be, or as we should think best to have it. We must proceed upon God's premises as written in Nature and in man, and not upon those which we prefer to hypothecate.

We are bidden by one of New England's greatest preachers, to look upon the face of Nature and observe everywhere the traces of her playfulness. "The beauty and simple joy of the universe. As in springtime we lie on the grass under the trees, and watch the clouds float across the blue, there seems rest and play on the ground and in the sky; and thus the heart of Nature seems to speak to us, and the leaves seem playing with the wind, without thought of work, or trouble or sorrow." Has not Wordsworth, Nature's child, given us her mood in his song?

"All the earth is gay;
Land and sea
Give themselves up to jollity;
And with the heart of May
Doth every beast keep holiday;—

If there be a suspicion of the fanciful in this, the same suspicion does not haunt us, as we turn to the play element in man. We know that our child-nature unfolded in play at every step, from the time when mother-love watched eagerly for the first smile upon our baby face, that was the earliest sign of life and intelligence. We cannot quarrel with Gail Hamilton, in this case at least, as she protests that "all men are born babies, and for the most part stay babies all their lives in a greater or less degree. The child is not only father to the man, but is the man in larger measure." If the boy loves to play more than to work, the boy grown has to resist the same preference, in the general interest of survival and of character. If it should be objected that this is so because human nature is not natural and is out of normal order, and that the highest task of the church is to call that nature back to itself and to God, then we simply urge exceeding care, lest she push that objection so far as to lose the wisdom necessary to accomplish her task.

The church must recognize what is common in man's nature inside her communion and outside. She must take man as he is—loving diversion, recreation, amusement. Needing them as his religious nature needs worship, and as his intellectual nature needs instruction. She must recognize the fact as Robert South forcibly states it, that this element in man is an affection, which, if not tamed, trained and guided, will become violent, and "a mighty weapon in the tempter's hand, striking through the souls of men." What need then to argue that this play element in our nature is not essentially evil? We have no patience with such argument—we know it is not. Admitting this, as the church does virtually, she must recognize, in the phrase of Horace Bushnell, "a broad platform charter for all manner of amusements not licentious or corrupt, or indulged beyond the limits of temperate use."

2. There comes thus before the church the task of *discrimination*. And that task finds its exceeding perplexity and difficulty reduced by a proper attitude. She may not always succeed in discriminating or in teaching how to discriminate, but her attitude can be catholic and fair. She can meet real difficulties with honest candor; separate the harmless from the harmful; be exactly truthful about vices and their attractions; about personal liberty; about use and abuse, always ready to make a righteous and reasonable difference. This is her proper attitude towards amusements. Wisdom instead of empiricism; patient sympathy instead of narrow arbitrariness; hailing and befriending natural tendencies instead of merely anathematizing them. This is the "Natural Bridge" that connects the church and the young. It becomes a firm spiritual bond when both have dis-

covered it. When the church and the young are thus in wise and happy agreement upon youth's "burning question," the matter cools into a normal temperature for us all.

The church is dealing with the human very largely. A small part *in-human*, a very large part *hyper-human*, and a saving remnant *human* in the large sense. The class that is most numerous in every way is the class whose religion or morality consists more in avoiding that which is wrong than in seeking that which is right. Bigotry or laxity in the treatment of this class would be equally unfortunate. We have had more of the former in our attitude than of the latter. We need not have either. Downright fairness saves us from bigotry, and a clear, faithful enunciation of principles saves us from laxity. Austin Phelps says, "that the most senseless advice he ever heard of was that given by a Christian father to his son: 'I do not say *pro* or *con* about card-playing, but it must not be practiced in my house!' It is not surprising that the boy went to sea." The father was already at sea—on this question—drifting in blind arbitrariness, because that was easier than tacking athwart the wind of difficulty and making for a safer rest. The church has failed in precisely the same way. Not using God-given perceptions to discover reasonable differences, and then fairly acknowledging them. The result upon the people has been the perpetuation of a confused conscience upon this whole subject; upon the church, "the un wisdom of straining the principle of restriction." Such straining and such refusal fairly to discriminate defeat themselves, and, as another has said, "open gates for a flood of indulgence that sweeps away not only the principle that we have strained, but all sound virtue with it." Tenyson presses it all into a line:

"The vow that binds too strictly snaps itself."

The church has assumed that there is a special logic for amusements that must not be worked upon anything else—at least she has caused herself to be so understood. Some of the finest, most skillful, most beneficial, least harmful of games, are excluded by a logic, which if applied to many of the unquestioned things that we do would leave life about peeled. There is no amusement that may not be the beginning of a vicious excess. There is almost nothing that we do that may not be the door into a sinful intemperance. Eating, drinking, study, work, dress, business, politics, religion, may be, and are all being, sinfully overdone; but our rebuke for these excesses has it in either an overplus of discrimination or else an excess of charity. Amusements do not fare as well at our hands. Has not the time come when they must fare better? The primitive Chris-

tian was right as he recoiled from Roman amusements, wholly sensual, brutal and destroying. The Puritan was right as he sought from his extreme of austerity to rebuke and escape the foulness of the 17th century. There was *excess* in his rebuke—necessarily so, perhaps, to make his righteous protest effective. Do we not cling more to his excess than to his righteousness. Excess was for his age; righteousness is for ours.

The church must give straightforward, conclusive reasons for discountenancing any amusement. "There is," as has been said, "a period of transition, from youth to manhood, in which authority must take reason into partnership." It is in that period when youth takes the sounding-hammer of *his* reason and taps against the prohibitions of his fathers. If he is met with nothing but authority, he is not met fairly and candidly, and he knows it. He knows when we sturdily lay down the law, and then hurriedly sneak off, lest we be pressed for the reason that "delayeth its coming." We need the courage and candor of Christ to set at naught empty traditions not grounded in name and truth, and to sanction and defend the use of the harmless, forbidding its abuse. To acknowledge that the man that uses is not doing the same thing as the man that abuses; that the abuser is not "following the example" that the other "sets," but is doing precisely what he did not do. We need firmly to insist that we are not on "the Devil's possessions" when we are giving ourselves in a proper way to some natural and recreating amusement, but that the sharp line between us and an unnatural excess and guilty perversion of the same thing is keeping us well off those devil's possessions. Failure to thus discriminate has given us a protracted confusion of conscience that has worked great harm to character. Not convinced ourselves of the sinfulness of a pleasure, yet knowing it to be disapproved of by "authority," tendeth to deception, secrecy, concealment, and, worse than all, to darken the "single eye." The fact that what we do is questioned by the church, but never by ourselves, is almost fatal to spiritual health. You have a clear right to indulge, or the undoubted liberty to abstain. Has the church any right to demand abstinence when she can give no conclusive reason for the demand? How long shall this demand be made by those who refuse to reconsider prohibitions that evidently have been "non-suited in the court of youthful investigation!" Discrimination everywhere! Cannot we find room in our charity for those among us who claim to have extracted some pure pleasure from the stage, and leave the question open for a season? The church need not wallow because she discriminates. As for the theatre in bulk, we have but to listen to the voice within her to discern her spirit; that of her own

professional critics and reputable managers. What other voices speak with equal authority? Her critics, as mercilessly analyzed by Dr. Herrick Johnson, declare that very little morality is left in her. Her managers, as drawn out by the *New York Herald*, avow that the "legitimate drama" has been laid out in its grave-clothes, to give place to a more frisky successor called "burlesque" not grave enough to need clothes.

Likewise we can trust society to make discrimination easy between dancing and "The Dance." The former enters its own plea, which it were better to hear with reason, associated as it is with many pure homes, proper places and hours, and controlled by character that has grown strong in pursuing higher things. As for the latter, "The Dance," public, promiscuous, intemperate, rotten-hearted, steeped in wine and galvanized by lust, the Church of God should have no part or lot in that matter, nor in any other amusement that only debilitates body, mind and morals, and prepares us for the vices that are ready to fasten upon us. The plea is for discrimination—discrimination urged by a high, spiritual purpose, and for such a purpose. Never defeating that purpose by mere antagonism or by weak compromise with evil; but preparing us to meet the young upon dangerous ground, and lead them off to a safer pleasure, or else to wisely supplant hazardous amusements with those that are wholesome and recreative. The church is not wholly for the few who have the purpose, ability, consecration, to narrow down their lives and "enter in at the straight gate;" who live not under the law of necessity but under the grace of privilege—not for these alone, but for those countless ones who cannot, will not do this, but *will* live with low ideals and abide under the law of necessity, who must have natural means turned into spiritual ends, who must be found where they are, in masses and crowds, and wooed by love and love's wiser methods of pleasure, under the Yoke of Christ, to learn of Him. Recognition as they are. Discernment of the environment meeting their nature, that through these lower, yet natural means, they may be led to higher, even spiritual ends.

3.—So we come to consider the loftiest task of the church in this business: *Direction—wise control,*

"To point to heaven and lead the way."

To show what amusements are for. To direct by teaching, leading, utilizing tendencies that cannot be annihilated, making them tide youth over to that character that insures real manhood. To lead through these means to the end, when, for pleasure, the character is sufficient unto itself. To show those who clamor for amusements most, that

they need them least. To slow down this volatile American temperament, insisting that it wants less night-whirl and more sleep ; less excitement and more calm—pointing to insomnia and insanity lying at the door, and a great pack of chronic complaints baying for their prey. To preach—in Dr. Wilkinson's terse phrase—"the Gospel of Rest." Stoutly to maintain that excess of play is not the medicine for excess of work ; and that in physical collapse anything but rest is sin against God, because sin against the body.

The greatness of this question begins now to appear, as we see that though touching but one point in the intricate matter of ethics, we are vitally related to all the rest. There is something almost pathetic in the intensity with which youth claims the rights of youthfulness. The right to absorb. The right to enjoy. Like the pentacta lying low in ocean's depths, reaching out its curious members to gather the filth of the sea from which to assimilate its meagre nourishment, so, without discrimination, would youth strain its elastic reach to bring all pleasures close to its sensibilities, that it may feel a keener and fuller life. Higher natures economize their selections, and live upon larger nourishment, "having escaped the corruption that is in the world through lust." Direction, wise control and mother-guidance of her children through the inevitable maze of pleasure into such blessedness is the task of Christ's Church. She then teaches that amusements are educational. Not permanently but incidentally necessary. She gives solemn and reiterated accent to the prominence of *selfishness* in pleasure. The strong, ever-present temptation to mere selfish gratification in everything that men do and seek ; not merely in the grosser delights, but even in the privileges of religion, as they merely serve the purposes of entertainment. For many a croaking deacon or sighing saint is as keenly annoyed and selfishly irritated when detained from church or prayer-meeting as a toper who has missed his "smile," a girl who fidgets for the theatre, or a servant who sulks for the holiday. The church must lead out from the selfishness of pleasure, social and religious. That is the root of bitterness, the forbidden tree in the garden of amusement. He who feeds upon it may change his vocabulary and masquerade as a social paragon, or an ecclesiastical saint, but he is more deceived than deceiving. A character that measures its steadfastness to any relation by what it *enjoys* from that relation, is like an iceberg drifting towards the tropics. It will go down in the midst of a selfishness still more subtle and penetrative, that quality that can be robustly orthodox in creed, and secretly "broad" in conduct ; that will demand restriction for others that it may have more license for itself ; that will formulate the "ethics of a sneak," and

in its secret soul soliloquize thus: "I have firmest faith in the necessity of salt on this earth and light in this world, but I want other people to have more savour in their salt than I may have less in mine. I want their lights on a candlestick, so that I can slip mine under a bushel. I want a very elevated standard of living—for them. I have a sleepless conviction that if every one else would be moderate in their pleasures, there would be no danger in *my* excess; that if there is no sin but mine, I shall be floated above retribution by the buoyancy of the general righteousness!" There is a little of this in every soul. It is in all literatures, because in life everywhere. Let the bars be nailed tight after we have stolen outside the enclosure! Let all the world be true, that we may lie a little! The church must make us sure that the "Way to Heaven" is not through such a slough of Pharisaism as that; and that pleasure gained from prosperous selfishness is only disintegration and doom.

What, then, are the possibilities in our amusements? What do they mean for character? What are they for? These are questions which youth ask of the church, its director, guardian, teacher, mother. She must answer; they are to facilitate growth and re-create strength. Some are as toys serving the first purposes of education. Some are as condiments to give flavor to substantial goods. Some are food—food for the fledgling flopping near the ground until he is strong enough for his long, even flight into the face of the sun. Some of them are like small boats that take us out to the great steaming purpose that puffs its way across the sea, and then are carried—for an emergency. All of them, as Emerson says, are "lessons in power," in self-mastery; not instruments of thralldom; something to serve a true purpose and never defeat it; something that comes, like the protoplasm, only to give itself to create a life higher than its own. They are liberties, prophetic of a larger liberty, itself beyond the need of them.

As the church teaches this, she touches all the extremes of her great world-parish with her guardianship. She beckons the young to her, promising to brighten their smile by exalting the cause of it. She caresses their willfulness into docility by the spirit and purpose of a mother. To make their obedience sensitive to law, she makes much of the warnings of God. Explains how they come, not by sounds that make the air tremble, but by that voice that is "small and still;" and by that finger of rebuke that first is like the film of an insect's web across the cheek. She glorifies obedience that is most sensitive to feel the touch and most alert to heed the warning, so that youth's wail of despair—"I did not know!" "I was not told!"—may die out of her hearing. She leads, nurses,

warns and curses with the wrath of a holy jealousy, every smiling destroyer, every dissipation that amuses not to re-create, but to quench the fire of earnestness, still the conscience, drug the sensibilities, steep the soul in death. The church thus chooses the task of infinite difficulty in preference to the easy and monotonous echoing of prohibitions that do not prohibit : chooses to direct rather than forbid ; to instruct a conscience in every man that will know the rightful limit of his own indulgence ; to make him master instead of slave ; to change his experience into wisdom, his wisdom into strength, his strength into a deep delight in ministering good, out of which the long array of youthful pleasures have disappeared just as the stars slip away in the morning.

Not an impossible character, this, for the church to mould ; that finds its highest pleasure in communicating the blessedness to others that has come through the hard lessons of sanctified experience ; that finds in the soothing of a fevered babe, in the relieving of a night of pain, in the awakening of inspiration in a sordid and helpless life, more serene exhilaration than any personal gratification can bring, however luxurious or refined. When we have learned through trial and cross-bearing what fellowship with the Lord really means, have found the highest delights, we have ceased to make demands upon others for lower pleasures. Did David pine for amusement after the great wail of his soul over his lost Absalom ? Or Peter the Apostle, after the deep humiliation of his apostasy, and the strong crying of his mighty penitence ? Did " Paul the aged," after he had bound the world with missionary journeys, been worn with abundant labors, writhed under the Roman scourge, been chastened with " stripes above measure," beaten with rods and stoned, been " in shipwreck thrice " and " in perils often " and everywhere, " in weariness, painfulness, watchings, hunger, thirst, cold and nakedness often, after he had attained the better thing that gave him joy in spite of all—after all this was there left in him any desire to be amused ?

What then of the spiritual paupers among us, upon whom prohibitions have had no effect ? To whom life has brought nothing, taught nothing, left nothing ; and who, after all its round of wear and tear, toil and sorrow, change and " fitful fever " would still be amused ? Shall the church give them prohibition still, instead of leading them from counterfeits of both pleasure and blessedness into blessedness itself ; from the toys, the thoughts, the speech, the understanding of childhood, into that blessed ripeness that puts away childish things, and blesses others by its love, discipline, wisdom and helpfulness ?

This whole principle and policy of helpful friendship for man's nature, recognition of its necessities, and wise control of its issuing streams, are found in fullest illustration in the life and words of Jesus; so near, so true to man, in helpful condescension that he even dared to be called "wine-bibber," "friend of publicans," "guest of sinners;" His divinely beneficent purpose always taking him *where men were*, and finding them *as they are*; not to sanction wrong, or compromise with their sensuality, or confirm their natural tendencies, but to teach true differences, to emancipate from false ones, to show just where good and evil parted company; and above all, to lead men toward whom he was "moved with compassion," to that personal blessedness so sweetly re-iterated in His Beatitudes; to be the "Christ Shepherd and Bishop of their souls." And the only instance in the Scriptures when He is described as "rejoicing in spirit," is that hour when "the Seventy" disciples "return again to Him with joy"—that joy from highest masteries which He sought to awake in every soul, exclaiming, "Lord, even the *devils* are subject unto us, through Thy Name!" That this blessed possibility of triumph over inferior spirits, hidden only from the unteachable and selfish, had already been "revealed unto babes," gave the Love of God a joyous vision: "I beheld," saith He, "Satan fall as lightning from heaven." It was prophetic of what should be the great joy of the universe. Satan's power going down before the glad triumph of over-mastering righteousness; and this brought to pass through the coming of the highest spiritual masteries to men.

Let Christ's church become the incarnation of Christ's purpose towards men. Then she becomes a wise physician, "making a difference;" meeting the nature of man to help it; recognizing the confusion around him to clear it up with truth; directing her children according to age and circumstances; giving to those that need, and withholding from those that merely want; evermore inspiring by the promise of that riper life, when work shall be obedience, and when obedience shall be the loftiest pleasure man can know; "Delight in the law of the Lord, and meditation in His Law, day and night." Then has the age of man become the age of God.

The next paper was presented by the REV. T. T. EATON, D.D., of Louisville, Ky.

THE PROPER ATTITUDE OF THE CHURCH TOWARD AMUSEMENTS.

“Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar’s and unto God the things that are God’s,” is a command of our Master that has lost none of its authority and far-reaching wisdom, since that day when His enemies “marvelled and held their peace.” But it is so often a perplexing question ; which things are Cæsar’s? What are his dues? What may Christians yield to his demands for the sake of peace, and what must they refuse him at all hazards, resisting even unto blood? Not Cæsar’s blood, remember, nor that of his soldiers ; but unto the martyr blood of Christians themselves. From the time the impetuous Peter was required to put up the sword, Christians have no right to draw it in their Lord’s defense.

While Cæsar has not scrupulously demanded only the things that are his, neither has the church confined herself at all times to the things that are God’s. Just what does come within the province, as she goes about her Lord’s work in the world, has not been accurately decided, or, at least, the decision has never been fully accepted. There was a time when the Church claimed that all things were God’s, and that, as His vicegerent, she had a right to control all things. And to this claim Cæsar tamely yielded, content to hold the stirrups of this vicegerent, or to act Lazarus at the rich man’s gate at Canosa. But usurped authority inevitably becomes tyrannical. Only rightful owners are either just or kind. The very meaning of the word tyranny shows this. Originally tyrants were the bravest, wisest and best among the Greeks, but they usurped authority that did not belong to them, and from meaning simply absolute, the term came to mean cruel and unjust.

Time and again, with the best intentions, seeing what a mess Cæsar was making of his affairs, and feeling confident of her ability to do better, the Church has undertaken his duties. And invariably she has ended in doing worse than Cæsar, till her management has become unendurable and the world has hailed with delight the re-establishment of even such a Cæsar as Charles II. When undertaking Cæsar’s business, the Church has not only done that badly, but has also failed sadly to do her own work. God never employs workmen on half time. He gives the laborers in His vineyard service up to the full measure of their strength. Neither individuals nor churches can undertake what does not belong to them, without leaving undone their own work.

There is in human nature a tendency to undertake too much. Man has not yet comprehended that he is finite; and logic and bowing down to precedent may be the death of the race yet. The wedge always gets larger. To retreat is often necessary, but is always disagreeable. It seems a pity we are finite, for if not, all things would not run off into mystery beyond the reach of our microscopes and telescopes. Of course to be finite is necessary for development, a thing of which man is fond. It is a good mouth-filling word to begin with—development—and carries with it the idea of something accomplished by our own sweet wills. Growth, a better term than development, brings up the idea of law and a law-giver and therefore does not make us feel of so much consequence as *development*.

Among the disadvantages of finiteness which have troubled the church is the lack of sharply defined boundaries. It is difficult to decide just where right ceases and wrong begins and just where are the limits of our responsibility. Were we infinite, there would be no debatable ground, where the wisest and best hesitate because their clay-dimmed eyes cannot see the way and their sin-deafened ears are unable to hear distinctly the voice saying "this is the way, walk ye in it."

Just where the province of the Church ceases and Cæsar's begins is a difficult point to decide, and yet it is continually coming up for decision. Ought the church to take a position in reference to this thing or that? is often asked. There is always danger that the Church will undertake too much. Often the Church is the only convenient organization in a town and good people, who wish to do something which requires organization, bring to bear a pressure to make the Church take hold of it. It is claimed that the thing is innocent and even necessary, and that there can be no reason why the Church should refuse to engage in it. The question is not asked whether there is any reason why the Church should take hold of it, or whether it belongs to the proper work of the Church and comes under her marching orders of discipling the nations.

It should be remembered that things may be right in individual Christians which are not within the province of the Church. It would be right and helpful for our church-members to go to hear Robert J. Burdette deliver a humorous lecture; but it would not be right for us to pass a resolution to go in a body and to march there in procession as a church. It was right for Paul and Aquila to make tents at Corinth, but it would not have done for the church as a body to go into the tent-making business. Because the church is a convenient organization is no reason she should be put to work the

Master has not appointed for her. A Damascus blade, because it is convenient, must not be taken to do the work of a jack-knife.

These are fundamental principles bearing upon the question before us and going far to solve it. These principles will be readily admitted in the abstract, and will be as readily denied in the concrete, with a consistency characteristic of human nature. The little word "but" is a dynamite bomb, blowing the principle to atoms whenever man's inclinations throw it at the principle. "That is true, *but* it does not apply in this case. The principle is right, *but* harm will come of carrying it out in this instance." How soon the millenium would come if language had no "but," or its equivalent!

One of the greatest evils of the time is man's persistency in shirking responsibility. If a man has anything he wishes done, he calls upon his society, his State or his church to take up the matter. He will spend more time getting a set of resolutions passed than would be required for him to do the thing. God has guarded carefully against this shirking responsibility by assigning so much work to individuals and so little comparatively to His two organizations, the Church and the family. The fact is, that between the natural inclination of the individuals to shirk and of organizations to extend their responsibility, the Church has been taking attitudes towards entirely too many things.

What, then, is the proper attitude of the Church toward amusements? I answer, briefly, none at all. She is not called upon to strike an attitude towards amusements. She has absolutely nothing to do with amusing the race. She is called upon to take no stand in regard to amusement, *per se*, any more than in regard to medicine. People need amusement as they need medicine, but it is no part of the Church's business to furnish either fun or physic. Her one work is to bring men to obedience to God—in the only way that can be done—by repentance toward God and faith toward the Lord Jesus Christ. As an organized army it is her duty to fight sin wherever found. "Ye that love the Lord, hate evil." It is no matter in what guise the evil comes, whether as a crime or as an amusement, whenever and wherever sin is found, the Church must fight it. Christians must also fight sin as individuals.

Is there any amusement which has no sin in it? It is for the Christian to decide whether it gives him needed recreation, or leads him to waste the time with which he is entrusted. For we are God's stewards as much as regards our time as our money. Modern amusements do not recreate, but exhaust. It has been well said:

"Life would be worth living, but for its amusements."

But the moment our amusement ceases to be innocent, it is the duty of the Church to protect her members from the evil influence. Those members who indulge in the sinful amusement and those who allow those they control to engage in it, should be subjected to wholesome discipline by the Church. The command is peremptory, "Now we command you, brethren, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, that ye withdraw yourselves from every brother that walketh disorderly." No matter how many may be kin to him, nor how prominent they may be, nor how angry they may become, nor what may be the consequences, which belong to God.

But the Church has nothing to do with amusement as amusement. It is not a question whether sin amuses anybody. It would be a contemptible reason for keeping silent in regard to sin—that it amused the people and they required amusement. The Church has nothing to do with either the fun or the gain to be got out of sin; her concern is to fight sin and to keep the souls committed to her care from yielding to it. Take for example, roller skating. As it began, and as it is still carried on in some places, the Church as a body had nothing to do with it. Soon the physicians were heard demurring, but the Church said nothing. But when the devil put his sign manual on roller-skating in the commingling of the sexes in positions suited only to the closest relationship, then the amusement ceased to be innocent and the churches condemned it. So long as men are men and so long as Christ's words (Matt. v.: 27-30) are received as authorities, and incitements to sin are held to be sinful, so must the Church condemn all embracing between men and women, except in the closest ties of relationship, in all circumstances. Take the sin from any amusement and leave only the pleasure, and the warlike attitude of the Church at once ceases and she becomes indifferent.

There is, unfortunately, an idea abroad that the Church is opposed to amusements, and for this Christians are largely responsible. They have talked about "worldly amusements" and the necessity for drawing the line between the Church and the world, as if that was the reason for opposing certain things. So long as an amusement is innocent, the Church has not the slightest objection to it. In this she is like a wise and kind mother in regard to her children's eating candy. So long as the candy is pure and wholesome she is willing they should enjoy it, but when there is poison in it, she forbids it instantly. And besides, she does not think very much candy is good for them when they are small, and she would be sorry to see them care only or chiefly for candy when they are grown. That, in a nut-shell, is the attitude of the Church toward amusements.

The idea that the Church is opposed to pleasure is both unjust and harmful. So far from being opposed to enjoyment, her mission in the world is to bring joy. The happiest are those who have followed her teachings most fully. It was the Baptist who said: "This my joy is fulfilled." You cannot imagine Herod feasting among his lords and captains, saying such a thing as that. Paul was the happy man, in his dungeon, not Nero upon his throne. The happiness, too, is without a sting. What mother would allow her child to handle a rattlesnake, because the child took pleasure in the rattles? The Church wishes her children to be happy beyond all others. One of the chief fruits of the Spirit is "joy," but Christians are to find their joy in right things; to have pleasures which have no sting and hopes which make not ashamed. Could I be accused of opposing the happiness of my boy, if I taught him to take delight in Ruskin, Milton or Irving? By so doing I would deprive him of his relish for the "penny dreadfuls" of the day, no doubt, but would that be opposing his happiness? The devil never told a greater falsehood than when he declared the Church opposed pleasure as such. So far from that, she inculcates pleasure as a duty. "Rejoice evermore" is as binding a command as any other in the Bible. The difference is that the Church offers pure joy, pleasure without alloy, and happiness death will only increase.

"The proper attitude of the Church toward amusements," as such, is to take no attitude at all. But whenever sin, whether of impurity or of gambling, or of Sabbath-breaking, masquerades as an amusement, she is to set her face like a flint against it.

So far the duty of the church seems plain and unmistakable; but there is a point on which it is impossible to speak so positively. How much time should the pulpit give to the denunciation of specific sins? It should give forth no uncertain sound as to the guilt of all sin, and especially of those sins which the world is inclined to excuse or justify. Yet we must not preach morality instead of the Gospel. The root of sin is disobedience to God. If we spend our time denouncing special sins, the people will lose sight of the fact that they are guilty and helpless before a holy God, with no claim upon His mercy, and richly deserving His wrath. Those not guilty of the specific sin denounced will begin to thank God they are not as other men; and those who are guilty will in their own minds excuse themselves. Therefore words from the pulpit about any particular form of vice or sinful amusement should be few, but earnest. The Church can express her opinion of such things best and most emphatically by her wholesome discipline of those who walk disorderly.

There remains but one point to consider, and that is, is it the duty of the Church to supply innocent amusements to the people? Everything a church has to do is a duty. She is organized for a definite purpose, and to that she must exclusively devote herself. She is the light of the world, to guide men over the dark quagmires of sin to peace and safety—to enable them to see the path in which they must go or perish. She should no more engage in fireworks than should the Eddystone lighthouse be used for sending up Roman candles. She is the salt of the earth. Yes, and salt must be used on that which is in danger of corruption, to preserve it, and not at all to make pretty crystal ornaments to attract careless eyes. The Church is the army of God, fighting in the enemy's country amid all kinds of treachery and ambuscade, in a warfare which knows no discharge, and in which the clear voice of the Captain rings forth, "Watch! quit you like men, be strong." No people ever lived so imbued with the idea that

"One moment unamused is a misery
Not meant for mortal man,"

as to imagine that it was the business of an army to amuse them in time of war. And surely no one was ever so utterly idiotic as to suppose that soldiers actually engaged in battle should stop their fighting in order to furnish him amusement. Yet that is just what the Church does when she undertakes to entertain and amuse, however innocent the recreation may be. The Punch and Judy shows on the streets of London are good things in their way, and furnish pleasure to poor children; but Wellington on his way to Waterloo must not stop his men that they may turn the Punch and Judy cranks.

It is not the business of the Church either to amuse the world, but to keep herself unspotted from the world, to overcome the world, to save the world. Neither is money making any part of the business of the Church as a Church. Paul's favorite Church at Philippi ran neither a holy restaurant nor a holy lecture course. Nor do we read in his letters to the Church at Corinth, "lay by in store what the Church made at the last fair or festival."

It is claimed that if the Church will amuse the people they will be attracted to worship, and that we ought to do all we can to make the Gospel attractive. This is to forget the real nature of sin. "The carnal heart is enmity against God," and will not be pleased with a Gospel which enforces God's claims to man's obedience. "And I, if I be lifted up, will draw all men unto me." Christ lifted up on

the cross as the atoning sacrifice, and not pictured merely as holding children in His arms.

While it is not the part of the Church to supply amusements, it is one of the crying evils of the time that Christians, as individuals, take so little part in social life. People must have society, especially the young, and they ought to have it. I believe in parties and picnics, and concerts and lectures, and in sociables, and in a bright social life. I favor amusements from which sin is excluded, but they should be mainly for the young. To see grown people need toys and games for their entertainment, speaks badly for their intelligence. We expect men and women to put away childish things; though if their intellectual calibre be childish, by all means let them have toys for their recreation.

In a certain city almost the entire social life for one winter was given up to clubs that gave "Germans." Christian parents bewailed the devotion of their children to such dancing. I asked a Christian mother, "Why don't you godly women give bright entertainments for the young people, and allow nothing you do not approve?" She replied, "It is so much trouble." But the devil does not find it too much trouble to offer all sorts of guilty amusements to the people. God expects Christians to be willing to undergo trouble and expense to save the young and the weak from temptation. Young people will have social life, and woe to the community in which the direction of society is left to Satan! The home life must be bright and happy; innocent and wholesome recreation must be provided till youth is past, and then, having been rightly trained, they will "put away childish things," and grow to the stature of manhood in Christ Jesus; they can find their joy where John the Baptist and Paul found theirs—*nay*, where Jesus found His—in doing the will of their Father in Heaven.

Of all I have written this is the sum. The Church should take no attitude toward amusements as such; but toward sin, no matter how much that sin amuses, she must be stern and uncompromising in opposition, in all circumstances. It is not for her to think or care how others regard a thing; how God regards it is her sole consideration. She has before her a great work from which she must not come down, either to conduct Cæsar's government or to wear Momus' mask. She must go steadfastly along the way, marked by the blood of her Lord, "fair as the moon" in the robes of his righteousness, "clear as the sun," in the light of His truth, and in the power of His Spirit, "terrible as an army with banners."

The paper of the REV. E. A. WOODS, D.D., of Cleveland, O., followed :

THE PROPER ATTITUDE OF THE CHURCH TOWARD AMUSEMENTS.

Christianity is a feast, not a fast. This is a commonplace ; but it needs frequent repetition. Its invitations are to things higher and better than this world can give. Too much is said of the self-denial of the Christian life and not enough of its fullness and blessedness ; too much of what it costs to be a Christian and not enough of what it costs not to be a Christian. Christianity enlarges and multiplies life—it does not cut away from or minimize it. Christ said: "I came that they may have life and that they may have it more abundantly." The great apostle said: "Godliness is profitable for all things, having promise of the life which now is and of that which is to come." This world and all worlds belong to God's children, for "all are yours."

Christianity aims to produce a perfect manhood. It sets before us a perfect man and bids us imitate him and grow into his likeness. To save the whole man and redeem humanity was the mission of Christ. Man is a complex being. He has a physical, a social, an intellectual and a religious nature. These must be developed into unity and harmony. No part of the man must be ignored—none of his faculties treated as evil, else a perfect manhood will not be attained. Conscience, intellect, will, affections, appetites, passions, all these have their place and use and are essential to perfect manhood. Some of these faculties are of a higher order and are more important than others and the higher must always reach the lower ; and all together are the council of the human soul and over this council conscience must preside. It is only by the development and sanctification of the whole being that we can attain "unto a full-grown man, unto the measure of the stature of the fullness of Christ."

The Spirit of Christianity is the spirit of the New Testament, rather than the Old Testament. We live not so much under the ten commandments, which are largely prohibitions and say to us "Thou shalt not," as under the two commandments which say "Thou shalt" in our relations to God and to our fellow-men. The latter not only include the former, but lift them into a higher place and give them larger meanings. The former are mostly negative and prohibitory; the latter are positive, stimulating and life-giving. The former marked the era of pupilage and servitude; the latter, that of sonship and brotherhood.

If such be the nature and purpose of Christianity, we are prepared to consider the proper attitude of the Church toward amusements.

The number and character of the popular amusements in any age or nation may be taken as a certain indication of the prevailing moral and intellectual condition of the people. Our view of the character of any people must be very deficient, unless we have some knowledge of their prevailing amusements. The pleasure-loving Athenians had their athletic games, with their laurel wreaths and their spectacular plays; the warlike Romans had their gladiatorial combats, with their displays of physical courage and patient endurance; the slow-moving Chinese have their flaunting processions, with gilded lanterns, tinkling bells and sacred tinsel; in India there are solemn festivities, with doleful music, funeral pyres and moaning victims; in Spain, rough and brutal sports; in Italy, ecclesiastical exhibitions and church ceremonies; in Sweden, simple domestic games and pastimes; in Germany, grand musical festivals; while in our own land we find an absence of national amusements and a dearth of public holidays.

Under the Jewish dispensation, the whole matter of public amusements was regulated by divine enactment and connected largely with religious festivals. These were consecrated feasts, yearly encampments and days and years of jubilee.

At these times labor was suspended, scattered families and tribes reunited and the poorest were made sharers in the costliest luxuries. Thus all made merry before the Lord and amusements and sacred things were intimately associated.

The necessity of amusements was recognized as founded in man's nature, and their harmony with right living and God's service established. This under the old dispensation.

In the new dispensation we find that amusements are neither established nor prohibited, neither commanded nor rebuked. Old things passed away; all things became new. In the matter of amusements, as in other things, the Christian is made a law unto himself. Life and not law is his guiding principle. The things of this world are not catalogued for him and labeled "good" or "bad" as the case may be. As animals are guided by instinct in the selection of their food, so the Christian is to be guided by the instincts of his new life in the selection or rejection of that which comes to his hand. On this subject Paul declined to legislate. He urged no terms of restrictive morality. Here the disciples were to have and use their own liberty. The Christian is to judge and decide for himself, aided by the Holy Spirit, asking, accepting no dictation, but holding himself responsible for results upon himself and his

fellowmen. Having freedom with that responsibility which freedom always brings, his safety is in his fullness and freedom of life and in the uplifting power of Christ's indwelling presence. His tastes are too high, his inclinations too pure and Christ's presence too real to allow him to abuse this liberty. The Christian will thus act from and be ruled by the fullness of his life, not its emptiness, and he will rise higher and live holier in the liberty of love than in the bondage of law.

The abuse of this liberty is no valid argument against its legitimate use. The best things in life when misused or used to excess become the worst things. There is danger attending the use of food, but the remedy is not in starvation, but in restriction and selection. There may be intemperance even in the use of water. Dress is necessary as well as beautiful, but too much or too little dress—or attention to it—is an error. Sir Humphrey Davy gave himself so incessantly to study that he was thus brought to the verge of the grave in the midst of his usefulness. Business, politics, and even religion are liable to abuses and excesses. A certain woman said of her husband: "He is a very religious man; he reads his Bible and prays and goes to meeting almost all the time; he is so good that he isn't good for anything!"

Even courtship is liable to abuses. In ancient times it was sometimes carried on by proxy, as when Isaac sent his servant for Rebecca. In Eastern lands infants are often pledged in marriage, just as in this country they are sometimes baptized, without their knowledge or consent. In Christian lands the intimate acquaintance of the parties is encouraged, and although such associations may be attended with dangers and exposed to abuses, still we believe these Christian methods of courtship are better than those of the ancients or those of India. With all its perils and its expenses, we believe that courtship should not be prohibited, as it is both pleasant and profitable.

Amusements are physical, intellectual and social. Athletic sports, dancing, theatre-going, games of skill and chance, as billiards, cards, etc., are those which are usually meant when we speak of the popular amusements of to-day. We find a difference of opinion and of practice concerning them among Christian people. Some churches have legislated against some or all of these, declaring them sinful, while others have spoken in their favor and others still believe that in these matters all legislation is improper and that every Christian must decide these questions for himself. Athletic sports are useful and we are glad that our colleges are encouraging them, and yet they are discovering their perils and dangers and are attempting to guard

against them. Dancing, theatre-going, games of billiards and cards are doubtless innocent in themselves, but abuses and evil associations are all too frequent. For example, dancing may be recreative and entirely innocent. If music is the chime of motion, dancing is the poetry of motion. But late hours, improper dress and improper contact of person are only evil, and that continually, whether in connection with dancing or with a religious service. There is dancing and dancing.

In any of these forms of amusements there may be excess and abuse and these must not be tolerated or excused.

If the evil is an essential part of the thing itself, then the amusement is to be condemned. If any person finds the temptations connected with any amusement such as to render it unsafe for him, then he must turn from it. What is needed is, not so much a rule by which to decide things to be right or wrong, as a principle within ourselves which shall control us in the use of them.

Amusements must be our servants, not our masters. If they refuse to serve us, they are wrong. Some things are weights which are not sins. However innocent in itself, whatever masters us, or wastes our energies and unfits us for life's work, is evil. On the other hand, whatever gives rest and recreation to body or mind, and whatever brings us healthful, social enjoyment, is to be encouraged.

Christianity is not an ironclad asceticism. There is a time to laugh as well as a time to weep. Holiness signifies wholeness and health of character, and health is a fountain of mirth and joy. Healthy souls are mirthful. Luther, in the midst of his war with the Pope, found relief in cheerful fireside songs and games with his children. Lyman Beecher, at evening after revival preaching, would dance to the music of his own violin, to the disgust of some of his long-faced parishioners. Gladstone recreates with an axe; Spurgeon in a bowling alley; McCheyne in a gymnasium. To deny ourselves wholesome amusements is folly; to restrain others from them is an infringement upon Christian liberty. The rights of conscience and privileges of private judgment are as sacred here as elsewhere. It is not good reasoning to say that if a Christian patronizes innocent amusements, his neighbor will feel at liberty to engage in that which is hurtful and immoral. The abstinence of Christians from that which they know to be harmless does not make men of the world more temperate in those pleasures which are positively harmful. Christianity is placed in a false position when it is reduced to the grade of a police arrangement to restrain men from the pleasures of life. It is not a dog Cerberus barking at the gates of festivity and showing its teeth at all innocent enjoyment. We are

human and have human bodies ; and the joys of the spirit do not require us to frown upon the joys of the natural life. With all the good things which God has given us in this natural life, He has through Christ given us higher, richer and more enduring possessions, and in looking upon worldly pleasures, the question is not "Are they right?" but rather "Do I want them and must I leave something higher and richer to gain this?" This life is brief ; we have not time for everything. We are like a company of travelers in a strange city, left in a railway station for a few hours. They cannot see everything in that brief time. Some sights are not worth seeing ; some things are not worth knowing. They have time only for the most important things. So in this short life we have time only for the best things. Many things are not wrong, but they are unwise. Many things are innocent which are not the best things. The Christian life is a life of selection ; the best things are his, and the future life is better than this.

My contention is this : the true and divine method of guarding against excess and abuse in the matter of amusements is to exalt the Christian ideal, to speak and sing of its joys and hopes, to show how much better these are than all worldly and carnal pleasures, rather than attempt to draw lines of right and wrong where the best of God's children differ, and where all decisions must be questionable at best. God's way of driving the darkness out of this world is by bringing in the light ; and His way is ours. Jesus Christ came into the world, not to condemn the world, but that the world through Him might be saved. Men are turned from evil ways, not so much by denouncing evil as by preaching righteousness. We cannot make a vacuum in human lives. Sowing the good seed rather than rooting up the tares is our mission. The evil spirit will always return if the house is left empty, swept and garnished. Let him who stole steal no more, *but rather* let him labor, working with his hands the thing that is good that he may have whereof to give to him who hath need. Paul would thus reform the thief by honest toil and the contribution box.

The Christian life is the normal life of the whole man. It tends to keep every faculty and every sense in its true place, subordinating the lower to the higher, but giving to all their legitimate indulgence and gratification. When some of the old Saints prayed that God would extinguish in their hearts all attachments to creatures, all interest in temporal affairs, and all love for worldly pleasures, they knew not what they asked. Christianity is not opposed to pleasure, but is the source of highest pleasures ; and it never calls us away from worldly enjoyment to leave our hearts empty, but always

to give us nobler pleasures and keener joys. There are deep secrets of satisfying and ravishing delights in connection with the Christian religion, so blissful and blessed that they transform "weakness into strength, sorrow into joy; loss into gain, defeat into victory, trial into triumph, death into life," and earth into Heaven. The road to heaven is not picketed by sharp prohibitions, faith but stands at the entrance gate, and peace and joy and hope and rewards of obedience line the pathway, and our Saviour in front is beckoning us onward and upward.

It would seem, therefore, that it is not the province of the church to legislate upon the question of amusements; neither negatively to denounce and forbid them, or positively to establish and defend them. But rather to so develop the Christian life in its members, that they shall be a law unto themselves; not so much to hold them up by rule and precept as to teach them to walk alone, and thus grow strong; to teach them to live for the best things only, and thus bring them into the high dignity of sons and daughters of the living God.

The concluding paper, by the REV. KERR B. TUPPER, of Grand Rapids, Mich., was as follows:

PROPER ATTITUDE OF THE CHURCH TOWARDS AMUSEMENTS.

After so intelligent and thorough a discussion, Mr. President, as that which has already been furnished us this morning by my predecessors, it seems almost a work of supererogation for me to dwell longer on "The Proper Attitude of the Church Towards Amusements;" and yet, though, perhaps, unable to suggest anything new, I may be permitted to reiterate some of the principles these gentlemen have laid down, or emphasize some of the distinctions they have marked out as necessary to observe.

Without question, the subject which demands our consideration this hour is a most important, nay, a vital subject—one possessing a peculiarly intimate relation to our day and generation. We live in an age when the religion of our Master is tested, not so much by creed as by conduct; not so much by words as by works; not so much by sermons as by services. A noted Scotch theologian says we can trace the progress of theology during the last three centuries by Christ's three words: "the way," "the truth," "the life." The "way" of salvation, which had been obscured by Romanism in the middle ages, was pointed out afresh by

the great reformation of the sixteenth century. Men at that time began to merge from the dark valleys of self-hood and self-sufficiency into the clearer light of the all-sufficiency of Jesus Christ. Then came the effort to probe and find out the "truth," producing detailed and often conflicting systems. Now we are coming to view religious truth more simply in its relation to "life." This tendency seems to be a differentiating characteristic of our times. Men do not now busy themselves, so much as formerly, to inquire, "What do you believe?" but "How do you live?" They inquire, not so earnestly into the reality and consequences of spiritual existence in the other world as into the character of religious life and the methods of religious work on this palpable planet which we are now treading. In such an age as this, so far from being utterly unworldly we must learn, in a certain sense, how to make the very best of present opportunities and powers, uniting the wisdom of the serpent and the harmlessness of the dove, thus making the course of our Christian life, through the golden mean which lies between the bold Scylla of ascetism and seclusion, on one hand, and the dangerous Charybdis of timid conformity to the world, on the other.

With these introductory remarks, let us now ask the question: "What is the Proper Attitude of the Church toward Amusements?" using the word "Church" in the most general acceptation of that term, as the representative of Christ on earth, and the term "amusements" to designate all those recreations and pleasures, beneficial and pernicious, which constantly invite us to participation in them.

And two propositions only I lay down at this time, and each of these general in its character:

I. In the first place, the Church should assume an attitude of true friendship and intelligent advocacy of every amusement that is both innocent in itself and beneficial in its results. Few, if any, will deny that amusements of some character or other man's triple nature—body, mind, spirit—demands. Recreating pleasures are an absolute, indispensable condition of a truly happy, full-orbed, successful life. In one of his fascinating essays Ruskin has this passage, which is as philosophically true as it is poetically beautiful: "Rivers, both great and small, agree in one character; they like to lean a little on one side. They have one bank to sun themselves on, and another bank to cool themselves under. Rivers in this way are just like wise men, who keep one side of their life for play and another side for work." Here we find a profound, unalterable law of nature—a law in the track of whose disobedience there comes speedy and irresistible retribution.

Recreations, pleasures, amusements not only must not be despised

or ignored, but, also, they must be sought and entered into with a heartiness and a will. To use the language of another: "The brightness that leaps from the spontaneous mirth of an unstained conscience, the vigorous exercise and pleasurable emotions that spring from the rough play of a fearless heart, the ringing laugh that bursts from glad lips, the relaxation and indulgence of a worn but faithful mind are as needful to the real welfare of a man as are the deep studies he pursues, the painful labor he performs and the heavy burdens he may carry."

Now, this natural craving and demand of man, who, as the highest order of divine creation, is peculiarly and distinctively a social being, God nowhere condemns. The Father of light and love, He ordains for His children, all along their earthly pilgrimage, Elims as well as Marahs, mounts of Transfiguration as well as gardens of Gethsemane. Apart altogether from the teachings of nature about us—this garment of beauty in which the Invisible One has robed His mysterious loveliness in order to make man happier and more blessed—and the higher revelations of the Word of God, the words and works of Jesus, an immaculate example, corroborate this truth. The Baptist may sit in the deep shadows of a wilderness desolation, cut off from all human associations, all contact with the "maddening crowd," but the Christ—He who must increase while His forerunner decreases—first reveals Himself to men as a divine miracle-worker at a marriage feast, where, to save a friend's embarrassment, he causes conscious water to see its God and blush into wine. And all through that exemplary and pathetic life of His, Jesus mingles with men, the tender, sympathetic philanthropist, surpassing Wilberforce or Howard in the depth and extent of His beneficence—His face sculptured benevolence, His hand friendship's symbol, His eye liquid sympathy for all human woe—mingled gladly, too, joyously, as side by side with those He loved He walked the fields and talked, looked up into the heavens and preached, sat at the family board and ate.

Now, what means all this? It means, I think, that the Christian Church should be no foe of rational pleasure. Centuries ago—and with the ages our Master's words have assumed new meaning and accumulated new force—Jesus offered this meaningful prayer before the throne of Jehovah: "Father, I pray not that thou shouldst take them (my disciples) out of the world." Ah! there are Christians in our day who need to weigh the significance of that brief but divine supplication. They abuse both their heavenly privileges and earthly opportunities by retirement from the world. They have the spirit of John Bunyan, of whom Macaulay relates that "in the midst of a

game of tip-cat he paused and stood staring wildly upward, with his stick in his hand. He had heard a voice asking whether he would leave his sins and go to heaven, or keep his sins and go to hell; and he had seen an awful countenance frowning on him from the sky," because, forsooth, he indulged in a most innocent game. "Give me," say such, "the seclusion of a cloister—the calm contemplative life of a monastery, or hedge my sphere within a rural hamlet, or in some sequestered valley where are sweet air and sunshine and flowers and everything is pure and holy—no collision with enemies, no distractions of business, no enticements to evil, no indulgence in worldly pleasure, no jar and jostle of antagonistic elements in religion or politics or society. Amid such environments my life may be temperate and devout and soulful." Such is no uncommon dream. The Essenes of Palestine and the monks of Rome have their counterparts, in a larger degree, I think, than we realize, in our Christian churches to-day.

But remember that if we are the light of the world we must penetrate into the world's darkness, else there is no need of our illumination. If we are the salt of the earth we must come in contact with what is to be purified and preserved, else our salt-qualities will be of no avail. Brethren, the church is established on this earth to elevate and save it—to confer upon it, through the Gospel, present peace and future felicity. Its prayer, as taught by its Master is: "Thy kingdom come, Thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven." The Son of God does not convert men and then dispatch them to heaven, but rather commands them to go forth in His divine strength and, mingling among men, make them better, nobler, more Christ-like—and thus leave behind them, when they hear the summons from above, more souls saved, more hearts encouraged, more lives consecrated and more seed disseminated to yield a glorious harvest for the garners of eternity. God means this world of ours to be used as the place of preparation, of discipline, of growth and training for the things which are unseen and everlasting. And by participation in those pleasures of the world which are innocent and beneficial the Christian not only aids in the development of his own being in symmetry and healthfulness, but also shows to the world that true religion is, as good Dr. Guthrie puts it, "no sullen stoicism, no sour Phariseeism, no prophet's roll, sweet as honey in the mouth, but bitter as gall in the belly"—that it does not consist in melancholy passions and dejected looks and mental depressions, but rather is freedom, love, peace, life, power—a religion whose universal voice is, use the world but do not abuse it, forsake it, but do not go out of it.

II. In the second place, the Church should assume an attitude of open and unyielding antagonism to every amusement that is injurious in itself or in its effects. This point demands even more attention than the first. It used to be a frequent and emphatic utterance of the good John Newton that the first stage of Christian experience is one of joy and peace, the second, one of self-denial and conflict against sin. If there is one truth which Jesus, during His earthly ministry, impressed more than another—impressed both by direct statement and clear implication—it is this: "My kingdom is not of this world." The origin of Christianity was in the heart of God. Its constitution is divine. Its fundamental principles, terms of membership, mission, ordinances, services, all have reference, as every intelligent student of them must admit, to another sphere of existence than that in which we now abide for a time. We are bodies, but we are also spirits. We are born in time but we are also deathless in eternity. Above the body we feel the soul—above our mortality immortality—above the fleeting moments of time the incalculable cycles of eternity. If this be unworldly, the unworldly we are. Let the world presume to charge us with unrealness of aim, lack of sympathy with the things of time and sense, a depreciation of this life, a contempt of things secular, we have only to reply: He is the hard, narrow, unpractical bigot who restricts life to the body of the flesh and its operations to one of the smallest and, far as we know, the only wicked globe in the countless worlds of God's great universe—who sneers at the spiritual as phantasmic and illusory, because, forsooth, it cannot be weighed in a balance or heaped in a bushel or measured by a yard-stick. Believe me, there is something better than the material. As the heavens are higher than the earth, so are heavenly interests and life higher than earthly being and blessing.

In view of these great facts the Church can give no countenance to any worldly recreation that tends to educate mind and heart from God and heaven. Between the church and the world there must ever be a line of separation, both clear and deep—a gulf fixed. How the New Testament teems with precepts and rings with exhortations relative to this matter. In His tender intercessory supplication the Lord Jesus Christ prays thus: "I have manifested thy name unto the men thou gavest me out of the world. I have given them thy word; and the world hath hated them because they are not of the world, even as I am not of the world. I pray not that thou shouldst take them out of the world but that thou shouldst keep them from the evil. They are not of the world, even as I am not of the world." Again: "Pure religion and undefiled before God and the Father is

this, To visit the fatherless and widows in their affliction and to keep himself unspotted from the world." Again : "Know ye not that the friendship of the world is enmity with God. Whosoever, therefore, would be a friend of the world, maketh himself an enemy or God." Also : "Love not the world, neither the things of the world. If any man love the world the love of the Father is not in him."

Such passages as these—and they are but a tithe of what might be quoted—come down to us through the ages freighted with inexpressible meaning. They should speak loudly to the Christian church of to-day. Some years ago Max Müller wrote : "If there be anything which a comparative study of religion places in the clearest light, it is the decay to which every religion is exposed. It is seldom borne in mind that, without a constant return to its fountain-head, every religion, even the most perfect, suffers from its contact with the world, as the purest air suffers from the very fact of being breathed." Commenting on this passage a distinguished American author declares that "the tendency of our day is to minimize the difference between the Christian and other men ; and the boundary between the Church and the world, which in God's Word is as clearly defined as the lines of latitude and longitude on the map, is, in actual life, almost as imperceptible as are these lines upon the surface of the globe. So it happens that the church of Christ is invaded by the unbelieving, and its power to resist and overcome the world is thereby sadly weakened. "Whenever and wherever," writes Dr. Tyler in his introductory note to that attractive little book, "The Age-Temptations," "whenever and wherever a so-called Christian church relies for its increase on the same sort of attractions as a concert or a theatre, and supports itself by methods and means which cannot be distinguished from those used by a mercantile firm or a manufacturing company, the world will not believe that it is a true church of Christ, still less that it is a living temple of the living and true God. But let there be a manifest difference between the servants of God and the servants of Mammon—let those who bear Christ's name breathe his unselfish spirit and live his unworldly and unambitious life, and who can resist the evidence that such a religion is from God, that it will prevail and triumph," as the kingdoms of this world become the kingdoms of our Lord and His Christ.

A final question : In discriminating between amusements lawful and unlawful, helpful and pernicious, by what criterion shall the church of Christ judge ? Here we meet a query both delicate and difficult. Narrow prejudice on the one hand declares wrong recreations which are unquestionably permissible and, even, good, while heartless laxity, on the other hand, is indifferent to, or promotive of,

pleasures whose tendency is essentially evil and whose end is destruction.

No wiser words has the speaker heard or read on this important matter than those penned by that popular exponent of social and religious problems, Washington Gladden, in his "Christianity and Popular Amusements," published in "The Century," January, 1885. Says Dr. Gladden: "The grounds on which the permission of some amusements and the prohibition of others have been rested are often inconsistent and irrational; and the church would be far wiser to give over these questions of casuistry and insist upon a few general principles, such as these:

1. Amusement is not an end, but a means—a means of refreshing the mind and replenishing the strength of the body. When it begins to take the principal thing for which one lives, or when, in pursuing it, the mental powers are enfeebled and the bodily health impaired, it falls under just condemnation.

2. Amusements that consume the hours which ought to be sacred to sleep are, therefore, censurable.

3. Amusements that call us away from work which we are bound to do are pernicious, just to the extent to which they cause us to be neglectful or unfaithful.

4. Amusements which rouse or stimulate morbid appetites or unlawful passions, or that cause us to be restless or discontented, are always to be avoided.

5. Any indulgence in amusement which has a tendency to weaken our respect for the great interests of character or to lessen our hold on the eternal verities of the spiritual realm is, so far forth, a damage to us."

So we also say, and add in conclusion, this:

The proper attitude of the church in respect to amusements is not so much that of provider as that of judge, instituting an intelligent and sharply-defined separation between the good and the bad, stamping the one with the imprimatur of her approbation and inviting her constituents to legitimate indulgence in them, stigmatizing the other as the temptations of the evil one and against them warning all children of light. Thus, and thus alone, shall she be able to use the world and not abuse it, forsake the world and yet not go out of it.

This may well be our attitude, for
Heaven doth with us, as we with torches do;
Not light them for themselves; for if our virtues
Did not go forth from us, 'twere all alike
As if we had them not.

The time for closing the session having come volunteer discussion was impossible. The REV. R. E. NEIGHBOUR closed the meeting with prayer.

Third Day.*Afternoon Session.*

The closing session began at 2 P. M. After singing by the Choir, the REV. GEORGE E. LEONARD, of Norwalk, Ohio, offered prayer. The subject for the afternoon was the "Sin of Covetousness (*a*) Defined in Scriptures; (*b*) Traced in The Life of To-day; (*c*) How Best Corrected?"

President HOLMAN introduced the REV. J. M. STIFLER, D.D., of Crozer Theological Seminary, who read the following paper:

COVETOUSNESS.

Covetousness was the first sin. "And when the woman saw that the tree was to be desired to make one wise she took of the fruit thereof." (Gen. 3: 6.) The verb to be desired is *chāsād* the same which is found in the command, "thou shalt not covet." This sin was the first to meet Israel on their entrance to the Promised Land. Achan, in confessing his transgression, says: When I saw among the spoils a goodly Babylonish garment and two hundred shekels of silver and a wedge of gold * * * then I coveted them and took them. His language sounds like a reminiscence of that in the garden when Eve saw the desirable fruit and *took* it. He certainly broke the tenth commandment, for he confesses that he coveted.

These two instances seem to show the meaning of the word which is the soul of the tenth law from Sinai. Eve desired the fruit and then took it. Achan so far desired the goodly robe and the silver and gold that he disregarded the interdict against taking anything belonging to Jericho. There was first a wish that impelled to an act. It is the wish that is forbidden. The wish rather than the act to which it may lead is the breach of the tenth law.

The King James Revisers understood this to be the meaning of the word. They make the commandment as it stands in Deuteronomy, to read: Thou shalt not desire (*chāsād*) thy neighbor's wife. In the twenty instances in which the word occurs in the Old Testament, they have rendered it by the verb to desire eleven times, by covet only three times.

As the angry thought is murder, and the lustful look is adultery, so the desire of the soul is the forbidden covetousness. The sin does

not lie in *what* is desired nor in the *method* employed to realize the desire. Desire itself is condemned.

There is a second word in the Old Testament which belongs to this subject, the word *āvāh* occurring almost twenty-five times, in seventeen of which King James renders it by the word desire. It stands in the command in Deuteronomy—"thou shalt not covet (*āvāh*) thy neighbor's house." In one other place (Prov. 21:26) it is rendered covet. It differs from the former word in being broader. It covers the lower nature, including the appetites. *Chāsād* is rather intellectual and esthetic. Hence it is used in speaking of jewels, of gold and silver or jewels.

Both these words are most frequently rendered in the Septuagint by the one word *epithumeo*, *chāsād* eleven times, and the more carnal *āvāh* twenty-one of its twenty-five times. In the command (Deut. 5:18) in Deut. where both are found only the one word *epithumeo* is employed to translate them. I call special attention to this here, because this word *epithumeo* conveys the command into the New Testament.

A third Hebrew word demands attention. In Ps. 10:3, we read in King James: The wicked boasteth of his heart's desire (*āvāh*) and blesseth the covetous (*bātsa*) whom the Lord abhorreth. The Canterbury Revision also employs here the word covetous. The original is *betsa* which means first, gain by violence, and then in general gain. But our King James frequently employs the word covetousness in translating this word. A second point must be noted here. This violent word *bātsa* is rendered in the Septuagint by the word *pleonexia* and in no case by *epithumeo*, while the two former words often rendered as we have seen by *epithumeo* are never once rendered by *pleonexia*. And thus we find two distinct lines in the Old Testament, kept apart both in the Hebrew and in the Septuagint the first one being the law of gain and the second the gain itself, the gain for the most part of violence. But while these lines are parallel they are not so to speak synonymous. *āvāh* and *chāsād* are synonymous but with neither of them is *betsa* synonymous.

These two lines project into the New Testament, and so it falls out that we have a two-fold sin, if not two distinct sins, to consider under the head of covetousness. Our words in the New Testament are *epithumeo* and its cognates, together with its synonym *philarguria* for the one line and *pleonexia* for the other. These are distinct and separate, *epithumeo* is not *pleonexia*. No book of synonyms, of the number which I have examined places them in the same list. In the New Testament they are kept separate, as when Paul says: "Mortify, therefore, your members which are upon the earth, fornication, un-

cleanness, *evil concupiscence (epithumia) and covetousness (pleonexia).*" *Epithumia* is sometimes used in a good sense as when *Jesus* says: I have desired (*epithumesa*) Luke 22: 15. *Pleonexia* is invariably used in a bad sense. *Epithumia* is never said to be idolatry. *Pleonexia* is again and again said to be idolatry (I Cor. v: 11; Eph. v: 5; Col. iii: 5.) *Epithumia* is found in most places in the plural, for the word is applicable to any of the various desires of the soul. *Pleonexia* is in every place but one, and that is no exception (Mark vii: 22,) in the singular, for the word points to one definite sin, as definite as murder or theft (I Peter ii: 14 is a false reading). *Epithumia* falls under the ban of the tenth commandment, and is invariably used to translate the leading word of the commandment. *Pleonexia* is forbidden rather by the first commandment.

It is to be regretted that this word *epithumia* in the New Testament, and its correlatives in the Old Testament, were not brought into our noble King James' version by the one word desire or desires. "Covet" is misleading for the singular, and "lusts" is obsolete in the plural. That the recent Canterbury version employs the word lusts here is merely in harmony with its *liking* for mold now and then.

That the whole round of human desires should be forbidden may be astonishing, but it is in strict unison with the leading ethical truth in revelation, that man's *will* must be wholly subject to God's. Would it not be *more* astonishing to find the surrender of will demanded, without the surrender of the desires? It is not the will, *alone* that must submit to God but man. Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with *all* thy heart—that is, the sensibilities and will—and with thy soul—warmly, and with all thy mind and with all thy strength. Service to God drains dry every power and capacity of man—all the heart, all the soul, all the mind, all the strength, leaving no resource for any other service.

Now at the first blush this seems so impracticable that a suspicion of its correctness arises. How am I to live in this unfriendly world if every desire is wrong? I need the baker's bread and the merchant's raiment. My *life* depends on my getting them, but the law says, "thou shalt not desire anything that is thy neighbor's." The usual answer to this question is, pay for them. If you desire them with the intention of returning a just equivalent, the tenth commandment is not broken. But could a man covet his neighbor's wife righteously by *paying* for her? The very desire for her is the sin condemned. And now does the the word "covet" change its meaning the moment we reach the second inhibited item in this command? The tenth law is not a pitiable maxim about mere honesty. It is not a

mere supplement to the eighth command, thou shalt not steal. It is the flaming sword of the Lord, turning every way before the human heart to smite down every desire that arises there. So Paul seems to have found it when once his illumined intellect discovered its real meaning. He says: "I had not known sin except through the law, for I had not known coveting except the law had said thou shalt not covet, but sin finding occasion wrought in me through the (tenth) commandment all manner of coveting." If Paul had understood this command to teach men commercial honesty, could it have wrought in him all manner of commercial dishonesty? Why, no. He would have said the law is a good thing, just as men do to-day, and live on in the sin it condemns. But when Paul heard that law say thou shalt not *desire* anything, at once he thought of a thousand things he wished, and for the first time discovered his in-subordination to Jehovah. The law so understood has the same power over men's hearts to-day. It brings out the dormant, deadly sin of the heart. It is possible that there is in this State more than one man fifty years old who has never been outside its borders, has never wished to go out, and never intends to. Do you know how to *make* him travel? Pass a law that now he shall never leave the State. He'll be out in less than twenty-four hours. It is only because Paul understood the tenth command to say thou shalt not desire, that he was at once inflamed with *every* desire. How then *is* the law practical? Why, he who imposes on men his own *will* imposes his own desires in their heart. For how could the man be said to be under God's will who should seek anything but what God wishes? Accordingly, we find the condemnable desire or desires continually qualified in the New Testament as your *own* lusts. (Jas. 1:14; II. Tim. 4:3; II. Pet. 3:3; Jude 16:18). Again, as the lust of *the flesh* (Gal. 5:16; Eph. 2:3). Again, lusts of their *own hearts* (Rom. 1:24). Again, the lusts of *your father*, the devil, (John 8:44). *Youthful* lusts (II. Tim. 2:22). Lusts of *men* (I. Pet. 4:2). *Ungodly* lusts (Jude 18), and in one very instructive case, *the former lusts* (I. Peter 1:14), so-called because in regeneration man's own desires pass away, for Paul says that Christ crucified, the flesh with the affections and desires. What man longs for ceases at the cross, and what God desires in the soul begins there. Henceforth the new-born soul rejects every wish that springs from himself, and he desires only what God desires for him. Less than this is not piety. Otherwise Christianity would be an intolerable burden, instead of a daily delight, for with the will of heaven and the desires of the flesh in the same breast, the house would be divided against itself.

But why discuss at this length *epithumia* after asserting that it is not covetousness, and that *epithumia* and *pleonexia* are not synonymous terms? Master and slave are not synonymous terms, but each is necessary to give meaning to the other. No slave, no master; no master, no slave. What is covetousness, or rather what is *pleonexia*? Let us hear Achan again: "And Achan said when I saw among the spoils a goodly Babylonish garment, and two hundred shekels of silver, and a wedge of gold of fifty shekels weight, then I desired them and—took them (Joshua vii: 20, 21)." Now, somewhere between Achan's desire for these things and the taking of them the *pleonexia* arose. Had he desired them and not taken them he would have violated the tenth commandment, but he would not have been guilty of *pleonexia*. And what did occur in poor Achan's soul between his first inflaming look at the beautiful goods and his final burial of them securely in his tent? First a battle with his conscience as he remembered the interdict to take nothing from Jericho. And finally a determination to have these goods at all hazards. He subjected himself to his *own* desire. He became servant to the desire of his flesh. For the time he cast off obedience to God.

The case of our first mother is the same. She forsook God and subordinated herself to her own desire. "And when the woman saw that the tree was good for food * * * a tree to be desired to make one wise, she took of the fruit thereof and did eat" (Gen. iii: 6). Covetousness, *pleonexia*, then, is not desire, it is controlling desire. The covetous man is he who seeks to possess what *he* wants. He is one whose will and skill are active to secure what *he* holds to be good. When the will becomes the creature of the flesh by desire, making that desire more towards the compassing of its object, then you have *pleonexia*. Every unregenerate man's life is a life of *pleonexia*, and in describing such a life in a broad scale Paul uses just these two words, desire and will. Speaking of unregenerate men, he says: "Among whom also we all had our conversation in times past in the lusts (*epithumiais*) of our flesh fulfilling the desires (*thelēmata*—wills, or wishes) of the flesh and of the mind" (Eph. ii: 3). This antiquated rendering in King James version, whose age is scrupulously respected in the Canterbury revision, is displaced in the American Bible Union version as follows:—"Among whom we also all walked in time past in the desires of our flesh, doing the will of the flesh and of the mind." T. S. Green's translation (Two-fold, New Testament) is substantially the same. This Scripture means, then, that men live in their desires by doing the will of these desires, and I have no little confidence that this passage gives Paul's idea of the sin under consideration. The Epistle of James

(i: 14) furnishes a similar passage: "Every man is tempted when he is drawn out and enticed by his own desires. Then desire, when it has conceived, gives birth to sin." The harlot desires embracing the will, brings forth the base child—*pleonexia*.

The covetousness we are considering begins in a longing for something outside of what God has made ours, and is completed the instant we determine to have that thing. It is a compound of wish and will, a mingling of desire and purpose, it is the acquisitive sentiment of the unsanctified heart.

The popular notion, springing up from the composition of the word, "to have mind," is inadequate as a definition. The comparative element in the word seems to have been lost; or I can detect no trace of it in any place where it is used in the New Testament. Covetousness is not to wish more or to seek more possessions. This is its fruit. It is to go after more than God allows. Its comparative element, if it has any, looks at the divine restraints upon the heart and it cries out for more room. It defies the limits which God has set about things. It invades these limits and helps itself. The sin lies at the point of invasion. Hence Paul says let no man go beyond and covet (1 Thess., iv: 6).

Archbishop Trench, in his synonyms of the New Testament, is certainly wrong (p. 79) in making uncleanness a species of *pleonexia*. To be sure it is frequently associated in the New Testament with impurity; as when in Ephesians (iv: 19) Paul speaks of some who "work all uncleanness in covetousness." The explanation of this association is historical. Uncleanness was the sin of the Greek of that time. His desires would naturally be directed by the spirit of his age, and his covetousness would show itself accordingly. Covetousness is a term as general as envy or hate. A man may hate anything, but the hatreds of men will be determined by their times. This country hated England once and wrought her all the injury it could in this hate. We do not hate her now. Equally wrong is it to connect this sin, as we do to-day, solely with money getting. To be sure in the present wild desire for wealth covetousness exhibits itself here more strongly just at present. But covetousness has every field for its own. The desire for reputation, education, station, ease, anything may lead to covetousness. Why Paul cautions the Corinthians, lest in making a collection for the poor saints they incur the sin of covetousness. Says Trench (Synonyms, p. 79) "*pleonexia* is the drawing and snatching by the sinner to himself of the creature in every form and kind as it lies out of and beyond himself." And Bengel in *explaining* its frequent connection with unchastity says: "Man, outside of God, seeks his food in the material

creature, either by pleasure or by avarice. He appropriates to himself the good of another" (Comment on Rom. 1: 29.) The term is general.

Again, the man whose fields brought forth plentifully, who determined to store and keep the whole product,—was he covetous in the sense we have reached? Is desiring to keep what we have the same as the desire to get what we have not? No. The hold-fast vice is not called *pleonexia*, but *philarguria*, a dangerous sin to be sure, and one lying so near to *pleonexia* that it is hard to distinguish between them. And yet they must not be confounded. What God has *given* a man has a different color from that which he seeks for himself. Honest possessions impose heavy responsibilities, but they are not sinful until a man holds them contrary to the will of God. But even then they do not incur the censure constantly meted out to *pleonexia*.

Having pursued this wolfish vice of *pleonexia* to its lair we may ask why is it called idolatry—"the covetous man who is an *idolator*" (Eph. 5:5)—"And covetousness which is *idolatry*" (Col. 3:5). In recurring to the definition we find an answer. The covetous man is not subject to the will of God. He is subject to his own desires and purposes. To "change the glory of the uncorruptible God into an image" (Rom. 1:23), is the outcome of that which has first taken place within. For Paul says this concrete idolatry was reached by the ancients thus: "Who when they knew God glorified him not as God neither were thankful" (Rom. 1:21). They refused to submit to him, and this refusal is the essence of idolatry. The very act of refusal is to forsake his will for some other.

Between submission to him and submission to something else there is no middle ground. Jesus said you cannot serve God and mammon. A man cannot look upward and downward at the same moment. And this comprehensive statement, you cannot serve God and mammon, needs special consideration as to the scope of its application. An unscriptural meaning has been forced in the word *mammon* so that it has become a synonym for wealth, and only the rich are suffered to be in danger of *mammon* worship. But if idolatry lies in insubordination to God, then the poor man is as liable to be a *mammon* worshipper as the man well to do. Jesus impresses in the context the utmost latitude on this word. Let us hear him: "You cannot serve God and *mammon*, *therefore*, I say unto you take no thought saying what shall we eat, what shall we drink, wherewith shall we be clothed, for after all these things do the heathen seek." The pursuit of what men are pleased to call the "necessaries of life" is heathenish. The *mammon* against which he cautioned

was not riches and affluence, but that corroding daily care, which does not seek *first* the kingdom of God. To be dragged in the train of new anxieties is slavery, is mammon worship, is idolatry, and to this the poor man is as liable as the rich.

Finally, no sin receives more withering condemnation in the Bible than this one of self-seeking. It is the source of war, as when James says: "ye lust (*epithumeo*) and have not, you kill and do sin to have." It defeats every prayer. "Ye ask and receive not because ye ask amiss, that ye may consume it upon your lusts (*hedonais*)." It is stamped as adultery: "You adulteresses, know you not that the friendship of the world is enmity with God?" God is the rightful husband of the heart. To seek anything outside of him is a sin like that which defiles the marital relation. The covetous man is catalogued in scripture with the drunkard and the murderer. He is said to be capable of all uncleanness. Paul declares that he shall no more inherit the kingdom of heaven than a thief, a drunkard or an extortioner (I. Cor. VI. 10). He forbids the Corinthians to even eat with a brother who is guilty of this sin (I. 5:10), and such a horror has he of it that he writes the Ephesians (5:3) not even to name it, to shun the mention of it as they do the unclean words fornication and uncleanness, and his judgment of it is, that it be put to death (Col. 3:5)—"*mortify* therefore your members which are upon the earth * * * * evil, concupiscence and covetousness, which is idolatry." One may ask, should not this sin that seems so fair in many of its features, while it is so subtle and destructive, receive much more attention in the pulpit than it usually commands?

The next paper, by the REV. C. R. HENDERSON, D.D., of Detroit, Mich., was as follows:

SIN OF COVETOUSNESS.

TRACED IN THE LIFE OF TO-DAY.

I.—In order to examine our own hearts and to try the guilty, we must have a clear definition of covetousness. Paul commands the church to exclude the covetous along with idolators and the unclean. In a court of justice, the indictment must specify time, place, act and the statute which is violated. It were absurd to charge one before a judge with having a reputation as a "bad" or "mean" man. Covetousness is an inordinate or lawless desire for wealth; that is, for any object which can gratify human appetite or desire. All desire which is excessive in degree, or directed toward forbidden objects, is condemned in the decalogue. It is an aggravation of guilt

that every sin is the perversion of a good faculty. Man takes the marble which the Creator designed for an image of angel or Christ and carves out of it an ugly Bacchus or Mammon.

Christian moralists have not generally attempted to state just what fraction of one's income a man must give to be free from guilt. One might give all his goods and yet gain no profit, if he had not love. Even those who claim one-tenth of income for specially benevolent work fix no rule. Duty may sometimes call for more; sometimes for less. But some definitions are altogether too loose. For example: we are advised to "give until we feel it as a sacrifice." One could drive a carriage and four horses through that rule. There have been holy men who 'took joyfully the spoiling of their goods,' and there have been men, professors, who have given a scant dinner to holy men with most melancholy and funereal aspect. There are church members in good standing who suffer martyrdom at every missionary collection.

The Hebrew law, adapted to immature piety, measured out duty by exact quantity, and gave minute directions for tithe, offering and sacrifice. But the New Testament nowhere specifically names a ratio. Dr. F. Wayland voices the uniform teaching of Christian ethics: "No definite rule is laid down in the Scriptures, but merely the principle is inculcated. All that we possess is God's." It is fair, however, to suppose that a free Christian will do as much as a Jew under bondage to law. There is a growing conviction that a good working-rule is the consecration of one-tenth of our income to benevolence. The Bible commands us to give as we have prosperity,—a qualitative but not quantitative law. Dr. Ashmore wisely quotes the test of St. John: "Whoso hath the world's goods, and beholdeth his brother in need, and shutteth up his compassion from him," a rebuke to those who can "stand idly by and never tease their souls for some great care" of the world's grief and corruption. Shakespeare has no mathematical ratio in mind when he sets the typical Antonio and Shylock before us, liberal and churl.

It may be difficult to detect this vice. It is a pirate sailing under the flag of trade. In a commercial age and country, where we have no aristocracy, it is often treated as a broadcloth and satin sin, patrician and polite. And yet the instinct of society is the Ithuriel spear to reveal the native hideousness of the sin and to judge the covetous with approximate justice. The rich Scotchman who refused to sign a subscription was rightly characterized as of a class of men who "keep the holy Sabbath day,—and all else they can get their hands on."

II.—We shall be heard with more consideration if we are just

and fair, in reference to the lawful desire, whose abuse covetousness is. The sternest prophet, in our day, must preach to men versed in political economy, and ready to detect an error in argument.

It is not wrong to wish for wealth. This appetence was part of that original constitution of man which the Creator pronounced "very good." The merchant's piety is not inferior to that of the coward ascetic who deserts the world to save his soul alone.

The possession of wealth, honestly gained, is not an evidence of selfishness. An eminent orator fixed the limit of honest wealth at three hundred thousand dollars. His choice of that limit, rather than three hundred or three hundred millions was purely arbitrary. The progress of society requires reservoirs of capital. Unless we adopt the despotism of State Socialism these reservoirs must be in the name of capitalists selected by natural processes as most fit to manage them. It is best that these capitalists should be Christians. The saintly Wesley said: "Make all you can; save all you can; give all you can." No man can give until he makes. The portion of wealth devoted to productive enterprise may be as truly devoted to God as that which is given to the poor as alms, and it relieves more distress and causes less debasement than results from a benevolence which is not thoughtful.

That portion of a man's income which is spent upon his own culture, and the education of his family, may tend to glorify the Creator in the perfection of His creatures. The best gift which man or God gives to the race is a perfectly-fashioned character.

" Plant a poet's word even, deep enough
 In any man's breast, looking presently
 For offshoots, you have done more for the man
 Than if you dressed him in a broadcloth coat
 And warmed his Sunday potage at your fire."

A Christian man is to be praised rather than blamed, if he manifests public spirit and helps to make a Christian country somewhat better than a pagan land. Nor should pastors forget, in their zeal to build up a church, that there are times in the history of good men of business when a large subscription would ruin their business credit. A man must be judged by his general conduct. Direct, frank, tender and confidential inquiry, is better than backbiting, saves a reputation, and may, with returning prosperity, secure a grateful and liberal shower of gold. There are times when the prophetic woes are untimely and cruel.

It is not uncommon to see judgments of men based on exagger-

ated estimates of income. It is generally safe to sell out at the estimate put on wealth by common rumor.

The economist, Mr. E. Atkinson, claims that our national income has been overestimated by able writers. Dr. J. Strong, for example, in his inspiring work, "Our Country," compares growth in wealth and growth in giving; and asserts that our national wealth increased from 1800 to 1880, 170 per cent.—that is, from \$16,160,000,000 to \$43,642,000,000.

Mr. Carnegie, whom we delight to honor, says the growth from 1880 to 1886 was from \$48,950,000,000 to \$50,000,000,000, and that our "annual savings" were \$1,050,000,000.

Mr. E. Atkinson claims that our "annual savings" are only about \$900,000,000 for the United States, and that the statistics before 1870 are not reliable. Even the annual national product of industry, over eleven billions of dollars, does not look so immense when divided among 60,000,000 of people. This gives an average for heads of \$500 a year, including millionaires, or about 40 cents a day to each person, for subsistence, savings, gifts, and all. The average farmer has an annual income, including value of articles consumed at home, of about \$419, out of which he must support an average of 2.9 persons, or more. It is curious to observe that the optimistic capitalist, the restless socialist at war with our social order, and the zealous pleader for missions, base their arguments on a similar method of estimating the public wealth, all misled, say some, by misinterpretations of the census.

There is one immense item which is usually omitted when the Christians of this country are charged with covetousness: the item of public charity. It is true that charity by force and taxation is unscientific and un-Christian. The method is a fruitful cause of pauperism, but the sentiment which sustains it is sublime and Christ-like. But if you try to learn how large this item is, from the U. S. Census, you will be deceived, as so able a writer as Mr. Carnegie was when he gave us "Triumphant Democracy." His chapter on pauperism is a very pleasing work of fiction. It is probable that one State pays more to support its "out-door" poor than the entire sum found, and, without explanation, in the Census. This is a most unfortunate error, because it obscures some very mournful facts and perils. If the entire gifts of our people to benevolence were counted, the conclusion would be more favorable than as it is often presented.

Let us be generous even to the rich. They are beset by visionaries and beggars. The red radicals declare that all their rents and profits are mere robbery. The economists insist they must save

more and spend less. The professional philanthropists steal their time until they think they will not make any profits. And a thousand people ask them for the fifth, fourth of their income. If the rich man grows brusque, the town votes him a churl.

“Altruism is raised to the highest place among the virtues, whenever it can be taught as a counsel of grace to other people. Literature is saturated with denunciations of the wealthy, praises of the poor, and rapturous laudations of self-abnegation, not as a mode of action befitting all mankind, but as a duty peremptorily required of Dives.”—*London Spectator*.

Balak complained that Balaam blessed those whom he was sent to curse. Perhaps you think I should begin to curse the covetous. But a judge has more weight than an advocate. And we must avoid the error of the man who began by denying the existence of Satan and ended by finding him everywhere, even where he was not.

Incidentally we have tried to shut the mouth of the covetous, parry his excuses, and map out a basis of judgment.

III.—But, with all just allowance, it is true that covetousness is a widespread moral disease. The discussion must be repulsive. I cheer you with the prospect of one coming after me with the hygienic herb in his hand.

1. Covetousness poisons *family life*. If we can trust, even in part, the daily press and illustrated papers and social novels, as mirrors of life, this serpent is in the home. Courtship is often a cloak of self-interest. Young men go to the probate court records to discover how much has been left to the heiresses they woo. A rich girl is some times doubtful whether it is her worth and beauty or her bank account which attracts the insects. Where Mammon walks in the bower there crawls insincerity and cynicism. Women themselves are enfeebled by breathing this atmosphere.

“ Alas when sighs are traders' lies,
And hearts'-ease eyes and violet eyes
Are merchandise.
Base love good women to base loving drives.
If men loved larger, larger were our lives ;
And wooed they nobler won they nobler wives.”

The peace, beauty and culture of the established home are invaded by this Vandal of inordinate money-hunger. The miser starves his (first) wife and children to fill his coffers. The merchant spends his strength and time in business and leaves home to perish. What wonder if his wife should, in rare instances, become fickle and frivol-

ous, and if the boys grow up spendthrifts, eager for the "old man's" death.

"What more, O Avarice, canst thou do to us,
Since thou my blood so to thyself hast drawn,
It careth not for its own proper flesh."

Purgatory XX., 80.

2. Avarice is Philistine; it antagonizes culture with coarse weapons. It fights taxation for High Schools and Universities; it grudges the outlay which increases custom; it waters the planted seed as with tears of bereavement; it turns the ingenuous youth from liberal culture and teaching professions to mercantile life. The greedy man writes on his mind as on his office door this legend:

"No entrance here except on business."

Wordsworth bewailed this tendency:

"The wealthiest man amongst us is the best:
No grandeur now, in nature or in book,
Delights us. Rapine, avarice, expense,
This is idolatry, and there we adore;
Plain living and high thinking are no more."

The miser's treasures are "unassumed heaps." Men import at great cost breeding animals from Europe and let out their pulpits and schools to the lowest bidder.

3. Covetousness assumes the form of prodigality. Avarice is only one species of the genus. Covetousness may be as "free in scattering and squandering, as it was eager and unscrupulous in getting." Both forms find their root in "the fierce and ever fiercer longing of the creature which has turned from God, to fill itself with the inferior objects of sense." (Cowley, Chaucer and even St. Augustine had noticed this connection before Trench). Syn. N. T.

How many Christian farmers waste fertilizers and leave costly machines to rust unprotected!

This nation pays a devil's tithe, even more than one-tenth of the national income, for intoxicants and tobacco, if we count \$700,000,000 for the former and \$400,000,000 for the latter. We are not a nation of misers, but we waste the Lord's property. The chapter on "Wasted Resources" is long and dark. The carts of city scavengers reveal the wastefulness of Christian kitchens. Forest fires, terrific results of criminal neglect, waste property for which we must give an account when Michigan is as barren as Palestine. Dante, with the prophetic insight, punishes miser and prodigal in the same circle of hell. In Inferno one sees hoarders and wasters in company, abusers

of wealth ; misers rising with clenched fists, spendthrifts with close-cropp'd hair ; " the two bands forever crawl in opposite directions half-way round their dungeon, howling as they impel before them weighty masses which clash in infernal harmony with their mutual revilings."

4. Covetousness, this " likerousnesse of herte to have erthly things," may be traced into business habits.

" I will not say that men are villains a' "

but that,

" When self the wavering balance shakes,
'Tis rarely right adjusted."

Men tie up their income so they can feel they have nothing to give. Flocks, herds increase, but the farmer is poor. The covetous adds to his acres and knows they are annually rising in value and yet declares he is land-poor and is eaten up by taxes. He locks up his heart and throws the key into the well or forgets the combination.

Dishonesty in trade springs from this vice. It is this which incites to robbery and fraud, and causes men to emigrate to Canada. It is this which entices men and women to evade the revenue laws and smuggle jewels and silks across the barrier. And to what shall we assign as to a cause the perjuries of men of wealth and property, who try to escape taxation by lying reports to assessors ?

When a conscientious and orthodox preacher tries to expound the Bible he is stirred to the disagreeable task of denouncing those who " oppress the hireling in his wages." But scientific men are now telling us to paste opaque paper over those passages; they are obsolete. Comfortable prospect ! If we should discover that sewing women and miners are driven to vice or starvation because of scant wages we need not call the employer to account. One of the ablest writers on sociology says : " The rate of wages is the rate at which services are exchanged for the means of subsistence under free contract and competition. It is, therefore, determined by supply and demand like price, rate of interest, rate of foreign exchange, and all other cases of value. There is no social question, or struggle of class with class, involved in wages."—*W. G. Sumner*.

Now it must be acknowledged that very important changes have taken place since the days of Amos, when the employer 'sold the poor for a pair of shoes and panted for the dust,' the real estate, 'on the head of the poor.' There is not here an arbitrary monarchy to overburden the people, no system of slavery which took all and gave bare subsistence, no serfdom to fix a man to a locality, no imprison-

ment for debt, which subjects the debtor's body to the oppressor. For these important changes we are thankful.

But there are men entitled to consideration who deny that the rate of wages is fixed by this "iron law." Passing by, with strong disapproval, the extravagant assertions of the Socialists, we find a conservative writer like Mr. Rae, declaring that the rate of wages is somewhat flexible, that it fluctuates between a minimum which the laborer must have in order to exist, and a maximum which is the highest the employer can possibly pay, and continue in profitable business. It is in this margin where trades organizations and the play of freedom can, to some extent, affect for good or ill the reward of toil.

But even if we granted that the rate of wages is fixed by invariable laws absolutely beyond the power of the employer to change, the conditions under which the workmen exist are very generally, greatly in the power of the employer. If covetousness cannot change the wages, it can refuse to adopt health-saving devices in mines and factories ; it can put cost against life ; it can choke the clerk in an atmosphere reeking with poison, and keep the girl standing at the counter till strength is gone ; it can send sailors to brave the storms on lake and ocean in rotten ships, which avarice built for speed and loaded to sinking. Covetousness can send a lobby to the state capital to resist legislation which tends to protect life and health. The records of English and American law-making are spotted black with stories of resistance to reforms. Mr. Pidgeon's splendid book on "Old World Questions" shows what a humane employer can do and, in contrast, what avarice refuses to do.

Political economists, who say the rate of wages is fixed by forces absolutely beyond human choice, point out the fact that increase of efficiency would increase the rate of wages. Then, if covetousness refuses to establish manual training schools and trade schools, to adopt measures which will improve the morality and intelligence of the human machines who are counted as so many hands, to that extent it is responsible for the rate of wages. If experience proves the value of "profit-sharing," the form of co-operation in which capitalists have their only chance to take the initiative from benevolence and rule as the most fit to rule, then, blind covetousness will be ready to oppose it. Here we pass from political economy to ethics ; but the science of human life is wider than the science of wealth.

" Where we disavow
Being keeper of our brother, we're his Cain."

Look at the tenement houses in our cities. See there the malign

influence of greed. Their walls crushing the workmen who build them ; cellars steaming with dampness ; families crowded together in badly constructed halls where decency and purity are impossible : physical and moral contagious diseases bud in these low sties to reach the upper strata of society in due time. There is covetousness at its demoniac work.

Look at the children toiling still in unfit places where the greed of parents or employers has fixed them. The establishment of the factory system has banished many of these evils by securing publicity ; and employers are not more cruel than peasant manufacturers were, and they are more intelligent. But still, money-thirst sometimes even evades wholesome laws to secure child-labor where men should work, because child labor is cheaper. Still we hear the "cry of the children" :

" Grief has made us unbelieving,
We look up to God, but tears have made us blind.
Our blood splashes upward, O gold-heaper,
And our purple shows your path ;
But the child's sob in the silence curses deeper
Than the strong man in his wrath."

And it is covetousness which is chief cause of unnecessary Sunday slave-labor. Engineers and machinists are repairing mills while their employers are at church. The wage-receiver casts this in the teeth of the parish visitor. Railroad men curse us because they have no day of rest. Society must have dividends even if it destroys its Sabbaths and its men.

And what are preachers saying to the pew renters, central aisle, who pay the pew rent out of the rents of blocks and hotels where liquor is sold ? With what rhetorical flourishes are we avoiding rebuke of wholesale merchants who permit or require their salesmen to secure customers by "treating" to liquors ? And what ought we to say to members of churches who permit vilest dramas to be acted in theatres owned by them ?

Making just and generous allowance for real grievances of workmen, candor compels us to confess that no potent factor of social unrest comes from envy, sordid desire for sensual delight, and intense earthliness among the lawless. Envy which steals under the forms of law and walks in respectable society uses violence when it takes possession of the vagabond ; but it is the same vice still, whether it press down from above or burst in explosions from beneath.

The more obvious and familiar forms of covetousness require few words at this time. Our very alms are tainted.

" Alas for the rarity
Of Christian charity."

It is here we discover the hideous and cruel nature of this vice. There are sometimes victims of a calamity which might befall any man; honest laborers starving in sight of bread; and sinners whose very crimes and obduracy are arguments for pity dying in sight of eternal life. Some profess to be Christians, and will not carry a cup of water across an alley.

We attempt to enter the heart of a miser. We are asking *relief* for the worthy poor,—not at all for the men beggars who can work and will not. At the threshold we encounter an argument. We are told that under an industrial regime of free contract social classes owe nothing to each other. We are told by an eminent economist: "The law of the survival of the fittest was not made by man and cannot be abrogated by man. We can only by interfering with it produce the survival of the unfittest." There is some truth in this statement. The best method of expressing sympathy without lowering wages, debasing the poor, and filling the land with beggars of the Italian type is worthy of profound study. The Christian Church has not been uniformly wise in charity. But it is mere miserliness which makes natural selection the exclusive law of social relations. The objections are valid only against unwise methods of giving.

Sociology has not yet declared that the miser is the best friend of man. Science of Society points out the fact that progress has come to man largely because of the prolonged helplessness of human infants. The altruistic impulses which grace our nature and relieve the tragedy of selfishness, and which are perpetually reinforced from the Cross of Jesus are creating a philosophy more kind and wise than one dictated by avarice.

The world will continue to despise the class of men who—even if they make bequests to good causes—are compared to the domestic animal which eats voraciously, is good for nothing in life, and useful only when it is cut up.

One of the most subtle temptations is that to *ecclesiastical* money-thirst. Many of the splendid churches and huge parochial schools of the Romish Church are paid for out of the scant wages of the poor, who, in long and hard winters, are frequently supported at public expense by taxation. And Protestant Churches have, though not so frequently, reduced members to beggary by false teachings on this subject. It is not always easy to distinguish our professional

ambitions and church pride from zeal for God's cause. One of the most monstrous manifestations of covetousness is the theological scheme of antinomians, "hard-shelled" Baptists and others. Mephistopheles sits in the professor's chair and propounds cynical syllogisms which justify Christians in refusing to sustain missions and Sunday schools. There are wide districts in this country where this teaching has left a black and barren waste in the church life. Where the stingy demon thrones himself on theology, and in the theologian's heart he is the nearest to Satan that ever he shows himself.

The REV. P. S. HENSON, D. D., of Chicago, followed in an address on

"THE SIN OF COVETOUSNESS; HOW BEST CORRECTED?" †

He said his earliest ambition had been to go to Congress, and one of his latest realizations was to go. He had profound reverence for this body and believed more ponderous wisdom had been uttered in this Congress in a few hours than is uttered at Washington during an entire session. He thought he knew what covetousness was when he came, but was a little uncertain about it now. He did not propose to treat it in the Hebrew or Greek sense, with a little common sense. Covetousness is not only a grasping after what is not our own, but an undue holding on to what is our own.

1st. It needs heroic treatment. Preach not only at the sinner around the corner but also at the Achan in front of you. Begin with the convert. He may think you are after his money, but it makes no difference. That's what you are after in fact, for if he does not get in the habit of giving at first, he never will.

2d. It needs early treatment. Children should be urged to generosity, and their gifts should be to something they can understand. They ought to know they are doing a good work. An intelligent sympathy in giving is highly beneficial.

3d. It needs definiteness of presentation.

4th. It needs training in systematic giving. We are to give and serve from a conviction of duty. Spontaneousness is good but may not be lasting. A gushing oil-well is a fine thing, but most of the oil used in the world is pumped. Principle is the pump that keeps generosity in motion. There is more good experienced from doing

† We greatly regret that the manuscript of Dr. Henson's address, mailed from Chicago, failed to reach us, and is probably lost. Owing to great pressure of work, he has been unable to prepare another copy. This very imperfect sketch has been gathered from the newspaper reports.

what is right when you don't feel like it than in doing what is right when you do feel like it. The idea of duty will grow.

5th. Best of all, we need the development of a higher type of piety: The blood of Christ is the only thing that can purge away the sin and keep the sinner clean.

In closing the Sixth Annual Session of the Baptist Congress, the President, HON. WM. S. HOLMAN, JR., said :

The moment of the closing of the Baptist Congress is very near at hand. I think that we will all regret that this is the case. The chairman knows of no one who will more fully voice our feelings than will Dr. Jeffrey of this church.

The REV. REUBEN JEFFREY, D.D., Pastor of the First Baptist Church, of Indianapolis, Ind., in whose house of worship the sessions of the Congress were held, spoke as follows :

Mr. President and Brethren :

If the rules of this Congress allowed us to vote, I think that it would be decided by a large majority that the Baptists of this city are much more indebted to the Congress than the Congress is to them. In fact the only debt the Congress owes is a considerate appreciation of our endeavor to make your visit agreeable to you. On the other hand, you have placed us under many obligations. We are glad that you came, and are sorry that you are going away. You have conferred a blessing upon our homes, in giving us the privilege of greeting you, of knowing you. You have enriched our lives and added treasure to our memories. You have cheered the loneliness that some of us feel in the comparative isolation of our position.

You have conferred a benefit upon the Baptists of the State, especially the pastors, who have enjoyed the rich treat of gazing upon the faces of men whose names give lustre to the denomination, and your words of wisdom have enriched their thoughts and enlarged the scope of their sympathies with the great movements of the day, and in their behalf I ask you to come again.

You have discussed great and vital questions. You have demonstrated the practicability of unity in diversity even within the bounds of a denomination. You have given expression to different and independent opinions, with individuality and courtesy, and yet proven that we have a unity that is rooted in our common love for Christ,

our loyalty to his authority and our common agreement, as to the essential teachings of the inspired Word, and the promptings of the spiritual life. You have taught us what perhaps our fathers did not fully appreciate, that it is within the sphere of the preaching of only "Jesus Christ and him crucified," to discuss questions that pertain to the bettering of man, earthly living, that recognize the brotherhood of the human race, the doctrine of human rights and human welfare, the establishment of righteousness among men on earth as an important preparation for glory in the life to come. In a word, you have confirmed the truth, that it is the mission of the church to give expression to the law of self-sacrifice in practical illustrations of the spirit of Him "who went about doing good."

You have given to this community the secret of our denominational strength. It has been a perplexity to some how the Baptist denomination, without bishops, presbyters, synods and assemblies, as governing powers, can hold together so closely, live together so harmoniously and increase so rapidly. You have helped to prove that it is sufficient and safe to trust the ability and willingness of men who are taught of God and left free to interpret, each man for himself, the Bible, under the guidance of the Spirit, to come to a consensus of vital and essential truths, and to find their union with each other in their common union of sentiment and feeling. Moreover, you have given honor to the Baptist name. The people of Indiana have learned that the Baptists are somebody. I shall not have to apologize in Indianapolis for the Baptist Congress. The Baptists of Indiana, from various causes, are not as numerous, or as influential as they are in many other States, but the people at large will learn that the Baptists have a ministry which, in intelligence, culture and power, will compare favorably with that of any other denomination. They will get lessons as to the catholicity of the Baptist spirit and of the breadth and wealth of Baptist sympathies, with all the vital questions of the age, and of Baptist efficiency in contributing to the spread of general intelligence.

Personally, I am thankful for this privilege of grasping by the hand once more the friends of former years, and forming the acquaintance of brethren whose faces are new to me. You have inspired me with the feeling of hopeful courage. Sometimes, as I have seen my compeers in age falling on the right-hand and on the left, I have been tempted to despond. I have feared that there might grow up an impression, especially as year after year I have noticed that at our anniversaries the same old war-horses are trotted out to the front, that the Baptists were furnished with only a few great names. I have been inclined to ask, "When these have passed away, who have

we to take their places?" But, to-day, I am relieved. This Congress has demonstrated that we have in the rising ministry men who are equal to the task of carrying forward the Baptist cause. By the splendor of their talents and the ardor of their consecration, they will lead the hosts of Zion to still greater achievements. You will return, I am sure, with the conviction that we have men in the West—yes, even in this Hoosier State—men who can make a speech, read an essay, and tell a story.

I trust you will all go back to your homes with a better impression of Hoosierdom. Indiana, in its agricultural and mineral resources, will compare with any State. In intelligence we are not so far behind the age as some of you may have thought. Men from this State have achieved distinction in the halls of Congress. The decisions of our Courts are more largely quoted and approved as expositions of constitutional law than those of any other State. As to the pulpit, surely it is no assumption in me to remind you that the Eastern churches have drawn upon this State for pastors and preachers, whose names are household words throughout Christendom, and who have been, and now are, the glory of the American churches. And we have "a few more of the same sort left." Not that we claim a monopoly in this respect. This Congress has proven that they can be found in Michigan, Illinois, Minnesota and Kentucky.

As a last word, dear brethren, in behalf of our churches and our homes, let me say your coming has been a benediction. We ask a place in your hearts, and we shall cherish you in ours. We will rejoice in each other's prosperity, we will sympathize with each other's we will pray for each other, and labor on in the prospect of the sorrow, joy that awaits us when our work on earth is done.

The REV. G. D. BOARDMAN, D.D., Chairman of the General Committee, made the following remarks :

Mr. President :

Most heartily do I reciprocate these eloquent words which have fallen from the lips of one whose silver hairs seem to indicate an age to which he has not really attained. For the moment I have been transported back to the city which has given me a home these many years. For he and the friend who preceded him have in former time served with me in that distant city. As I listen to them, it seems to me as though I were back in my own city, and as though they were still flashing thence an illumination whose glorious splendor is irradiating even Indiana and Illinois.

My friend from Chicago says that one of the earliest and strongest wishes of his childhood was that he might some day go to Congress. Thank God, he has come to Congress. He has just been discussing the sin of covetousness as only a Congressman can discuss it. Nevertheless, I am reminded of what Mrs. Partington said on a certain occasion: "Isaac, my son, bring in the clothes from the clothes-line; for they say there is a Congressman-at-large."

Allow me to read a section from our Plan of Organization: "*The plan of the Congress is to promote a healthful sentiment among Baptists through free and courteous discussion of current questions by suitable persons.*"

Observe, first, the purpose of the Congress: it is to promote a healthful sentiment—a vigorous, noble, uplifting, upbuilding sentiment; and this in our own glorious brotherhood of Baptists. But how shall we promote this healthful sentiment among Baptists?

Observe then, secondly, the method prescribed: "Through free and courteous discussion of current questions by suitable persons." The method, you perceive, involves several particulars. First, by "*discussion*;" not by communing together over matters about which we agree; but by discussing questions about which we disagree. Again, by the discussion of "*current* questions." For it is often charged against Christianity that it is an impracticable religion, having to do altogether with things that are quite superior to this world. But look at the topics provided for our discussion in this present Congress. First, "The Organic Union of Christendom." Is not this a current question? Is there a thoughtful person in Christ's church who does not often ask—How can we realize our Master's promise of Christian Unity? Again, "Phases of the Labor Problem." Could there be a more exactly "current question" than this grave problem which is agitating millions of our race, and engaging the best thoughts of our ablest thinkers? Again, "Proper Function and Net Influence of the Newspapers of To-day." What can be a more vital question than this—the character of the daily and weekly literature which is to leave a profound and indelible impress on us as families, as individuals, as citizens, as Christians? Again, "Improvements in the Methods of Theological Education." Can there be a question more vitally affecting our coming ministers, and through them our coming churches? Again, "Woman's Work in the Church." Is there in all Christendom a thoughtful, devoted woman who does not feel that this question is of fundamental importance in that problem of church life? Again, "Proper Attitude of the Church toward Amusements." There is not, I venture to say, in all

Christendom a thoughtful and conscientious boy or girl, young man or young woman, who is not profoundly interested in this intensely practical question. Once more, "The Sin of Covetousness." What topic more pertinent to the times, more grave in itself, more vitally affecting the interests of the Church, individually and collectively, than this topic of Covetousness? Surely, if ever there were current questions, it is these which we have been discussing. Again, the Plan of our Congress requires that current questions be discussed in a "free and courteous" way, by "suitable persons." Free lances have been hurled here; hurled with aim and with force: but they have been hurled with fairness, chivalry and grace: and this, if you will allow me to say it, because they have been hurled by Baptists who are "suitable persons."

No wonder then that this Congress has been a brilliant success. Brother Jeffrey, you have a right to be proud of your beautiful city. You, and the Local Committee of Arrangements, have received us with such courteous hospitality as to prove that you have indeed been mindful of the apostolic mandate: "Be not forgetful to entertain strangers:" and, let me add, perhaps the advantage has not been altogether on your side: for in thus shewing your love unto strangers, it is possible that some of you have been entertaining "angels unawares;" from the depths of our hearts we thank you. We also thank the Executive Committee for having selected as the Secretary of the Congress this honored brother from New York, who has spent much of his valuable time during the year in quietly and self-sacrificingly making his wise arrangements for this Convention, and who has without fear or favor given to his little bell no uncertain sound. We also thank our honorable Chairman for the graceful efficiency with which he has presided over our sessions, skillfully steering the independent craft of a Baptist Congress between the rock of Scylla and the whirlpool of Charybdis. We also thank the Press, both secular and religious, for the interest it has taken in the Congress, and for the fair reports it has given of our meetings. We also thank the Choir for their faithful attendance, and for their rich music, the strains of which have often sounded as preludes to the anthems of the eternal temple. Above all, do we thank our Father in heaven for the grace he has bestowed upon us, and for the rich hope that our names are enrolled in the Lamb's scroll of Life. Heaven grant that in the day when the Son of Man shall sit on the throne of his glory, and shall gather before him all his saints in the eternal Con-

gress, all we who are about to separate and go to our several homes may be re-gathered into the everlasting tabernacles,

“ Where congregations ne'er break up,
And Sabbaths have no end.”

The sixth annual session of the Baptist Congress adjourned with the benediction by the REV. L. KIRTLEY, of Terre Haute, Ind.

The officers and speakers of the Baptist Congress and other guests were entertained in the evening at a reception and banquet given by the First Baptist Church of Indianapolis, at the New Denison House.

ANNUAL PROGRAMMES.

GIVING PARTICIPANTS, SUBJECTS, PLACES AND YEARS OF
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- ANDERSON, GALUSHA, D.D., LL.D. Religious Instruction in State Education, Baltimore, 1886.
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- BIBLE, Right Use of in Public Worship, T. T. Eaton, D.D., Philadelphia, 1884.
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- BRAISLIN, EDWARD, D.D. Liturgy in Baptist Churches, New York, 1885.
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- CHRISTIAN LIFE, The Meditative Element in. I. Paper by Rev. T. S. Barbour. II. Paper by F. H. Kerfoot, D.D. III. Paper by H. G. Weston, D.D. Brooklyn, 1882.
- CHRISTIAN ART IN RELATION TO BAPTISM. E. Dodge, D.D. LL.D., New York, 1885.

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- CHRISTIANITY AND THE BODY. S. L. Caldwell, D.D., Boston, 1883.
- CHRISTIANITY IN BUSINESS. Prof. E. P. Gould, Boston, 1883.
- CHRISTIANITY, The Social Element in, as related to Church Work. Z. Grenell, D.D., Boston, 1883.
- CHRISTIANITY IN POLITICS. A. S. Woodworth, Esq., Boston, 1883.
- CHURCH ARCHITECTURE. Rev. C. J. Baldwin, Boston, 1883.
- CHURCH ARCHITECTURE. J. R. Thomas, Esq., Boston, 1883.
- CHURCH AND THE CHILDREN. I. Paper by Rev. John Humpstone. II. Paper by A. J. Sage, D.D. III. Paper by Prof. A. E. Waffle, Brooklyn, 1882.
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- ELDER, J. F., D.D. Sabbath Observance; Scriptural Grounds, Baltimore, 1886.
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OF THE

BAPTIST CONGRESS

FOR THE

DISCUSSION OF CURRENT QUESTIONS

HELD AT

The Grace Street Baptist Church, Richmond, Va.,

DECEMBER 4TH, 5TH AND 6TH, 1888.

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Ebenezer Morgan, Esq.,.....	Croton, Conn.		
Rev. R. Montague,.....	Colorado Springs, Col.		

(*Deceased).

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. This Committee shall be composed of persons who have consented to contribute five dollars or more annually towards 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 meeting 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 the 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.

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-five minutes, and volunteer speakers ten minutes. The Secretary shall notify all participants by stroke of bell three minutes before, and also at the expiration of their time, beyond which no one shall be allowed to proceed.
6. NO resolution or motion shall be entertained at the public conferences.

PREFATORY NOTE.

The papers and addresses included in this report have been submitted to the authors and speakers for revision. In a few instances proofs have not been returned to the editor in season for use, and addresses appear as furnished by the stenographer's notes, with the corrections of the editor. It is hoped that they will be found to be generally accurate.

A few changes have been ventured in the arrangement of the matter included in the report, but in the main the present volume has been made to conform to the style and arrangement adopted by the previous editor, the Rev. Walter Scott, whose faithful and efficient services for many years, as the Secretary of the Congress, were highly appreciated by the Executive Committee, and whose retirement, necessitated by the growth of his pastoral cares, they deeply regretted.

The Executive Committee desire to express their indebtedness to the presiding officers of the Congress, the Hon. J. L. M. Curry, LL. D., and the Hon. J. A. Hoyt, for their active co-operation in all efforts for the success of the Richmond session ; and to the Local Committee, for their admirable arrangements contributing so largely to the comfort and pleasure of those in attendance, and to the many brethren and friends of whom want of space prevents special mention.

Copies of the Fifth and Sixth Annual Reports of the Congress may be obtained of the Secretary.

PROCEEDINGS
OF
THE BAPTIST CONGRESS.
1888.

First Day.

GRACE STREET BAPTIST CHURCH, RICHMOND, VA., Dec. 4th, 1888.

Morning Session.

The Seventh Annual Session of the Baptist Congress was called to order at 11 o'clock A. M., by Col. James A. Hoyt, of Greenville, S. C., one of the Vice-Presidents.

After the singing of the hymn, "Come thou Fount of every Blessing", the Chairman read a portion of the 107th Psalm, and then called on the Rev. Frank S. Dobbins, of the First Baptist Church, Allentown, Pa., to offer prayer.

Col. HOYT said:

Brethren:

I crave your indulgence and co-operation in the discharge of the duties of my position, until the coming of our beloved and honored brother, who has been chosen as the President of this Congress. I hope I shall have your help in whatever duties I may have to perform. Dr. W. W. Landrum, Pastor of the Second Church of Richmond, will give us a word of welcome.

Dr. LANDRUM spoke as follows :

Mr. Chairman and Brethren of the Congress :

The partiality of the Committee of Arrangements has assigned to me the task of acting as the door-keeper to this Congress. It is a responsible and altogether agreeable position. A similar officer in Washington City, though estimating himself at this crisis in public affairs a bigger man than Grover Cleveland or General Harrison, may discover he is in a responsible but altogether disagreeable position. Members whom he wishes to take in he will be compelled to put out, and members whom he might wish to put out he will be compelled to take in. But, in an assembly like this, there is no necessity for the exercise of judicial functions at the portal. The door is not barred or bolted, it is not ajar with a suspicious squint behind it, but opened wide. Indeed, the Samson of a sexton had been ordered to unswing it from its hinges. Come in, therefore ; come in, brethren beloved, from the North and the South, and the East and West, and every quarter of our fair broad land. Parties there may be in the Republic ; perhaps it is best that there should be ; but there are no parties in our Baptist Kingdom. A Baptist is a Baptist wherever he is found. More than that he could not be ; less than that he is not willing to be. There may be wings—a right wing and a left wing—to that evil omen bird-ecclesiastic, spreading over *Andover* and flapping and fighting the air in opposite directions, but he is a *rara avis* which we have no desire to import. Brethren of other denominations may feel it necessary to have a Northern Methodist Church and a Southern Methodist Church, and Presbyterians may have a Northern and a Southern Church, but Baptists are one and indivisible, henceforth and evermore. What have we to do with all our solidarity, with factions tormenting the bosoms of sister communions ? We welcome you, therefore, as a National Baptist Congress. We are National Baptists in Richmond, each and every one. We understand you have come here as a company of wise brethren to confer together about matters which are of momentous importance to every citizen, and patriot, and Christian. We propose to sit at your feet and learn all the good things you may desire to teach us. Don't imagine we are superlatively humble. Our satisfaction is derived in part, perhaps, from the fact that we are not responsible for your utterances. We propose to exercise the Baptist right of private judgment. This is a free-trade Congress, as we understand it. Let there be no tariff for revenue of personal behoof or advantage upon these intellectual goods brought to our market for home consumption. Let the rich and the poor,

the uneducated and the educated, have their part of the common feast. Above all, let there be afforded no protection, however incidental, to the infant industries of agnosticism and infidelity. We welcome you to Richmond. It is a staid old conservative historic city. Of its 80,000 inhabitants, about half are professing communicants, three-fourths—four-fifths, probably, of our citizens habitually attend Divine worship. Of the 63 churches in the city, 22 are Baptist, with an aggregate membership of about 18,000. You have no need to feel lonely, any of you, here. Every fourth man you meet on the street, from the Mayor to the humblest workman, is a brother. His hand, and heart, and home are alike open to you. We do not believe on this broad continent there is a city more evangelical and conservative than Richmond. We do not believe there is a better Sabbath-keeping people among the English-speaking race. Let me say, one other Congress met here. It was a company of bold, brave statesmen. The South loved and honored them. They proposed great things and entertained very high hopes, but left hurriedly between two suns, and they have never assembled again. Let this be a warning, therefore, to any who may seek to attempt the impossible, or to strive against God's orderly government in nature or human nature.

But we are persuaded better things concerning you, brethren. The blessing of God Almighty be upon this National Baptist Congress, warming your hearts, clarifying your minds, purifying your consciences, and determining your wills for the promotion of His declarative glory, for the education of the Church of Christ, and for the salvation, development and sanctification of that world for which Christ died. Welcome, brethren, welcome in the name of the Lord.

Professor W. C. WILKINSON, D.D., of Tarrytown, N. Y., responded to the address of welcome. He said:

Mr. Chairman and Brethren:

By compulsion of the Chair, I become the voice of response on the part of the Congress, to the words of welcome to which we have just listened. You observe on the second page of the programme that there is no appeal from the voice and will of the Chairman; we must do as he says. I suppose I owe the honor of my call to this place to some repute I perhaps may have for being able to make a very short speech; and the exigencies of the occasion require, I am sure, brevity.

Very gratefully we do respond—we of the Congress who come as

strangers (or brethren)—to these words of welcome; and we promise to accept, as cordially as it is proffered, your hospitality. I want to charge you, sir, and the brethren, that the fame of the famous Southern hospitality rests for the time in your hands, and I want you, and we want you, to take good care that it suffer no eclipse. We are here at the very capital of Southern hospitality and Southern culture, and if you do not somewhat surpass the general standard of Southern hospitality, we shall be disappointed (laughter).

I want to say further to those of my brethren who come here for the first time, and have never yet known what it is to stand under the sun of the sunny South, that you have got an experience before you, in learning what Southern hospitality and Southern cordiality, and Southern grace of welcome, mean. If these brethren undertake to surpass themselves, you may confidently expect they will exceed all your expectations, and you will go away saying the half had not been told you.

But now we come to exchange hospitality; for the true hospitality of the present occasion is hospitality of mind toward ideas. Now let us who listen provide a wide and generous, open-minded and open-hearted, hospitality to the ideas that shall come before us. That does not mean that we shall necessarily accept them, but it does mean that we shall entertain them. In this way, therefore, let us exchange our hospitalities—hospitality of the person and hospitality of ideas. And may the true, invisible, but certainly present, Lord of the Feast shed down from His pierced hands, His own benediction on us all!

THE CHAIRMAN: The first topic for discussion before the Congress is Education, and the first paper to be read is

HOW FAR SHOULD THE STATE EDUCATE?

BY PROF. B. PURYEAR, LL. D., OF RICHMOND COLLEGE, RICHMOND, VA.

How far the State should educate depends upon the nature of the State. If the State be an hereditary government, a certain answer may be given; but if the State be a republican government, quite a different answer should be made.

We are thus brought to consider, on the threshold, the essential distinction between these two forms of government, and particularly to inquire into the functions and limitations of republican government.

"*Rex gratia Dei*", king by the grace of God, so far from being an obsolete, is the most potential force in all forms of hereditary government.

An hereditary king derives, not from the people, but from high Heaven, his right to rule. He is, in his own conception, and in the conception of his people, the anointed deputy of the Lord. Hence, disobedience to him is sacrilege. When every act that defines a tyrant marks his administration, and a long and incorrigible persistence in perfidy, oppression and wrong, weakens or destroys the loyalty of his subjects, the most potential force that holds them back from the last resort is the divine right of the king. And if rebellion come, if red-handed war be levied against his majesty, and he lose his head upon the block, how quick and universal is the recoil of popular feeling! A clamor of execration, in which join even those who had been arrayed against him, rises to Heaven for vengeance. Before the awful crime of regicide, the bad faith, the cruelties, the oppressions of the king do not rise to the dignity of a peccadillo. The king is dead; the king is a martyr. A sweet oblivion covers all his faults; revived loyalty exalts and intensifies all his virtues. Think how the British people in the 17th century, sought to appease their vengeance and to manifest their loyalty, by digging up and dishonoring the mouldering bones of the great Protector, and calling back from exile to his ancestral throne the lineal heir of the Stuarts.

" Not all the waters of the rough, rude sea,
Can wash the balm from an anointed king."

How different from an elective chief magistrate is the hereditary king, who appeals only to God for his rights! To his hands is committed, by divine appointment, the happiness of his people. He is the father of his people. His government is, and *ex necessitate rei*, must be, paternal. Having, in common with his people, a religious faith in the form of government which he administers, it is his right, it is his duty, so to educate them as to attach them to the honor and permanency of his throne, and so to give them contented happiness. According to their station and environment, he may give them secular knowledge, and not less, but more, religious knowledge. He must see that the knowledge dispensed, both secular and religious, is in harmony with the creed that props his throne. The strongest element in that creed is the religious element. His chief concern is the religious education of his people. If he is to have a peaceful and prosperous reign, and to transmit his crown in quiet succession, he must see that his people have the same faith with himself, alike in religious and political creeds. In a word, it

is the duty of such a government to form subjects, or, as we would say, make citizens. Its powers and discretion in the matter of education must be very large.

But when we come to consider the relations of a republican government, like ours, to popular education, "*quantum mutatus ab illo.*" The situation is utterly reversed. Its work is limited, first, by the necessity of the absolute exclusion of all religious knowledge; secondly, by the consideration that such a government cannot, without treason to its creed, undertake to form public sentiment; and, thirdly, that existing as the common agent of all, the burden of taxation must be equal and uniform, and severely limited to the necessities of strictly economical administration. If these propositions be successfully maintained, then it will follow, as a necessary corollary, that the action of republican government is limited to furnishing only primary education, and that to those only who, without its help, could not possibly obtain it.

I.

We proudly claim that the absolute divorce of Church and State is the splendid contribution of America to the political philosophy of the world. Now, if the State respect this great doctrine, it must rigidly exclude religion from its schools. But, except in purely elementary studies, religion will obtrude itself. In the study of nature and its phenomena the mind seeks, by supreme necessity, the First Great Cause. In the pursuit of these studies religion will not down. It exhales from the petals of every opening flower; it freights every breeze that sweeps the fields. We feel, in our inmost souls, we feel, that there is one by whom the worlds were made, whether we study the nascent germ, warmed into life by approaching summer; or watch, in their silent courses, the twinkling stars; or stand by the sounding sea, and listen to the sad, hoarse monotone of its voice as the waves, in liquid music, kiss the shore. It permeates and saturates all history. In the realm of morals it is supreme. The only source of ethics, the only safe, infallible source, is the Everlasting Gospel. Now, to the young mind, excited, attentive, inquisitive, as to the most important truths that can ever engage its attention, the State can make no answer. It can attempt no answer. It can say nothing, it can teach nothing, which will offend Protestant or Catholic, Jew, Mohammedan, Buddhist, Atheist, Infidel, or the adherents of any religious sect or creed whatsoever. It must absolutely exclude religion, or revive the abhorred union of Church and State. Only intellectual education can be imparted; moral education must be utterly ignored. Desires are multiplied and intensified, but

moral character is not correspondingly braced and buttressed to prevent their unlawful gratification.

The tendency of such education is to give a keener desire and a sharper instrument for crime ; and more evil is likely to result to the State from weakening the moral stamina of its citizens, than good from their intellectual cultivation. The State, the republican State, is clearly forbidden by the religious element to go beyond the bare rudiments. I leave this topic, so fertile of suggestion, to consider our second proposition.

II.

In considering the political relations of the State to popular education—and our remarks are limited to popular education—it may be well to bear in mind that what we call The State will, in all probability, be, in the near future, the Federal Government. Already, it has taken no unimportant steps in the work of education, while the indications are clear that it contemplates other steps which, when accomplished, will put the whole machinery of education in its hands. Every President, from Grant down, with the significant and notable exception of Grover Cleveland, has recommended federal aid to public schools. The Blair Bill, appropriating to the States, during a period of eight years, 77 millions of dollars, has twice passed the Senate. It is as certain, as any event in the future can be certain, that during the next Congress it, or a similar bill, will become a law. What follows? The national government must follow its money with its supervision. Possibly, at first, the supervision will be somewhat superficial and perfunctory. But soon points of friction and interlockage between State and Federal government will be worn off, and any hostility to the co-partnership will subside into pleasurable acquiescence. The federal government, strengthening its grasp, will claim and exercise control in proportion to its benefaction ; or, rather, like any other donor or patron, will exercise control beyond all such proportion. The time comes when the magnificent largess, shared chiefly by those out of whose pockets little or none of it comes, expires by limitation. But will it expire? Will it be suffered to expire? As well might we expect the famished tiger to relax his hold when he has but planted his teeth in the quivering flesh, and but tasted the warm blood, of his yet struggling victim. The largess will be continued—the largess enlarged. And so we have continued the co-partnership between the State governments and the Federal government ; the influence and control of the State governments constantly becoming less, the influ-

ence and control of the Federal government constantly becoming greater.

The State Governments, raising money by direct taxation, get it with extreme difficulty, and but little of it ; the Federal Government, raising money by indirect taxation, gets it in immense volumes and with fatal facility. How to get money into the treasury is the trouble with the State Governments ; how to keep it out is the trouble with the Federal Government. Mr. Cleveland made the supreme effort to keep it out, with the result only of getting himself out. In such a condition of things, what more natural, more easy, than the suggestion that the whole burden of education be lifted from the State, to which it is heavy and grievous in the extreme, and be thrown upon the National Government, to which, with its congested treasury, it would only be an immense relief ? And thus we have a national system of public schools.

This is our manifest destiny, unless the tendencies which are now uppermost shall somehow be reversed. This conclusion is greatly strengthened by the fact, known to us all, that for causes, which I will not discuss, the Federal Government has been constantly growing stronger, while, *pari passu*, the counteracting forces of State autonomy have been weakening until at last they have become almost effete.

And, now, whether we consider the National Government, supreme over all the States consolidated into the American Union, or the individual Commonwealth, as The State, what is the relation of The State to the matter of popular education ? What, by the genius and theory of free institutions, is The State forbidden to do, and what is it allowed to do ?

We answer, first, that such a State clearly cannot undertake to form public sentiment. Its claim, its supreme claim, its only claim, to public confidence and support, is that it embodies and reflects the will of the people, expressed under constitutional forms. It has no other claim to authority. But this claim is annihilated at once if it appear that the public sentiment which it professes to reflect is the product of its own manufacture. When a Republican Government undertakes so to educate the rising generation as to implant and fix in their minds the ideas they are expected to express in adult years at the polls, it reverses the foundation maxim of its creed. Even the desire to do so is distrust of popular supremacy, and the attempt, to use the language of the law, is a confession of judgment in advance. Public sentiment, not as formed or fashioned by government, but free, untrammelled, spontaneous, is the only force that can infuse into free institutions dignity and respect, vitality and power.

What right have those who happen to be in power to take to themselves the flattering assumption that, unless they make the citizens, the citizens will not be made right? Were they not, at least originally, wafted into power by the free breath of public opinion? How dare they assume that, without their constant manipulations, the forces which control American life will all get awry?

Public sentiment, as it freely develops itself out of its natural environment, is the basal force of representative government; and the unqualified acceptance of this doctrine is the supreme test of loyal devotion to free institutions. To accept it half-way, to distrust it, to doubt it, is treason to the genius of the Republic; and this offence they commit who hold that public sentiment is unsafe and dangerous unless it be the manufactured product of legislative enactments.

This spontaneous public sentiment is a safer guide in all the perils of the State than the made article. It may fall far below the standard of the philosophic statesman, and at times run into rude and giddy excesses; but in the collision of conflicting interests and the clash of opposing passions it will give us, like the action of diverse forces in mechanics, a resultant in which all the forces shall appear, and all the forces shall be modified. The condition of safety comes—the happy medium—in which all are victors and all are vanquished. This is the guarantee against crudities, vagaries, excesses. A public sentiment, formed and directed by those in power, for the accomplishment of personal ends, is far more likely than the crude article, however rough and unpolished, to work mischievous results. At first the education furnished by the state was properly restricted to primary education. But now the doctrine is boldly avowed and proclaimed that it is the duty of the State to prepare the young for the functions of citizenship. Hence the public school takes a wider and a loftier range. The State must see that instruction be given, not simply in the rudiments, but in all those branches of learning which, in its judgment, are necessary to fit the voter for the intelligent discharge of the right of suffrage. A necessary feature of such a scheme is compulsory attendance. The public school without compulsory attendance is a contradiction and an absurdity. Property is taxed to support the public school on the ground that it thus protects itself against the lawlessness and misrule of an ignorant population. Property, therefore, has a right to demand that it have the thing which government compels it to pay for, to wit, the education of the voting population. It is exactly those from whom property has most to fear that are least likely to attend the schools, and government must step to the front and enforce its contract with the property holder by compelling their attendance. And so we find

that whenever a political community, of its own free will, and without external coercion, has adopted a system of public schools, the fact of the case is in harmony with its philosophy. Compulsory attendance is the rule ; voluntary attendance is the rare exception.

Government establishes the schools, determines their location, appoints the teachers, and prescribes the courses of study. At what age the children shall go ; where they shall go ; to whom they shall go ; how long they shall go ; what they shall learn and what they shall not learn ; what history shall be taught and what excluded ; what theories of the constitution and of constitutional interpretation shall be favored, and what forbidden ; how the political dogmas of one party may be upheld, and those of the opposing party ignored or condemned ; how the whole subject of civics, ramifying in every direction and interlacing with almost every branch of learning, may be so colored and qualified as to accomplish political ends: all of these things the government must decide. Every idea that reaches the youthful mind has percolated through the powers that be, and acquires the characteristic tinge by a necessity as obvious and imperative as that which gives to the Yellow Tiber its color. The Romish Hierarchy, though supremely successful, has never employed an agency so powerful for compelling uniform and passive acceptance of the doctrines and dogmas of the Holy Catholic Church. Wit, strained and tortured, cannot devise, the poet's fancy in the rapt hour of its frenzy cannot body forth, a more efficient scheme for imprinting and stereotyping on the minds of the incoming generations the principles and the policy which the party in power may wish to perpetuate.

The government moulds public sentiment not less than the potter moulds the plastic clay in his hands. The public sentiment which the government reflects is the public sentiment which the government has manufactured. The government is no longer the reflex of public sentiment, but public sentiment is the reflex of government. The government exists, but its animating principle is gone. The form of liberty remains ; but it is a lifeless form. It is no longer infused with the vitalizing breath of freedom. Elections all go one way, and are determined with mechanical precision. The party in power perpetuates its power by a machinery that is as sure as hereditary succession. The foundation doctrines of free institutions have been reversed, and the Republic is dead !

Such are the patent tendencies of the times ; tendencies which will be intensified and more rapidly developed, when the national government shall show its hand in making citizens.

Absolute uniformity of political opinions not possible when the

work is in the hands of the different states, will be of comparatively easy accomplishment when the national government, the state paramount, shall attempt the task.

Tentatively, and in a small way, we have of late been making citizens. Is the result satisfactory? I know of no better rule by which to judge than that given by our Saviour: "By their fruits ye shall know them."

Was suffrage ever so unblushingly venal as it is to-day? Are not votes almost as marketable as pigs and poultry? Is not this the day of machine politics? Is it not notorious that the emoluments of office are swallowed up many times in the expenses of the canvass, so that the game is restricted to those who can command immense money, or worse still, to those who know the dark and devious ways of reimbursement.

III.

All men are endowed with certain unalienable rights; among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. Government is instituted among men to protect them in the enjoyment of these rights. Such is our fundamental political axiom. The rights of individuals, and the functions of government become clearer, when, as with us, what is called universal suffrage prevails. When the State ordains universal suffrage, it invests every man with the full dignity of citizenship; establishes absolute equality of chances; and bids them fight the battle and run the race of life, for themselves, saying, in effect, that it can neither help them in the one, nor carry them in the other. Every man is expected to take care of himself, to support his family and educate his children, and meet his appropriate share of public duty and responsibility. This axiomatic principle commits republican government to the strictest economy of administration. If it takes my money beyond the demands of plain and supreme necessity, it obstructs me in the pursuit of happiness. If it take all my income save what is simply necessary to my support, it reduces me to the condition which defines a slave. And to whatever extent it takes my money beyond my just share of the expenses of economical administration, it makes me, *pro tanto*, a slave.

Unnecessary taxation, therefore, abridges and may destroy those unalienable rights, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

Whenever a man's natural rights are abridged, then an obligation, instinctively recognized and obeyed, is imposed upon society. By incarceration we deprive a man of his liberty. Society must support him, for it has deprived him of the means of supporting himself. Lately, our slaves in the South received from their masters food and

raiment, shelter and medicine. They were denied their freedom. Now, with freedom and the franchise, they get these things only if they can earn them. The cases in which one man's property may be taken for another's benefit must be few, closely limited, and plainly exceptional.

Republican Government, then, has no right to adventure into the field of philanthropy or charity, nor to undertake the costly solution of the problems of sociology. Its business is not to do good, nor to make men good, or even happy; nor is it ever so pernicious as when it makes the attempt. It has no appliances for such work, and cannot possibly do such work. Its great business is to enforce justice, simple justice, between man and man, leaving it to individuals to do all the good, and get and enjoy all the happiness they can. To enforce justice it has ample means and machinery. To this end, it imposes fines and forfeitures, builds jails and penitentiaries, constructs the gallows and the guillotine.

But its good! Its good is evil.

Let me illustrate: misfortunes have come thick and fast upon my neighbor. Doing his best, he is yet unable to provide the bare comforts of life for his family. By slow degrees he is brought to a condition of actual suffering, and the report of his trouble reaches my ears. The cold snow is drifting before the piercing winds, yet I seek his home. I find father and mother ill-clad and shivering, huddling about the dying embers. I am moved to pity by the wretched spectacle. Comforting him as best as I can, I leave with the promise of immediate relief. Soon his ear attent catches the crunch of approaching wheels. The precious load—a full supply of food and fuel, clothes and blankets—is placed before him. What is the effect upon me? What is the effect upon him? My selfishness is rebuked. I am softened and subdued by "that touch of pity that makes the whole world kin." My sympathies, evoked by him, embrace others, for I have learned the luxury of doing good, and have experienced that it is more blessed to give than to receive. I am a better man, a better neighbor, a better citizen.

And how with him? He, too, is a better man. Just now he railed against the world for its cruel indifference. Hate rose to his heart and dropped from his lips. He recalled, with a malediction and a curse, the oblivious neglect of some, whom, in the better days, he had befriended. Such feelings have vanished now. His heart is tense with gratitude, because, before it was too late, relief came. The changed current of his feelings reaches beyond his benefactor. He reasons, and correctly reasons, that others also would have come to the rescue, if only they had known. His malice is gone, his misan-

thropy is dead. Charity has done its perfect work, making donor and recipient alike happier and better ; and society, to its remotest ramifications, feels the blessed influence.

Audi et alteram partem. The government makes its levies upon me for the relief of people who need no relief. It demands the fruits of my labor that others may enjoy advantages, which I have not enjoyed ; which my children may not enjoy. I am outraged and gangrened by a sense of wrong, and my hate lights on those on whom the law bestows my goods. I am made a worse man, a worse neighbor, a worse citizen. And how with them? Do they feel gratitude to me? Just the reverse. The law gives them what they get ; they enjoy my goods, and thank me not. Rather, they nurse a feeling of hostility towards me as a sort of justification of the wrong which they instinctively know has been done me for their advantage. The enforced charity—if such a contradiction of terms may be allowed—embitters both parties, does harm, only harm ; and society, to its remotest ramifications, feels the baleful influence.

A few simple words, fortunately committed to the immortality of type, which fell from the lips of him, who spake as never man spake, reveal to us, with the clearness of light, our whole duty in this matter. "The poor ye have with you always ; and wheresoever ye will, ye may do them good." Whensoever ye will ! Whensoever ye will ! But our modern reformers would say, not "whensoever ye will," but whensoever the taxgather comes along, and not "ye may," but ye must, do them good.

When government, shooting out from its appointed orbit, embarks in philanthropy, and founds and supports mammoth charities, it destroys, for still another reason, that sweetest of the virtues, private charity. The heavy taxation, thereby rendered necessary, keeps us poor, or makes us poor, and so diminishes or destroys the ability to give. But more ; the government becomes the public almoner, and so relieves us of the obligation to give. Why should we give from our scanty means, when our almoner has already made munificent provision from our pockets for the very objects that solicit our individual contributions? The virtue of giving is, therefore, uncultivated ; we have neither the desire nor the ability to give. And so all the relations of private life are left arid—unwatered by the dews of that gentle pity, under whose silent but vivifying influence spring into life, love and gratitude, peace, hope, and happiness.

And it is just these quiet and silent forces, alike in the material and the moral world, and not the noisy and obtrusive machinery of human legislation, that dominate and bless mankind.

The dews of heaven sett'e silent and unseen in the darkness and

stillness of night, giving fresh vitality and vigor to the vegetable world. The earth turns on its axis, giving us the blessed succession of day and night, and yet we hear no creak. It moves in its elliptic path around the sun, with inconceivable velocity, giving us the charm of changing seasons, and yet our ears are not stunned by the rush of ethereal waves.

I advance another step, and put in another plea against the high taxation, which must always be demanded, when government undertakes to form society, or indulges in freaks of philanthropy. It paralyzes industry, drives capital to its hiding places, abates self-respect, destroys self-reliance. Men will not work if they are deprived of the fruits of their labors; capital will not come forth and quicken business, if, as soon as it shows itself, it is to be taxed to the verge of confiscation. If you wish to make things lively; to hear the clatter of machinery and the whirl and whiz of banded wheels; to see ascending everywhere the smoke of busy factories; to see the pestilential marsh reclaimed, and the desert converted into a garden, if you wish to cause the maximum amount of happiness by pushing the productive capacity of the country to its maximum limit, you must put men upon their mettle, and let them know they must do or die. Why should I do, if my doing goes against my will, to another's benefit? Why should I do, if the law gives me what I want, without my doing?

Consider the Virginia boy, beginning at five years old to learn his letters at the public school. He advances from form to form, completes the course of the public High School, enters the University, and at the age of twenty-one, graduates from that illustrious institution with the highest scholastic distinction known to our laws: the degree of Master of Arts of the University of Virginia. He looks back and surveys his career. He recalls the fact that from early boyhood and all along through lusty youth he has drawn all his intellectual nutriment from the shrivelled dugs of this old commonwealth. In this long curriculum he has learned many things. He may be able to take the parallax of a fixed star, or to scan Attic metres with a critic's ken. But there is one thing he has not learned; one thing against the very conception of which all the facts of his education stand opposed; one thing, without which even the highest education is but a curse; one thing, which, by all odds, is a better guarantee of good citizenship than all the learning of all the schools; he has not learned the great lesson—the primal civic virtue—of self-reliance.

If the public has borne him thus far, why, he asks, and logically asks, may he not continue to look to the public for patronage and

support. His muscles have never been stiffened and strengthened by toil ; his brains have never been exercised in solving the great problem of "How to Make a Living." If he become a chronic candidate for office, a placeman, a parasite, a magnificent pauper, he but illustrates in mature life the teachings and tendencies of his scholastic career. Better than he, far better for all the functions of citizenship, the man who, taught by hard necessity, has learned, though unlettered, to shift for himself, and who with proud personal independence, relies only, and with calm assurance, upon his own stout heart and strong arm to take him through the world.

With such dangers and difficulties do we environ society, when we disregard the Divine Economy and put the state, the impersonal state, the soulless state, *in loco parentis*. Parental love, from the lowest form of animal life to its crown and culmination in man, is the divine plan for the protection of the young. Any human contrivance is disastrous, which weakens the ligaments that bind together parent and child.

If it be objected that the scheme which I have not sketched, but, by a process of elimination, have only indicated, is impossible of accomplishment, my reply, ready and triumphant, is that during a period covering more than nine-tenths of her existence as a political community, Virginia, to say nothing of other States, had just such a scheme ; that it was then that her people were industrious, honest, contented ; that, peerless among her sister commonwealths, she produced the statesmen who guided the councils, and the chieftains who led the armies, of the Union ; that she furnished to the country and to mankind, the brightest and the purest names that irradiate the pages of American history : names among the few, and chief among the "few, immortal names that were not born to die" : names, which lustrous with immortal honor, unstained of crime, have traveled in glory round the world, and will go sounding through the ages "down to the last syllable of recorded time."

In the absence of the writer, the next paper was read by the Secretary. It was entitled :

COMMON VERSUS PAROCHIAL SCHOOLS.

BY THE REV. PHILIP S. MOXOM, PASTOR OF THE FIRST BAPTIST CHURCH, BOSTON, MASS.

The theme pre-supposes a certain antagonism between the Common Schools and the Parochial Schools. Unfortunately, there is a very sharp antagonism between the American Common Schools

and those Parochial Schools which are founded and supported by the Roman Catholic Church. This antagonism springs from the difference between the main idea which underlies the Common Schools and the main idea which underlies the Parochial Schools. The aim of the former is *to make good citizens*; the aim of the latter is *to make good Roman Catholics*. The former seeks the full, rounded development of the individual in his relations to society and the State; the latter seeks the production of a capable and obedient servant of the Roman Catholic Church.

The Common School is not, in any sense of the word, irreligious; it is simply non-religious, in the sense that specific instruction in religion, especially organized and sectarian religion, is left by it to the home and the church. The Parochial School is ultra-religious, in the sense that knowledge of religion as embodied in the Roman Catholic Creed and Church, is made pre-eminent. Cardinal Antonelli accurately expressed the spirit of Parochial Schools when he said, "he thought it better that the children should grow up in ignorance than be educated in such a system of schools as the State of Massachusetts supports; that the essential part of education was the catechism; and while arithmetic and geography and other similar studies might be useful, they were not essential".

Premising, then, that there is radical antagonism between the American Common School and the Roman Catholic Parochial School, I propose (1), to outline the *ground* and *functions* of the Common School, and (2), to set forth in contrast the idea of education on which the Parochial School rests, and to point out some of the practical results which the spirit and method of the Parochial School must produce.

I.—THE GROUND OF THE COMMON SCHOOL.

The Common School is an expression of the idea that the State has a right to assume the function of public education. *Has the State a right to Educate?* This the advocates of the Parochial Schools emphatically deny, except under such limitations as practically reduce the function of the State to the task of providing the cost of education. Father Conaty, at the opening of a new Parochial School in Boston, last July, said: "The State as educator of its citizens is a relic of barbarism". *The Tablet* declares: "We hold education to be a function of the Church, not of the State; and in our case we DO NOT and WILL NOT accept the State as our educator". A Papal Encyclical of recent date, says: "XLVII. Public Schools open to all children for the education of the young, should be under

the control of the Romish Church, and should not be subject to the civil power, nor made to conform to the opinions of the age". Similarly *The Catholic World* says : "The Church asserts and defends these principles, and she flatly contradicts the assumption on the part of the State of the prerogative of education. * * * *

While the State has rights, she has them only in virtue and by permission of the superior authority, and that authority can only be expressed through the Church." Many more quotations of like import might be given, but these are sufficient to define the Roman Catholic position.

The Common School stands or falls with the right of the State to educate. Now, in a Republic at least, the State is not a thing apart from the people. Materially, it is the Common-wealth. Politically, it is *the whole people exercising the functions of self-government and self-conservation*. The State is the organic people, and as such has not only rights, but also duties, for rights and duties are always cor-relatives. The ground of the Common School is the right and duty of the State to educate the whole people to such an extent as will secure the preservation of the State and the full development of its life. Popular morality and popular intelligence are vitally related to each other. They are practically inseparable. Both intelligence and morality are essential to the preservation of the State. No dangers to the integrity and wholesome development of the State that can possibly arise are equal in magnitude to the dangers that spring from these twin evils, ignorance and immorality. The right of the State to educate is the fundamental right of self-preservation. But mere self-preservation does not exhaust the right or duty of the State. The right carries with it the right to seek and to attain the proper ends of life through growth along the lines of true national development. This is but to say that the State, equally with the individual, is under obligation to live, and to unfold its powers to the utmost for the good of the world. To the question, then, Has the State a right to educate? we may answer, yes; the State not only has the right, but it also is under obligation to educate its citizens in just so far as is necessary to secure the two great ends of self-conservation and self-development.

To put the answer still more explicitly : 1. *The State must educate because political strength and efficiency are dependent upon general intelligence*. The conservative and guiding forces of a Republic are not outside and above the people : they are *in* the people—in the minds and wills of the many whose opinions and votes determine what shall be the character and policy of the government. Wide-spread ignorance is a perpetual invitation to Anarchy, with its

torch on the one hand, and Despotism, with its sceptre on the other. In this country it is the ignorance of many voters which makes opportunity for the demagogue and the political charlatan and corruptor.

2. *The State must educate because commercial and industrial prosperity and material progress of every sort depend on general intelligence.* Education produces thrift, skill and enterprise. The mastery of material resources is an intellectual triumph. An ignorant people is an unprogressive and impoverished people. The necessity of general education to economic prosperity appears most clearly when we examine the relation of intelligence to efficiency in labor and to general thrift. In 1870 the Commissioners of Education at Washington, sent out a series of carefully drawn, comprehensive and searching questions to the great centers of labor in all parts of the United States. These centers were so selected as to represent every kind of labor from the rudest and simplest to the most skilled. The object of the questions was to determine the relative productiveness of literate and illiterate labor. The answers revealed :

(1.) That an average common school education adds to the productiveness of the laborer, considered as a mere productive machine, 50 per cent ;

(2.) That the average academical education adds 100 per cent.; and

(3.) That the average University education adds from 200 to 300 per cent.

With equal clearness and cogency statistics demonstrate that education is the surest preventive of pauperism. A careful examination of the census of the British Isles indicates that, other things being equal, pauperism is in inverse ratio to the degree of education given to the mass of the people. The Board of Charities for the State of New York reported in 1877 that the total number of paupers examined over sixteen years of age, exclusive of unteachable idiots, was 9,855. Of these, 6,937, or over 70 per cent., were substantially illiterate. In 1870 a special examination was made in fifteen States, of 7,398 inmates of almshouses and infirmaries. Of these, 4,327, or nearly 59 per cent., could not read and write ; while in those fifteen States the average percentage of illiterates was only 6 per cent. of the whole population. This 6 per cent. of illiterates furnished that 59 per cent. of paupers. Results obtainable from the census of almost every country in Europe or America indicate that an illiterate person is from 20 to 30 times as liable to become a pauper as one who has received a common school education.

3. *The State must educate because the integrity and health of the*

nation depend on its morality, and morality is vitally dependent on diffused intelligence. Occasionally a doubt is expressed as to the importance of education to the moral well-being of a people, but a careful study of facts destroys the doubt. Moreover, education is a moral as well as an intellectual process. It is the rule that the moral life of individuals as well as of communities rises *pari passu* with a rise in intellectual life. The abundant statistics on the relation of illiteracy to crime which already have been gathered, teach an unmistakable lesson. Some of these statistics I give from the accumulations made by Senator Blair, of New Hampshire, to whom I am much indebted for the statistical material in this paper.

In France, in 1868, one-half of the inhabitants could neither read nor write. From this half came 95 per cent. of the persons arrested for crime. From the other half come only 5 per cent. That is, a given number of children suffered to grow up in ignorance produced 19 times as many criminals as the same number produced, who were educated to the extent, at least, of the elementary branches. In the six New England States, in 1870, only 7 per cent. of the inhabitants over ten years of age were unable to read and write; yet this 7 per cent. produced 80 per cent. of the criminals. That is, the proportion of criminal illiterates to criminal literates was as 53 to 1. This fact sufficiently indicates the moral effect of the New England system of education against Cardinal Antonelli's charge. Mr. Dexter A. Hawkins, of New York, has shown from the U. S. Census of 1870, the comparative number of illiterates, paupers and criminals to every 10,000 inhabitants produced respectively by the Roman Catholic parochial schools, the public schools in 21 States, and the public schools in Massachusetts. The following table is significant, to say the least:

To every 10,000 inhabitants,

	Illiterates	Paupers	Criminals
The Roman Catholic Schools produced,	1,400	410	160
The Public Schools of 21 States, "	350	170	75
" " " Massachusetts "	71	49	11

In the City of New York in 1870, among the illiterates one crime was committed for every three persons; while among those who had received a common school training, even as far as the elementary branches, there was only one crime to every twenty-seven persons. That is, the ignorant classes in that city produced 9 times as many criminals as they would have produced if they had been educated in the common schools.

One-thirtieth of the population of Pennsylvania, in 1879 and 1880,

was illiterate. This one-thirtieth produced one-third of all the crime or fourteen times its numerical proportion.

A careful examination of the statistics gathered from 20 States, gives the following average results :

(1.) One-sixth of all the crime in the country is committed by persons wholly illiterate.

(2.) One-third of all the crime in the country is committed by persons wholly or substantially illiterate.

(3.) The proportion of criminals among the illiterate is, on the average, ten times as great as it is among those who have received at least the elements of a common school education.

4. *The State must educate because the distribution of wealth is as yet so unequal that a majority of the people want the means to provide adequate facilities for education.* Under any system of private schools, a large proportion of the people would be left without any education save that furnished by the home and the street. Private benevolence, though it is more abundant in this country than in any other, cannot meet the need. Nor would the moral effect of education provided solely by private benevolence be as good as is the moral effect of the common school system, which is immediately created and supported by practically the whole people, and thus produces in the people at large the wholesome sense of self-help.

5. *The State must educate because many people want the motive to educate.* Appreciation of the necessity and value of education rises with the rise of individual intelligence. A problem with which the State must deal is the intellectual and moral inertness of the ignorant and bestial, and, in low forms, vicious class. In general, this class lacks the internal motive to educate. In simple self-defence, the State must apply to such the stimulus of an external motive. To prevent crime, which is as much its function as to suppress crime, it must prevent the needless production of criminals by forcibly dissipating that ignorance which is the largest source of criminal life. The equity of laws compelling the attendance of children at school during certain years of their life, is based not only on the sovereign right of the State to protect itself, but also on the duty of the State to conserve the rights of its defenceless subjects and wards. The parental right of control over children is not absolute. It has certain clear moral limitations. The father who will not give his children at least an elementary education, infringes on fundamental rights of those children, which the State is bound to guard.

6. And finally, *the State is bound to educate because only under State control can there be any equable and equitable distribution of*

the means and instruments of education. Private benevolence and individual enterprise inevitably favor certain sections. But the need of educational opportunities and facilities is universal. The State knows no favoritism. The poorest wards in our cities are as well provided with buildings and instruments and teachers as the richest wards. At least, this is approximately true; and this principle of equable distribution belongs radically to the idea of the common school.

To sum up this part of my argument: The ground of the American common school is the right and duty of the State to provide for, and, as far as possible, to secure, at least an elementary education of all the people irrespective of locality, social standing and economic condition. The right and duty of the State to educate are sufficiently demonstrated by the right and duty of the State to protect and conserve and develop itself as a national body comprehending the whole people. Whoever questions this right, questions the right of popular self-government. The common school is a natural and significant expression of the genius of Democracy. It is inseparably involved in that principle of blended liberty and law which is the organic and conservative principle of permanent human society.

II.—THE FUNCTION OF THE COMMON SCHOOL.

This function is two-fold.

1. *The Teaching Function.* How wide a field of knowledge the teaching of the Common School shall cover, and how high a grade of mental discipline in the pupils that teaching shall seek to attain, have not yet been decided. It is still matter both of debate and experiment. Into that phase of the Common School question I can scarcely enter here. But this much, at least, is no longer doubtful. It is the function of the Common School to teach: (1.) *The Elements of Knowledge.* Of these elements the primary and fundamental are *Reading*, which is the art of acquiring; *Writing*, which is the art of expressing; and *Arithmetic*, which is the art of reasoning. On this broad basis is reared the whole structure of human education as a purely intellectual achievement. To these fundamental elements, and by the progressive utilization of these elements, which in the acquisition become elements of power, may be added various branches of natural sciences; history, especially history of this country; languages, especially the English language and literature; the primary principles and the outlines of political economy; and

the organization and institutions of civil government, local and national.

It is the function of the Common School to teach: (2.) *The Elements of Industry*. On this point I anticipate the results of tendencies which are working and increasing in force at the present time in so much of the public mind as is seriously turned in the direction of general educational and social needs. Industrial training, as to its elements at least, belongs logically to the scheme of education which a Common School system properly contemplates. Our schools must produce not only *knowers*, but also *doers*. The training of the mind to think has its true correlative in the training of the hand to execute. The basis of technical skill and productive power must be laid in the primary training, which all the children of the land should receive (*a*), in the use of the eye and hand in drawing and simple construction; (*b*), in the knowledge and use of tools and materials; and (*c*), for advanced classes, in the rudiments of a trade, and the principles of domestic economy. That all this properly belongs to the function of the Common School will be perceived more and more widely as the industrial problem of our time and civilization discloses its ominous magnitude.

It is the function of the Common School to teach: (3.) *The Elements of Morality*. In the nature of the case, religion, as commonly conceived, rightly is excluded from the Common School. Our definition of religion as yet is sorely defective. But morality—the principles of right conduct in the various relations of life, and the universality and imperativeness of moral obligation—that broad basis on which society and commerce and government must rest, or fall in hideous ruin, belongs in the sphere of that teaching which is the proper function of the Common School. The teaching of morality contemplated here is (*a*), a careful and persistent discipline of children in moral habits. For the most part, elementary moral training must be in this form. A child can acquire a moral habit before it can intelligently grasp a moral principle. It is a vital part of Common School Education to produce in the pupils the habits of obedience, order, cleanliness, courtesy, truthfulness, honesty, self-control, and scrupulous regard for the rights of others. To these may be added unselfishness and reverence for all that is good and sacred. But, as early as possible, along with discipline in moral habits there must be (*b*), instruction in elementary moral principles. Habits will thus be justified and reinforced. Such instruction is not yet provided for, save, perhaps, in the general character and influence of teachers; but elementary text-books of practical ethics will be forthcoming for use in the grammar, if not in the primary schools.

Certain studies, as history and political economy, both of which belong earlier in the course of study than they usually are placed, especially the latter, cannot be pursued without involving very impressive instructions in morality. History is the record as much of the moral as of the social, industrial and political progress of the race. History cannot be taught intelligently without giving some pretty clear knowledge of the inevitable sequences of moral law, and the influence of spiritual forces in human society. Similarly, political economy can not be taught, either historically or critically, without involving a careful consideration both of moral principles and the moral sentiment.

2. A second and very important function of the Common School, and one which it discharges by virtue of its very constitution and aims, is *the social function*. A school is a great social force. Its influence works upon childhood, when mind and heart are most plastic, and is felt through all the after life. The Common School belongs to the fundamental idea of a Republic, as much because of its social significance, as because of its educational aims. Aristocracy intrenches and propagates itself in private schools. I shall not be misunderstood here. Some private schools are as broad and humane in their spirit as even the Common Schools. But the aristocratic spirit, in various stages of its development, creates schools which organize and inculcate, if not openly, at least effectually, the instincts and traditions of aristocracy. Examples abound to illustrate and justify this statement.

In the Common School the children of rich and poor meet on a common level. From the day the school opens a certain equalizing social process goes on. The result of this process is not that the children of the more refined class are dragged down, but that the whole school is socially lifted toward the level of the best. There may be rare exceptions, but this is the rule; for the entire influence of teacher, methods of work, and instruction, tends to this end. The aim is steadily at the best. The Common School is the natural foe to caste, and it fosters that social spirit which belongs to the very life, and is essential to the enduring integrity of the Republic. The process of social assimilation which goes on in the Common School is of immense importance in this country, where the population is annually increased by the arrival from many foreign lands of from five to eight hundred thousand immigrants. This mass of foreign people must be assimilated to the organic life of the nation, or remain as a perpetual source of peril. Assimilation naturally takes place most rapidly among the young. The Common School system of our land furnishes the chief assimilative force. It is the

great Americanizing institution. More than any other, it unifies feeling and interest, implants the germs of wide social sympathies, and creates and nourishes a healthy patriotism. This it does in part by its curriculum and methods of training, but still more by virtue of what it is, as being, in a special sense, a thoroughly popular and Republican institution.

III.—THE GROUND OF THE ROMAN CATHOLIC PAROCHIAL SCHOOL.

The Parochial School is based on the assumptions that the Roman Catholic Church is the infallible representative of God on earth ; that the end of education is to make obedient and capable servants of the Church ; and, therefore, that the Church must have supreme control of the means and methods of education. The State, if it carries on popular education at all, must do it under the control and direction of the ordained representatives of the Church. From this position the Roman Catholic Church has never receded. In this position it stands to-day as uncompromisingly in the United States as in Spain. Whatever slight adaptations in its course there may have been made to its surroundings in this land, there has never been any concession in its avowals of principle and purpose. American institutions have only superficially modified Roman Catholicism. Its essential spirit is unchanged and unchanging.

That I may not be suspected of misrepresenting, I will quote from representative Roman Catholic authorities. *The Catholic Review*, for April, 1871, said : " We deny, of course, as Roman Catholics, the right of the civil government to educate ; for education is a function of the spiritual society as much as preaching." *A Catholic Dictionary*, edited by William E. Addis and Thomas Arnold, a standard and conservative work, bearing the *nihil obstat* of the papal censor and the *imprimatur* of the Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster, declares that " The first and highest authority in all that regards education is the Church. With her sanction it should be commenced, and under her superintendence it should be continued." The article on " Education," from which I quote, recognizes three authorities in education, namely : the Church, the State, and the Parent ; but it entirely subordinates the State and the Parent to the Church, so that really there is but one authority. " The claims of the State," says this article, " become unjust and oppressive when, ignoring the still more sacred right of the Church to secure in education the attainment of man's highest end, it compels or tempts Catholics to place their children in schools which the ecclesiastical authority has not sanctioned." " Catholic parents," it continues,

“are bound to see that the teaching in the schools to which they send their children has ecclesiastical sanction, and to resist all attempts to make them patronize schools without that sanction. * * * Education has three principal ends—the first religious, the second political, the third domestic ; but among these the religious end takes the lead and dominates over the other two, on account of its intrinsically greater importance. And since, as explained above, we cannot walk securely in religion one step except in union with, and obedience to, the Church, every well-instructed Catholic understands that the Church must preside over the education of Catholics at every stage and in every branch, so far as to see that they are sufficiently instructed in their religion.”

In the Roman Catholic idea of education religion and God are identified with the Roman Catholic Church ; reverence for the Church, therefore, and unquestioning devotion to her interests, are the chief ends at which education aims. The purpose of the Parochial Schools is not to educate, in the broad and high sense in which the modern cultivated mind conceives that word, but to make firmly, loyal and obediently docile Roman Catholics. Patriotism, knowledge of history and science, culture and skill are secondary to knowledge and service of the Church. The one thing insisted on and emphasized above all others is the absolute, infallible authority of the Church. The Roman Catholic idea of education determines, of course, the character of the text books which are used in the Parochial Schools, and the character, as well, of the teachers in those schools. The whole system of Parochial education is organized about religion, not as a spiritual and universal principle, but as defined by the doctrines and expressed in the organization and ritual of the Church of Rome.

It remains for me to consider,

IV.—SOME OF THE PRACTICAL RESULTS WHICH THE SPIRIT AND METHODS OF THE PAROCHIAL SCHOOL MUST PRODUCE.

The regulative principle of Parochial School training being the infallible authority of the Church, it must follow that this system:

1. *Destroys intellectual liberty.* The pursuit of knowledge and the search of truth cannot be disinterested when the mind works under the rule of such a principle as that of papal infallibility. The facts of history cannot be critically investigated and impartially weighed, for they cannot be suffered to contradict this principle. The phenomena of nature also must be studied subject to interpretations of the world which are ecclesiastical and dogmatic. The mind is not

toned up and stimulated to a full and symmetrical development, for it is compelled to fit a certain unyielding mould. The conception of the infallible authority of a human organization not only fetters the mind by setting artificial limits to inquiry, but also prevents that unflinching sincerity in thinking and judging, without which intellectual liberty is both meaningless and impossible.

2. The principle of Parochial School training *promotes deficient and dishonest teaching*. An examination of the text books now in use in the Parochial Schools will abundantly confirm this confessedly grave charge. The teaching in these books is deficient, because vital facts of history are either omitted or given in such disproportion that their meaning is obscured. The teaching is dishonest, because these books are marked not only by suppressions of truth, but also by mis-statements which prevent sound knowledge and create false impressions in the interest of the Roman Catholic Church. I have examined "A Full Catechism of the Catholic Religion," "Sadlier's Excelsior Introduction to Geography," "Gazeau's Modern History," "The Young Catholic's Illustrated Fifth Reader," "The Third Reader," of the Catholic National Series, and Bishop Gilmour's "Bible History," which includes "A Compendium of Church History," all of which are widely used in the Parochial Schools of the United States and Canada. All of these books are thorough advocates of Roman Catholicism, so much so, indeed, as to deserve the name of apologetic works.

In the Preface to "The Third Reader" of the National Series, the author naively says: "The Third Reader, in common with the other books of the CATHOLIC NATIONAL SERIES, has one chief characteristic, viz: a thoroughly Catholic tone, which will be found to pervade the whole book." The table of contents, contains, among others equally suggestive, the following titles: "Bessie's First Mass," "St. Germaine Cousin," "The Weight of a Prayer," "Pope Leo XIII. and the Brigands," "The Legend of the Infant Jesus Serving the Mass," "How to be a Nun," "St. Bridget," and "St. Francis of Assisi." Many of these soberly recount modern miracles. Bishop Gilmour's Bible and Church History contains such extraordinary statements as "Not only the Church has been no obstacle to progress, either in science or art, but to Catholics is due the discovery of nearly all the valuable inventions we have. Carefully examined, it will be seen, that with the exception of the steam engine and the railroad, little that is really new has been discovered, other than by Catholics." (Page 298.) Theologians will be interested in this: "With the exception of 'the Bible alone as the Rule of Faith' Luther and Calvin but repeated the heresies of Huss and Wycliffe,

and the earlier heresiarchs. Calvin adopted the heresies of Palagius [!!] on grace and original sin, while Luther with his 'open Bible and free interpretation' paved the way to the multiplicity of sects, and the vagaries of opinion into which Protestantism has been divided." (Page 301.) Of John Knox, the author says: "He died in 1572, revered by the Scotch, but known in history as the 'ruffian of the Reformation.'" (Page 302.)

The dominant purpose of these text-books is to exalt and glorify the Roman Catholic Church, and to this end the truth of history is shamelessly sacrificed.

3. A third result of parochial school training naturally is *the development of an intense and bigoted sectarianism*. No real knowledge is given of any other Church than the Roman, religious liberty is represented as a deadly error, and the claims of the Roman Church are set forth as absolutely supreme. The catechism, a book that is made the chief among text-books, declares that "Every one is obliged, under pain of eternal damnation, to become a member of the Catholic Church, to believe her doctrine, to use her means of grace, and to submit to her authority." (Page 145.) As there is no fairness in the teaching, there can be no fairness in the judgments of those who receive the teaching. Thus is developed the most impregnable of all forms of caste, the religious.

4. Finally, the parochial system of education is *a perpetual menace to political integrity*. This is the case, because it inculcates, not so much a divided sovereignty, as a temporal supremacy in the Church and its earthly head to which the authority of the State is secondary. There is no poetry but much solid truth in the assertion that a foreign prince wields in this free land an authority over some millions of people which has scarcely a rival even in the august supremacy of the Republic.

Moreover, the tendency of the whole system is to dwarf and misrepresent the significance of political institutions and political progress. The parochial schools make not good citizens, but zealous Roman Catholics, and steadily work to destroy the very ideal of free American citizenship. Bishop Coxe has well pointed out that the Roman Catholic system strikes at the Constitution and all the liberties which it guarantees. The Constitution implies :

- (1) Liberty of the press.
- (2) Liberty of conscience and of worship.
- (3) Liberty of speech.
- (4) The powers of the State to define the civil rights of ecclesiastics.
- (5) That the Church may not employ force.

(6) That the civil law must prevail over Papal laws.

(7) That the free exercise of religion ought to be allowed in all countries.

(8) That civil marriages are valid.

(9) That the domain of morals may be treated apart from the decrees of pontiffs.

(10) That civil duty and allegiance may be taught and treated with similar freedom.

Yet every one of these principles has been officially condemned by the infallible authority of the Pope and, according to the creed and present teaching of the Roman Catholic Church, that teaching which is organized in the parochial schools, no one can maintain these principles without peril to his salvation. Shall we turn out the Constitution as well as the Bible?

The contrast between the American common school system and the Roman Catholic parochial school system, which I have but faintly outlined, will furnish sufficient ground to the unprejudiced mind for a clearer judgment as to which is the system of reason, of liberty and of righteousness—as to which is the system for this Republic. These two systems represent and express the fateful struggle which is now going on between two irreconcilable institutions, the American Republic and the Church of Rome.

The appointed speaker on the same subject was the REV. WALTER RAUSCHENBUSCH, Pastor of the Second German Baptist Church of New York City. He said:

Brethren of the Congress:

It seems to me that both of the essays of this morning turn on one central question. The paper of Prof. Puryear has treated the subject in its application especially to the higher part of educational work, and that of Dr. Moxom, in regard to the lower part of educational work. The question with both is the same; it is: who shall educate, the Church or the State? The body politic or the bodies ecclesiastic?

The work of education is a vast one at present, and it is growing constantly. Think of the vast plant of educational work all over this country in the form of buildings, libraries, and laboratory material; of the annual expenditures for educational purposes throughout this land. The city of New York alone expends about \$4,000,000 annually for that purpose. The question is a very practical one for us. We as Baptists are engaged in educating, and the formation of the National Education Society during the past

year shows that the burden is beginning to press upon us and needs to be carefully adjusted.

It is significant that we can ask the question : who shall educate, the Church or the State ? There was a time when the Church possessed almost a monopoly of learning. The old universities in Europe were founded and endowed largely by the munificence of princes who had literary tastes, but were under the management of the Church. The sacred names of some of the Colleges at Oxford and Cambridge are reminiscences of those bye-gone times. In Germany, theology still holds the foremost rank amongst the four faculties in the universities, but that also is a reminiscence of a former supremacy which has passed away. The Church educated formerly.

In the present solution of the question, primary education has practically passed into the hands of the State in all the advanced countries. In our own country, we all know how it is. There are only two rivals to the common schools. One is the private school, which rests largely on the foundation of class distinction ; the other rival is the parochial school. Dr. Moxom has spoken of that in his paper, and I think I agree with his position. But I do not take a sombre view of Romish aggression in regard to the cry of the Romish Church for a part of the public funds. That cry is not the shout of the advancing victor, but the breathless, painful panting of the runner who feels himself distanced in the race. I think the Roman Church is trying to get part of the public funds for the reason that their other sources of supply are falling off. I think this parochial school question will settle itself. The fittest will survive. In regard to higher education, the bulk of the work is done by the civil powers. The Normal Schools are supported by the States. The Academies are mostly municipal institutions. In collegiate education there is still the greatest diversity. We have some dehomina-tional colleges; others are endowed by private enterprise. In the West, State universities are increasing in number, some of them have attained an enviable reputation, and their future seems to be assured. This is the present condition.

If we know where we once stood, and where we stand now, we can draw the line of progress, and find out in what direction we are moving, and forecast with some probability where we shall be in the future. I find this tendency: that Secular Education is passing out of the hands of the Church into the hands of the secular powers. The tendency has almost completed its work in primary education ; it is almost complete in the work of Academic education ; it is working its way in collegiate education. This tendency is traceable in the foundation of State Universities, and also

in the secularizing process in some denominational schools which have been founded on a distinctly religious basis, but which have drifted away from that basis by a kind of law of gravitation. They have been secularized in spite of all legal safeguards surrounding them. I find throughout the government of the nations that there is a drifting away from monarchial government to democratic. I believe that tendency is of God, and that a government of the people, and by the people, is the Divine ideal towards which we ought to stretch forward. And in the same way I see this tendency everywhere in the field of education, that secular education is passing from the hands of the Church into the hands of the civil power. I believe that tendency is also of God.

What is the ground on which the Church vindicates its right to impart secular instruction? There is one ground to which I fully agree. It is this: the church is the instrument for the execution of God's will on earth. If God has endowed any man with the power to think and feel, then we as servants of God have the duty so far as it is in our power, to secure to that man the development and use of the powers God has given him. That mute appeal of undeveloped powers, that hungry look of unsatisfied desires, is a categorical imperative to the Christian spirit within us. But this impulse of the Christian heart toward that work exists only so long as the need exists. If the need is met by other means, the Church is so far free from this obligation, unless the work belongs to the Church in the very nature of it. There is really no essential ground why the Christian Church should impart secular instruction. That belongs to that power which has charge of the secular interests of the people—the State.

There is a parallel case. The work of charity was formerly performed almost exclusively by the Church. At present we have alms houses, lunatic asylums, and hospitals, and all sorts of charitable organizations which are part of the State work. The State is now performing a work which the Church never performed in completeness, and which would be a crushing load if laid on the Church now. Is it accidental that the Church began this work and that the State has taken it up? Is it not because the leaven has leavened the lump? One by one the laws of the kingdom of heaven are becoming the laws of the kingdoms of this earth. The Church is ever pressing onward and the State is following on. Where the Church once stood, the State now stands. Where the Church now stands, the State will stand in the future.

It will be objected that we want our young men while at school to be under Christian influences, and that such Christian influences can

be supplied to them only in schools which are under the government and management of a denomination. But that is the very argument urged in support of parochial schools. The man who believes that ought logically to go to work to have a Baptist day school connected with every Baptist Church. But we protest against any denomination taking even its own children out of the schools of the State and putting them back into schools managed by the church. We have accepted the progress so far, why will it not hold further on?

What is our future duty? There is no necessity to hand over our denominational colleges to the State. I would advocate the strengthening of the religious element in whatever schools we have. In the future the religious part of our colleges and academies will be the only ground for their existence alongside of the State institutions. Then in States where there are strong State institutions already existing we should not found new and small denominational enterprises, and thereby seclude our Baptist influence from the great mass of educational work. To do that is to leave the State institution to the tender mercies of Unitarians, Agnostics, or anyone willing to take care of it. The better plan is to lay our hand on the State institution, and gain all the influence we can over that. With a comparatively small outlay, we could endow an annual course of lectures at State Universities, which would bring some of our most eminent Baptists before the young men of that State and represent the denomination better than a weak denominational college. You might also subsidize the local Baptist church in a university town and enable it to have a strong minister.

Do not let us put ourselves in the way of a tendency which is right. Find out whether there is such a tendency; find out whether it is from God or the devil; if the latter, in God's name oppose it, but if from God, let us help it on.

In the discussion which followed, NORMAN FOX, D. D., of New York, said:

This question is one of the most important to be discussed, and it needs discussion. Education, higher as well as lower, is within the function of the State. If the State should not furnish education to children of wealthy people, who are able to educate their own, why should it open its public libraries, picture galleries and parks to the wealthy as well as the poor. He had never heard any objection to the wealthy as well as the poor, using these things. It was not necessary that a State university or college should be anti-religious, or even non-religious. It could be pervaded by a religious and Christian

life. Looking at it from a merely scientific side it is a proper thing for lectures to be delivered in a State university on Christianity, showing how Christianity has affected the history of civilization and the history of empires. It would be as proper as to have lectures on Mohammedanism, and to discuss the question, what there is in Mohammedanism that gives it its tremendous power. The lecturer in each case should be in sympathy with his subject. Without intrenching on any man's rights, without doing a single thing in violation of the conscientious sentiments of any citizen, the instruction in the State school could be made powerful for the propagation of Christianity. There is no reason why the professors in a State university should not be earnest Christian men. The vast majority of teachers are Christian men and women. The work of stooping down to the lowly, and assisting the weak and ignorant is in itself a Christlike work, and it is one into which the Christian spirit leads the great mass of our teachers. A State university can be made as thoroughly religious as a denominational college.

Professor W. C. WILKINSON, D. D., of Tarrytown, N. Y., said :

One feels in being present at a session like this as if there was nothing settled in the world. One hears one view, and is convinced by it, and then hears the opposite view, and is convinced by that. And then comes a man holding an intermediate position, and he thinks that is the true one, when somebody comes and knocks him off from that, and he is nowhere. I hold we ought to have our minds accessible to new ideas. I find a good deal in the first essay with which I profoundly agree. In Dr. Moxom's paper, it was stated that the vast majority of criminals were furnished by the illiterate classes, and the deduction was drawn that education would tend to diminish the criminal class. While I believe that to be true, yet it did not seem to follow from the premises. I could not help thinking, if it had been possible to separate before education the two classes, whether the illiterate would still furnish the great proportion of criminals. It lies in the nature of the persons, and it does not depend by any means wholly on the effects of education. The speaker who followed the two essays seemed to say that whatever tendency existed and was established, and could be shown to be historical, that tendency was a providential tendency, and therefore to be assumed to be right. By the side of that idea I should like to place a very large italic interrogation

point. Was there not a time when there was a tendency for education to come within the hands of the church? While that tendency existed, was it Divine, and when did it cease to be so? According to his own view, I don't see when it could have ceased to be so, except when some opposing power—and there are only two opposing powers in the universe (laughter)—succeeded in starting a contrary tendency, and making it strong enough to overpower the original one. Then suddenly that became Divine also. I do not believe in that principle. I believe as long as "the world" continues the tendency of things is rather to be assumed to be wrong than right, excepting always that universal, all-embracing tendency of the Divine Providential government, which is by and bye to comprehend and sweep within its own stress all eddies and counter-currents, and all cross-currents, and bear them forward in one universal tide, toward the Lordship of Jesus Christ in the earth.

The REV. LEIGHTON WILLIAMS, of New York, said :

Some years ago a number of clergymen went to a public official, and said to him : "We think, sir, the Lord is on your side ; we feel certain your course has His blessing." This was his wise reply : "Gentlemen, I am not so careful to find whether the Lord is on my side or not ; the question with me is, on what side is the Lord ; and then I want to get on that side, because I am sure that side will succeed." If I understood the first speaker, he looked upon tendency with such reverence because he understood it as voicing a providential indication of the working of the Divine law, but I did not understand him as holding the position that whatever is, is right. I understood him to mean that if we saw apparent tendencies strongly marked through a long series of years, it was to be looked upon as a probable indication of the way in which Divine Providence was moving, and we should, therefore, seek to guide that movement, and where we saw imperfection, to withstand it *in toto*. Last summer in London there was a great discussion on education in the mission fields, and as far as I could judge the rank and file of the missionaries, almost in a body, were rather averse to the work of education, but Dr. Post, of Syria, presented the important necessity of it with a vigor that carried everything before it, and proved for the time, at least, that education was necessary on the part of the Christian church. And I understood the first speaker to-day to admit that that was what was necessary for the Church to do in the early stages of civilization in any country, but the Church

should retire from the field when the body at large would take it up. There comes up again the question of the relation of Church and State. We, as a denomination, have stood against any connection between Church and State, and stood wisely and rightly. But we may not see there is, after all, an inevitable connection between Church and State, as Dr. Thomas Arnold held there must be. We rather hope to get the State to take up functions which we believe belongs to it, and when we see the State happily launched on the enterprise, we are only too glad to drop it. And so in education.

The HON. ALEXANDER S. BACON, of Brooklyn, N. Y., said :

Will you permit a layman who never taught school, and who don't ever expect to, to ask a few questions of these learned gentlemen, who can instruct us? What is education? I doubt if the question has been answered this morning. The most learned man is often the weakest man, and sometimes the most dangerous criminal. Canada is full of highly educated criminals. Many a young man goes to school, writes a good hand, gets educated well, and occupies an appropriate position of trust, and then goes to Canada to spend his winters and summers both. He has not had the correct kind of education. His brain is well trained but his heart has not been taught the love of God which only can make a true character.

The time is coming when we are all going to be awfully wise—common schools everywhere, and every body educated. But what are you going to do for blacksmiths then? A certain learned professor, after the war, wanted to poke fun at a gentleman of color whom he had hired to ferry him across a stream. He said to him : "Sambo, did you ever study Latin?" "No, sir. I never studied no Latin, thah." "Sambo, one quarter of your life is gone." There was silence. Soon the professor said : "Sambo, did you ever study Greek?" "Greek, thah, no thah; me never studied no Greek, thah." "Sambo, one half of your life is gone." Just then they struck a snag, and the boat upset. Sambo called out : "Professah, did you ever learn how to swim?" "No, Sambo." "Well, den, Professah, de whole of your life's gone." Sambo struck off for the shore, and the Professor stuck in the mud. Which was the better educated? I speak of this story to call attention to one of the grandest institutions any man has ever endowed, the Pratt Institute, in Brooklyn. It is an industrial school for boys and girls, and instructs them in every variety of industrial education. It strikes me as a grand education for the boys and girls to make them good citizens. We have got to educate these boys in

self-protection. The time is coming when the educated will be idle, and if in that school we have taught them how to wield the plane, or some other practical tool by which they can earn their daily bread, they won't steal. I truly believe that one half of the crimes come from the necessities of hunger. Many learned, benevolent and Christian men, perhaps in this very town, are strictly honest and honorable, who if they had been brought up with the pinching of poverty, under different circumstances, and in vicious surroundings, would steal if they got a chance. We are made largely by our circumstances. We trust the time shall soon come when in the North and South ignorance shall have been dissipated, and a general education in morals, in industry, and in science shall elevate all our people.

PROF. E. H. JOHNSON, D.D., of Crozer, Pa., said :

I always feel called upon by God or the devil, and I never know exactly which, when in the Baptist Congress to be as aggravating as I can. When listening to that splendid speech of Prof. Wilkinson, I felt an irresistible inclination to oppose it. That is because I distrust tendency you see. No great movement takes place in church history in consequence of error. When the mass of the people are gripped by that which must be accepted as heresy, they are held by it because there is truth in it. I have looked over the ground many times to test that conviction. There is mariolatry; how did it rise, what caused its rise? Did it not rise simply after the Nicene Council had so emphasized the Divinity of Jesus Christ as to lead men to ask if he was in any wise human and a mediator? The worship of the Virgin Mary was simply the tendency in men's minds to look for a mediator between God and men, and accept any mediator that might be proposed. That is quite at the bottom of mariolatry. We have learned as much from heresy as from those who have taught the truth. I have learned as much from the foes of Christianity and the heretics as from my orthodox teachers. They gave me a good starting point, principally whereby I might analyze what heretics were saying, and deduct the new truth given in their teaching, but which had been overlooked. At the bottom of these two opposite classes of facts—facts of tendency toward error, and facts of tendency toward truth—there exists this, viz : A man believes that and follows that which is in some way fitted to him. If he happens to be abnormal, he will follow that which fits his abnormality, and if normal, he will follow that which fits his normality. Men do not long believe that which is not true

in some essential particular. It is essential truth that holds men for any long period to any doctrine. I was very much impressed with Mr. Rauschenbusch's thoughtful address, especially when he spoke of tendency. But if there are any tendencies to be found in the world that hold together the masses of men, those tendencies, if of long continuance, are very likely to have in them something of error, and of serious error, which must be resisted, as I always resist Mrs. Grundy or you, when you respond as you did to Prof. Wilkinson's charming speech.

The Secretary read a communication from the faculty of Richmond College, Richmond, Va., signed by C. H. Ryland, Secretary, inviting the Congress to visit the College and grounds on Wednesday afternoon.

REV. DR. HATCHER, Pastor of the Grace Street Baptist Church, where the Congress met, said :

I think I ought to add, as the Pastor of this Church, my brotherly greetings to the brethren here, and welcome you into our house of worship, and wish you a very happy session. You will find Dr. Cooper, the Chairman of the Committee, a brother of noble qualities.

REV. DR. J. ELDER, N. Y., pronounced the benediction.

First Day.*Evening Session.*

Col. J. A. HOYT presided. The proceedings commenced at 8 P. M. with the singing of the Doxology. Dr. GRIFFITHS, of Philadelphia, offered prayer. The hymn beginning "How firm a foundation," was sung.

The CHAIRMAN: The topic for discussion this evening is "Temperance", and the first paper upon that subject is upon

HIGH LICENSE,

BY REV. WAYLAND HOYT, D. D., OF PHILADELPHIA.

Concerning this entire matter of the Temperance Reform, it seems to me, there is every reason for good heart. There has been a wide and steady change toward a nurturing and furthering public sentiment.

A godly minister, and a physician as godly, talking together in front of a house. Both of them were, as fame went there, of the most spotless reputation; neither of them under suspicion even of a too free use of intoxicants. A little boy sitting on the doorstep looking and listening. The minister is consulting the physician about an exceedingly difficult personal problem.

Says the minister: "I am obliged to be about among the people every day; visiting the sick and dying, directing inquiring minds to Christ, comforting mourners, praying with the aged and infirm, explaining things difficult to be understood. Wherever I go, liquor under some form or name is offered me. That I may not give offence or seem guilty of a breach of good manners, I feel bound to take it. But invariably, after calling at a number of places, my head becomes affected, and I feel myself in constant danger of saying or doing some foolish thing. Will you be kind enough, therefore," asks the godly minister of the religious physician, "to prescribe something for me to take, or give me some suitable advice as to what I shall do in this emergency".

The little boy sitting on the doorstep notices that the good doctor has a cane in his hand. He is digging with the end of it in the ground. As the minister goes earnestly on in his questioning, the more earnestly and the deeper does the doctor dig. At length, he

straightens himself up, crosses his arms, and standing squarely before his questioner, replies: "My dear brother, after you have called at several places and have begun to feel the effects of the liquor taken, you should go straight home *while you are still able to walk*; you should at once enter your study; you should sit there in silence and solitude till the dizziness has passed away; then, after taking some food with a cup of tea, you can go out without fear to finish your pastoral visits".

That little boy seated on the doorstep, listening and looking, became the Rev. Dr. William Goodell, for nearly half a century the successful and distinguished Missionary of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions in Constantinople. And this incident he himself details in some autobiographical sketches, pre-facing the very interesting memoir of him by the Rev. Dr. Prime.

But neither the good minister nor the good doctor ever dreamed of *total abstinence* from liquor. A minister who should tipple till his head swam, or who should even tipple at all, good in all other respects, learned, eloquent, as he might be, would not be endured to-day in any Christian pulpit in the land. Such a thing would be a shock to the universal sense of righteousness in this matter. Measured by the time which lasting and healthful reforms always consume—such reforms are never mushroom growths—such sentiment as was expressed in that conversation held sway not so very long ago. Its empire is easily within the memory of men now living. That the side-board, in decent houses, should have been quite thoroughly demolished; that in all religious society, to say the least, the drinking of intoxicating liquors, as a social custom, should have become tabooed; that there should have gathered such a commanding force of public opinion against the use of intoxicating liquors as a beverage, as to obliterate entrenched habit, and of a sort the most difficult to shatter, and relegate, so universally, the drinking habit, into the class of habits recognized as disreputable, is surely, at least, the dawn of a day whose noon shall not be so long in reaching us, when there shall be, the land over, a real prohibition both of custom and of law, and our country be cleansed utterly from this foul smutch and thralldom of intemperance.

But, it must be confessed at once, that the drink habit cast forth so generally from the home, has intrenched itself in the saloon, and that the power of the saloon in our day is a gigantic threat and blight, however you may look at it, religiously, socially, politically. Everything considered, the saloon is the devil's main fortress and fountain of poverty, crime, impurity, murder, lost souls, agonies of wives and children, needless social burdens in the way of the sup-

port of prisons and reformatories, ignorance, idleness, unthrift, political corruption—every possible damage, of every possible sort.

Consider one way in which the saloon intrenches itself. A little pamphlet has been recently edited and published by Mr. Robert Graham, Secretary of the Episcopal Church Temperance Society. That pamphlet shows how the groggeries of New York City are established and fostered. These cancers are planted and nourished by a few great brewery firms in the interests of their trade. In that pamphlet a list is given of the chattel mortgages held by two leading brewery companies in that city, with the names of the mortgagors, their addresses and the dates when the mortgages were taken out. "I quote from a reputable newspaper statement : One of the firms is credited with holding six hundred chattel mortgages, representing a total value of \$310,134 ; and the other with two hundred and eight mortgages, valued at \$442,063. In addition to these two lists a summary is given showing the eighteen next largest brewers, who hold chattel mortgages, with the number held by each and their valuation. The total of these eighteen is one thousand one hundred mortgages, valued at \$949,399, making, with the two just mentioned, a grand total of one thousand nine hundred and eight mortgages valued at \$1,702,136. In addition to all this, it is shown that there have been granted on *saloon fixtures* in the City of New York from October, 1887, to October, 1888, the total number of 4,710 chattel mortgages, valued at the enormous sum of \$4,959,578."

And, I suppose, this state of things and this method in New York City is matched proportionably in all the cities of our land. Thus it is that enormous capital is founding and buttressing the saloon. No man, unwilling to gain an undamaging living, need cry for help that he may gain a damaging one by liquor-selling. Capital is at his beck. Thus the putrescence of the saloon is left to fester at every street-corner. Here are deftly placed the sieves for the hard-earned money of the wage-workers. Here are the foul fountains of all debasing public sentiment. Here Sabbath breaking has its strong hold. Here anarchism fattens. Here, in the bad leisure of the saloon, are laid infamous plots for political corruption. Here and thus are planted and fed the hugest and lustiest roots of the upas tree of evil. One word—the saloon signifies the concentration of the most crowding energy of danger toward all our most cherished and benignant institutions, home, church, state. The immediate and practical question is—how best shall we ward away the danger ; how quickest and most lastingly can we defend ourselves against the saloon ; how soonest and most certainly can we strike it its death blow ?

Now I propose, in the brief time allowed to utterance on this subject, to narrow the discussion. I propose to make an instance of a really great success in this regard, an argument for, what seems to me to be the best present and practicable method of success in it.

On the thirteenth day of May, in the year, 1887, there was approved by Governor Beaver an act passed by the Legislature of the state of Pennsylvania, entitled "An act to restrain and regulate the sale of vinous and spirituous, malt or brewed liquors, or any admixture thereof." This act is familiarly known as the Brooks' High License Bill. The first section of this act is as follows :

That it shall be unlawful to keep or maintain any house, room or place, hotel, inn or tavern where any vinous, spirituous, malt or brewed liquors, or any admixture thereof, are sold by retail, *except a license* therefor shall have been previously obtained as hereinafter provided.

And then the act goes on to specify that, those holding such licenses, may not retail liquors in quantities exceeding one quart ; that such licenses may be granted only by the *Court of Quarter Sessions* and shall be granted only *for one year*, that the petition for such license shall be presented and filed *with the clerk* of the Quarter Sessions, at least *three weeks* before the first day of the sessions of the court at which the petition is to be heard, and that at the same time the petitioner shall pay the clerks of the court \$5 for expenses, that the names of such petitioners shall be *variously and widely published in the newspapers*; that the said petition shall contain:

1. The name and present residence of applicant, and how long he has there resided.
2. The particular place for which a license is desired.
3. The place of birth of said applicant, and if a naturalized citizen, where and when naturalized.
4. The *name of owner* of premises.
5. That the place to be licensed is *necessary* to the accommodation of the public.
6. That none of the applicants are in any manner pecuniarily interested in the profits of the business conducted *at any other place* in said county, where any of said liquors are sold or kept for sale.
7. That the applicant is *the only person* in any manner pecuniarily interested in the profits of the business so asked to be licensed, and that *no other* person shall be *in any manner* pecuniarily interested therein during the continuance of the license.
8. Whether applicant, or any of them, has had a license for the

sale of liquors in this Commonwealth, during any portion of the year preceding this application, revoked.

9. The names of no less than two reputable freeholders of the ward or township where the liquor is to be sold, who will be his, her, or their sureties on the bond which is required, and a statement that each of said sureties is a *bona fide* owner of real estate in the said county worth over and above all incumbrances the sum of two thousand dollars, and that it would sell for that much at public sale, and that he is not engaged in the manufacture of spirituous, vinous, malt, or brewed liquors.

10. This petition must be verified by affidavit of applicant, made before the clerk of the court, a magistrate, notary public, or justice of the peace, and, if any false statement is made in any part of said petition, the applicant or applicants shall be deemed guilty of the crime of perjury, and upon indictment and conviction shall be subject to its penalties.

This act further specifies that all persons licensed to sell at retail any vinous, spirituous, malt or brewed liquors, or any admixture thereof, in any house, room or place, hotel, inn or tavern, shall be classified and required to pay annually for such privileges as follows: Persons resident in the cities of the first, second, and third class, shall pay the sum of \$500; those resident in boroughs shall pay the sum of \$150; those resident in townships shall pay the sum of \$75; and then follow specifications as to the way in which the moneys so paid shall be expended.

This act further specifies that the license shall not be issued to any person or persons until he, she, or they shall have *executed a bond* to the Commonwealth and a warrant of attorney to confess judgment in the *penal sum of two thousand dollars*, with two sufficient sureties, to be approved by the court granting such license, conditioned for the faithful observance of the laws of this Commonwealth relating to the selling or furnishing vinous, spirituous, malt, or brewed liquors, or any admixture thereof, *and to pay all damages* which may be recovered in any action which may be instituted against him, her, or them under the provisions of any act of the Assembly, and all costs, fines and penalties which may be imposed upon him, her, or them, under any indictment for violating *this act or any other act of Assembly* relating to selling or furnishing liquors as aforesaid. That, it shall be the duty of each constable in the county to visit, at least once in each month, all places within their respective jurisdictions where any of said liquors are sold or kept, to ascertain if any of the provisions of this or any act of Assembly relating to the sale or furnishing of such liquors have been or are being violated.

That, any person who shall hereafter be convicted of selling or offering for sale, any vinous, spirituous, malt, or brewed liquors, or any admixture thereof, *without a license*, shall be sentenced to pay a *fine* of not less than *five hundred dollars*, nor more than *five thousand dollars* and *undergo imprisonment* in the county jail of not less than than three months, nor more than twelve months. That, any person convicted of more than one offence *shall not again be licensed in any city or county of the Commonwealth*, and the license of any person permitting the customary visitation of disreputable persons, or keeping a disorderly place, *may, upon proof, be at any time revoked by the court*, and when thus revoked, *the same party shall not again be licensed in any city or county of the Commonwealth*. That, it shall not be lawful for any person, with or without license to furnish, by sale, gift, or otherwise, to any person, any spirituous vinous, malt, or brewed liquors *on any day upon which elections are now, or hereafter may be required to be held*, nor on *Sunday*, nor at *any time to a minor or a person of known intemperate habits, or a person visibly affected by intoxicating drink*, either for his or her use, or for the use of any other person, or to sell or furnish liquors to any person on a *pass-book or order on a store*, etc. Of course it is impossible to recite them all, but such are some of the main restrictions of what is known as the Brooks High License Bill.

And now the practical question is, how does the Brooks High License Bill work? Because time is so brief I must still further narrow the discussion and point for answer to the single but eminent instance of this working in the City of Philadelphia.

I hold in my hand a letter from His Honor, the Mayor of Philadelphia:

OFFICE OF THE MAYOR, {
PHILADELPHIA.)
October 24th, 1888.

REV. WAYLAND HOYT, D. D.,
1520 Girard Avenue.

DEAR SIR:—

His Honor, the Mayor, directs me to state in reply to your communication of 23d inst., that in 1887 there were 5,789 licensed sa-
loons. This year only 1,340 licenses were granted.

During July and August, 1887, the number of arrests was 6,112 ;
same months—1888—3,693. The Sunday arrests are about 40
per cent. less.

Yours Respectfully,

LEWIS E. BEITLER,
Secretary.

Further—one of the most reputable of the daily papers in Philadelphia, goes on to say:

The record of the Pennsylvania High License law in cutting down the number of saloons in Philadelphia from 6,000 to 1,300 is a most gratifying one, but it counts for little compared with the far more weighty proof of the efficiency of the law in the diminution of drunkenness and crime. During the five full months that the law has been in operation, from June 1 to November 1, the commitments to the County Prison show a decrease of 5,099, or 62 per cent. over the corresponding period of last year. In the same time the commitments to the House of Correction show a diminution of 840, or 68 per cent. The commitments of white women to both the above places were reduced more than one-half, a proof of the diminution of street-walking and the improvement of the morals of the city. These figures, recited in the report of the Law and Order Society, are a most overwhelming vindication of the wisdom of the law which this society so successfully labors to enforce.

That is how the Brooks High License Bill has wrought in the first five months of its existence in the great city of Philadelphia.

And now concerning such a High License method of restricting and controlling and immensely minifying the liquor traffic, I have three brief things to say:

First. Such a method is vastly restrictive and *immediately feasible*. Nothing can be more certain than that, under our form of Government, you must depend on public sentiment for the execution of your laws. A mere Statute on a Statute book is always a dead letter, except as public sentiment gives it life and force. While there may be here and there public sentiment for the *enactment* of a prohibitory law, as things are, there is not, generally speaking, enough present public sentiment for the thorough execution of such law. But there is, speaking generally, sufficient public sentiment for the enactment and execution of some such High License or local option law. Therefore, the only immediately feasible thing to do is to seize and use such public sentiment as you already possess for all possible restriction and diminution of the abominable traffic of the saloon, and for the large blotting of it out.

Second. Some such high license method is *right*. Just here I would at once break with the ultra Prohibitionists. I have listened in wonder as I have heard some so-called Prohibitionists in Philadelphia declare that better than such iron circumscribing of the liquor traffic by the Brooks bill would be the throwing down of all restrictions, would be practically free rum. I have always supposed that if you could not kill the devil, it was a right and a wise

thing, as far as possible, to restrain him. But, no, it is wrong in any wise, the Prohibitionists declare, to license. But suppose, you say, it is right to, as far as may be, restrict. Such a method as this of the Brooks bill is far more a method of restriction than of license. The method really has, as you must see, quite a tremendous prohibitory side. High license, in this sense, is simply prohibition, as far as you can at present successfully enforce prohibition. Is that wrong? But, Prohibitionists declare it is wrong to soil your hands with the money coming from so nefarious a source. But is it wrong to proclaim and enforce penalty for wrong? The money demanded in the way of license is *really a penalty* for liquor selling. And it is the only sort of penalty you can, speaking generally, just now inflict. I do not know anything more right than to smite defiant wrong with what penalty you can. I do not know anything more wrong than to refuse to use the barring and wounding sword when Providence has put it in your hand. No. Such high license method, so called, is right—because it is restrictive, because it causes what is really quite shattering penalty to fall upon the enormous wrong of the liquor traffic.

Third. Such a high license method of dealing with the saloon is the only *present practicable step* toward an ultimate prohibition. It is worth more, as an educative force, than all the fine speeches you can utter about the evils of the saloon; because it cleans the streets of the saloon to such extent; because it does so actually diminish crime; because it does actually present to the people palpable and educating specimen of the advantage of deliverance from the saloon.

I believe the day will come when the American people will utterly fling off the domination of the saloon; when wise, strong and *executed* prohibitory laws will be the rule and not the exception. But I also believe that the only really practical path thitherward is—not simply ideal and ballooning method and legislation, but the gravest enforcement of such restrictive high license laws as you can at present obtain; the continued enlightenment of the people meanwhile by all various teaching and discussion; and then, when you have gathered public sentiment sufficient to both enact and execute it, such prohibitory law as will annihilate the saloon.

“The mistakes of my life have been many,” &c., was then sung by MR. HADDON S. WATKINS with organ accompaniment.

A paper was then read on

PROHIBITION,

BY REV. H. A. DELANO, PASTOR OF THE BAPTIST TABERNACLE,
SOUTH NORWALK, CONN.

I believe in prohibition because I do not believe in expediency when dealing with a confessed natural crime. Prohibition is fundamental.

The fundamental is vital and is usually *polarizing*.

The prohibition idea has filled the land with clamor and debate. It has begotten great and acrimonious controversy. It has bred partisanship, division, and strife. The best heart and hold of a reeling Republic, with death-like grasp, have fastened to it as the *ultimatum* in the solution of the liquor problem in America.

I believe in taking temperance into politics, because I find that politicians wish to confine it to the "sacred precincts of the sanctuary." I am in favor of an aggressive movement, because tired of watching the old, and prolonged, and disgraceful duel of the old parties over this question. They have faced it, hobnobbed, fenced, and at last struck, but nobody has been hurt. They have looked earnest and serious enough, but they have adjourned unscarred, and the prayers of temperance people in the form of petitions, have been left in reeking filth, besmeared and bespotted, upon their convention floors, while the duelists have adjourned for wine and refreshments.

I believe in kneeling with the Redeemer's church, and joining the cry of the martyred and saintly, "O Lord, how long, how long?" But I do not believe in rising and going forth to vote another year of indulgence to the red dragon of this drink infamy.

Like Cromwell's men, I would have the Church of God kneel with fixed bayonets, or pikes, ready and set, and resolute forever, against the mad incursions of this monster crime.

I believe in any revolution that will accomplish the end. If rum is still to ravage and reign at last, then, let the temple of national hope tumble, and all go, in the general wreck.

I believe not that the world is to grow worse and worse until the end. The promise of Jehovah is back of Christian preaching, Christian example, and Christian fidelity, and the kingdoms of this world are to become the Kingdoms of our Lord and His Christ.

"If after the manner of men I have fought with beasts at Ephesus, what advantageth me, if the dead rise not? let us eat and drink,"

etc. Sure enough, if the strained efforts and heroic of lofty souls, if the sturdy martyrdom of invincible believers, their pathetic sufferings, and tears and prayers, are to end in failure, of what advantage? If the utmost of self-sacrifice, exalted aim, and giant endeavor, are to fall short, and end in miscarriage and failure at last, what advantage? If the long-foretold, long-awaited for, and nobler kingdom of righteousness and truth, is a dream, a gray morning's mirage, projected upon the vision of simple honest souls, but never to be realized, of what advantage? If the Rum traffic is the deathless serpent that is forever to entwine our writhing and groaning humanity, and legalized chains are forever to hold us in Promethean horrors, where the gloating, feasting vulture shall have access to the tender vitals of the republic, what advantage?

“ But, God's humanity and God,
Will longer live than sin,
Outlive all monsters old, all crimes and woes,
And the new light of hope be ushered in.”

Shall we bruise the Serpent head? Shall the kingdoms of the world become the Kingdoms of our Lord? Shall His glory o'er-spread the earth as the waters cover the great deep? Shall the government be upon His shoulders? If this sad world some day, even afar off, shall yield to our Messiah's sway, then there is hope that every honest aim, every kindling energy of earnest souls to heal the world's great sore, shall be crowned at last with success.

Revolution is described prophetically as characterizing the coming of the Redeemer's kingdom. Jesus came not to destroy, but to fulfil, but there is no shock or tumult in the inevitable, unavoidable fulfilment of His purposes whose right it is to reign.

Jesus still stands in the presence of his Church—not abrogating, but fulfilling—God's laws. “ If thine eye offend thee, pluck it out.” Sever the offending foot, or hand, for it is better to go hence with defeated candidates and dismembered parties, than to go into the hell of social bankruptcy, political corruption, and debauched manhood, having two old parties forever intact.

If we are to do nothing but pray and license, then let it be the prayer of the Nun of Gadava, that we may go into the swine and run violently down the steep decliff into the impending sea.

“ *They have healed also the hurt of the daughter of my people slightly, saying, peace, peace, when there is no peace.*” If revolution is needed, let it come.

“ Better fifty years of Europe, than a cycle of Cathay.”

Revolution is better than death. When the flames cannot be ex-

tinguished, sagacious firemen pull down the walls. Anything—anything rather than what is being legalized and dignified to-day.

If the orphan has no guardian in the person of the ballot-holding, law-making Christian citizen, then let Hagar go apart, that she see not the death of the lad.

“It is time, Lord, for Thee to work, for Thine enemies have made void Thy law.”

Is my citizenship so in Heaven that I cannot express my opinion at the ballot-box on earth?

Would not a million and a half of Christian ballots count as effectually for good, if cast together for some great idea, as would the ballots of a hundred and eighty thousand saloon keepers, so solidly cast as to dominate and control every function of government?

Every plant that the Father hath not planted, is to be rooted up and out. The Christian voter's ballot should be an axe laid unsparringly to-day at the root of the deadly upas of the drink traffic, and not a knife used in pruning its branches.

There must be a highway for Messiah's feet whereon the lion's whelp of this curse shall not go with the nation's seal of approval about its neck.

Some human heart must ache, some human brain resolve, and some human hand touch the forces of government, aided and inspired with these convictions, ere Justice and Judgment are set in the earth, and the righteousness of God go forth as a lamp that burneth.

Truth is absolute, imperious, dogmatic in her claims. She asserts herself, erects her standard, and fights her way against whole armies of men who may oppose her. 'Tis vain to talk to her of expediency; the word is not in God's vocabulary.

God may wink at the times of men's ignorance, and God may *suffer* the generations of men who are not ethically developed, but He nowhere gives to Christian men the pleasure of winking at, instead of doing well-known duties. I believe this: *Truth will beat you*. Stay her progress if you will, give her the “half loaf” of expediency, bid her sit down amid “the least of two evils,” let Caiaphas appease greedy politicians, and ravenous politicians by the death of orphans, the starvation of women, and the murder of men. At some moderate, minimum rate of speed, *truth* will beat you. For Zion's sake she will not rest. She will not stay with her feet in blood and hold the revenue of license in her lap. Truth will beat you. She may wait and suffer, but she will not compromise. She may give Caesar his own, but as between him and herself, between him

and God, him and the souls of men for whom Jesus died, she will lay down her body and spill her blood.

She will not ask, "Is it timely, or, will public sentiment sustain me?" She will ask, "Is it right? Is the liquor traffic of Heaven or men? Is it a crime against reason, home, manhood, public safety, good morals, and good government?"

Admit this, and the radiant one becomes a Deborah, to rally the very stars and the hosts of men against that crime, and to curse the lazy Meroz that will not join in the sublime crusade. Truth will beat you. She comes to red seas of danger, swollen Jordans of fear, new Canaans and new worlds, saying, "I am able."

You may tell her that, whereas almost all Christendom practices an infant Baptism, and tolerates a mixed Communion, she ought not to separate herself into an exclusive partisan sect, Baptist, and narrow, but with a "Thus saith the Lord" upon her lips, she will lift her standard, fulfil all righteousness, enter despised and lowly paths with the Son of God, and sing the triumphs of a conquering faith, as she goes in meekness and majesty around the globe. Truth will beat you.

THE CHRISTIAN VOTER.

The Christian voter is Citizen King. He is not to ask, "*What can I do?*" but, "*What ought I to do?*" Baptists asked that question in Virginia when it *cost* to do the thing which has made us what we are. The Christian voter who took the crown from King George put it upon his own head. I am responsible for the administration of government. And the millions of Christian voters in this land are responsible, so long as they hold the balances of power, for the tone and character of the law.

Let the tens of thousands of Christian voters in this country band together, to make this gigantic crime unconstitutional, and stand combined to see that he who holds office under this Government must obey that Constitution, and then, what? Have we throttled the drink-vice, broken the power of habit, and made men sober? Nay, but we have taken away temptation; we have done the only thing that saloonists don't want us to do—we have taken away the opportunity of habit, and we have given to the world the moral strength of an example which changes the nation from a licensing, tolerating, befriending partner in the crime to the law-hedged, necessary, and uncompromising enemy. Yea, more, we have lifted the whole question to a plane, where the dignity of constitutional law, constitutional integrity and constitutional penalty would o'ershadow it.

I am to represent God and conscience, and the best weal of my fel-

lows as sacredly at the ballot box as in the pulpit. The Christian voter owes nothing to majorities if majorities are wrong. He owes nothing to public opinion if that be corrupt. He owes nothing to party whether it be Pharisee or Sadducee. He owes nothing to the rulers or elders who sit in Moses' seat, for they may be plotting the murder of the Just One. He owes everything to God—and conscience. He represents not two, nor four, nor ten—only himself, alone, and is not to wait public opinion, but to *act* in the living present.

Lincoln said, at last, "*Save the Union, Constitution or no Constitution.*" And we all believe in that now. The Christian voter should stand there in his dealing with the saloon.

We have woven the bay of sentiment, the laurel of romance, the flowers of poetry and religion around this infernal god for years. We have mourned over it, wept about it, built it tabernacles and gospel tents, friendly inns and coffee houses; sheltered its paupers, asy-lumed its orphans, clothed its nakedness, built its jails, buried its victims, cared for its widows, treated its insane, licensed its saloons and then crusaded them, stepped upon its tail, but flattered and oiled its head, sung to it, prayed over it, deluged it with eloquence, bathed it in curses, prayed with it, feared it, given it a thousand souls every few months, to propitiate and please, and now it is time, in God's name and for humanity's sake, to stop. *Time* to quarantine and blockade and drive out the hell-born beast, which, multiplied into hundreds and thousands of human devils, sits down in legalized, protected dignity to-day, smiling at all our blunders and threats, laughing at our tears and appeals, while the night-stars of hell sing together for joy.

I am tired of this farce, brethren. And, I believe the nation is going to be weary of it, by-and-by.

To-day, in almost all the states, the citizen is left to contend single-handed, and alone, with the saloon. "He has *law* upon his side?" Yes, statutes multiform, "restrictive ordinances," "ten o'clock," "twelve o'clock," "billiard table" or no "billiard table," "sales forbidden to minors," to "habitual drunkards," "high license," "low," and no license, "drinking on premises," "quart," or "gallon laws," and time would fail, to tell of "Scott laws," "Adair laws," "Brooks laws," "Dow law," "Crosby bills"—innumerable. But for the most part, *the saloon stays*. Stays, and works its licensed prerogatives to their damnable and damning results. Stays, and makes our boys helpless, hopeless drunkards; fathers, impotent wrecks and insane murderers; children, orphans and beggars, and the souls of men, sevenfold candidates for eternal ruin. The saloon stays, dictates largely its own terms, nominates and elects its

own choice for mayor, justice, or police, and if the indignant citizen lifts a hand to enforce the law, it strikes his reputation, poisons his well, burns his home, or spills his blood.

I am in favor of *Prohibition*, because I do not believe the Republic, the Republic's institutions, nor the Church of God in the Republic, can exist in the atmosphere of the saloon, and fulfill destiny. Salt your meat, and your salt saves and cures, or your decaying meat kills your salt. The *leaven* which is to leaven the whole cannot afford to license a part of the mass.

LICENSE IS DANGEROUS.

The licensed virus upon the surgeon's needle may inoculate my whole system. Nay, it will! The tendency of a physical or a moral evil is to *grow* toward death. That tendency is not thwarted or defeated by palliatives. The cancer will grow, if not killed. It eats all that it stays with. High license may clear it from the face, and local option throw it out upon the body, but while the dread poison has one spot upon which to thrive, it eats me, and I waste.

This whiskey cancer must be separated from the Republic, ethically, physically, politically, or the Republic dies. Is the saloon so aboundingly wicked, so positively criminal, that you would not allow the man who keeps it to join your church? If you do not allow him—keeping that saloon—to join your church, you ought not to license the *bar* which *debars* him.

You would not *keep*, nor *superintend* the saloon. And yet, voting a license policy you vote to *keep* it by proxy. High license, or any license, to this liquor business is not Christian, if I understand that term. The saloon is as far from Christ as the malodorous cock-pit is from the atmosphere of the hushed and quiet nursery, where angelic motherhood sings holy lullaby above the pillow of sinless infancy. Mad, weed grown, wild grown Democracy, in any age, must be antagonized by the majestic Theocracy which shelters human life, liberty, and love, by the august thunders of Sinai—to every ruthless assassin, "*Thou shalt not.*"

National prohibition is the first logical step toward national reform. The law is yet school master or the law is nothing. The advantage of the Jewish Commonwealth was, that "God gave them laws." There was reaction, and there was punishment, but there was no license. "And gave them laws"—"just and true statutes" is the expression of the Jew's gratitude, as it rings through all the old dispensation.

License is not law. It is an indulgent father placing the toy so

high that the child is only tempted to use chairs, table and books to climb for it. If he reaches it, he can hand it down to the other children. License is not penalty. If it be penalty, then, it is penalty attached before the crime is committed. But it anticipates crime. It dreads crime, and it knows crime will follow, else it would not aim to restrict. Brethren, altitude measured by dollars and cents does not debase crime; it heightens it in respectability and influence. Lift the saloon out of the shadow and reproach of its inevitable criminal unlawfulness, beyond the ban of an outlaw's portion and disgrace, and certainly it will *pay* you, and thank you forever.

Never, oh, never, until the shocked consciences of men see this deadly political power in its true light, and meet it by a *political* enemy, which shall make prohibition a *principle* rather than a *policy*, will the individual and the home have a chance. Covered by laws—full of misleading and undeciphered technicalities, prospered by “the law's delays”, holding a *government license* where it holds no other, “the strong man armed keepeth his palace,” and his goods are in comparative safety. The only hope of final release from the deadly thralldom is in treating the saloon as a criminal. By its fruits we know it. And we have learned, for fifty years now, that it is willing to pay large dividends if it may only stay.

High License? Data as to its non-efficiency is not wanting, and can be gathered from the testimony of *brewers* and *distillers* throughout the land. The *Dick Bros.*, Brewers, at Quincy, Ill., wrote in January, 1887:

“High license has not hurt our business. A *license* will bar out prohibition, and give the business a legal standing”.

Mets & Brother, of Omaha, Neb., write, January 20, 1888:

“High license has been of no injury to our business. We are positively certain that, were it not for (high) *license*, Nebraska to-day would have prohibition. In our opinion high license does not lessen the consumption of liquor. We liquor dealers would never repeal this law. We could not do without it”.

Henry H. Shufeldt & Co., Chicago, write, Jan. 6, 1888:

“We think the trade in any State should favor high license and *just* restrictions”.

The *United States Distilling Co.*, of the same place, and about the same date, write: “High license gives us a longer lease and *pacifies* a great many who are unfriendly to the business”. A liquor dealer in Warrensburg, Mo., writes to the Secretary of the Liberty League, in New Jersey, same date: *Any license* is better than prohibition”. President Iler, of the *Willow Springs' Distilling Co.*, writes from

Omaha, Jan. 7, 1888: "I believe that high license is one of the grandest laws for the traffic, and for men interested, there is".

As I have read these extracts and others, all authentic and verified, and then read the plea of certain good brethren of the pulpit and the pew, I have been provoked to say, "Behold how good and how pleasant a thing for brethren"—to stop this unholy confederation.

But emphasis is put upon the "*High*". Well in St Louis, in 1883, the license fee was \$75 for each saloon. That year there were 7,836 arrests for drunkenness. In 1887 the license fee was \$569, but the arrests for drunkenness were 9,372. A very *high time* that year. An increase of crime and drunkenness of 20 per cent. In Chicago, Bloomington, Cleveland, Columbus, Cincinnati, Baltimore, San Francisco, Peoria, Paterson, Minneapolis, and many other large towns, the same record is made. Many low, disreputable, notoriously bad, and notoriously poor dives have been closed, but the notoriously wealthy—those toward whom the grace of high license has much more abounded, have increased *sales* and *consumption* and *crime*. This is the record of neither the *New York Voice* nor the *New York Tribune*—neither Dr. Crosby nor Dr. Funk—but is taken from the records of the Chief of Police.

Time will fail to tell of *Philadelphia*. I joy and rejoice in it all. The new law has wrought great things. Yea, "what carefulness it wrought in you, what clearing of yourselves; yea, what indignation; yea, what fear, what desire; yea, what zeal. In all these things ye have approved yourselves to be clean in this matter". But, alas! a canvass of a number of leading breweries in Pennsylvania, of a dozen or more of the 120 in that good city, Philadelphia, made by the *New York Herald*, brings out this fact. The *Bergner & Engle Brewing Co.*, stated: "We sell twice as much beer as we sold before". "The sale of beer has increased 20 per cent. since high license law began operating". Thus say the brewers. And another fact: High license is not, cannot be credited with the closing of 500 of those saloons. It was the fact that the judges discovered that 500 of those making application had not good moral standing, had not good moral antecedents. I suppose that those saloonists who are selling at present have the necessary good "moral character".

But why permit the sale of liquor and beer at all? The saloon, licensed or unlicensed, must have—*what?* *Boys*. Boys and men. As now organized it must have six days in which to do all its hellish work, and on the *Seventh*, "which is the Sabbath of the Lord your God", a *holiday*—pandemonium! It can no more run without

its grist of a fresh generation of boys than your mill can grind without its grain. I know it is impossible to make men sober by law, but it is not therefore necessary to license temptation by law. The "pits digged by the wicked" are not after the law of God.

"Wherefore is there a price in the hands of a fool to get wisdom, seeing he hath no heart for it?" Is it an awful alternative of choices? Then, let us remember Horace Bushnell's words: "In the case of moral evils, if you choose either, you are implicated before God in the guilt".

The \$900,000,000 bill of this country is a sufficient reason alone for the political economist to aim at prohibition. The equal cost of supporting the victims of the traffic gives the sum total of \$1,800,000,000. Divide this by the 180,000 saloons in the country, and you have \$10,000 as the cost of each saloon. How this shrivels wool, dwarfs protection theories and issues, and makes the cheek of honesty crimson for the ghostly scare we have but recently enjoyed.

Is it not possible—if party is necessary—to have a party founded upon something higher than the old feuds and hatreds of the past? Must North and South continue to license sin, in order to keep Sectionalism and hatred eternally alive?

Prohibition is attainable, and has been practically efficient wherever it has been made a principle, and not a *policy* in legislation and executive action.

Prohibition is the only thing feared or fought by brewers and distillers, and therefore I indorse it and believe in it. It is *Biblical*, it is *philosophical*, it is *practical*. When? I do not know. But it should be *now*. The saloon, practically outlawed by recent Supreme Court decisions—an outlaw, a thief, a slugger, anarchist, murderer; a politician—helping at once, in "protection" for its monopoly, and "free trade" for its enslaved minions—*ought to die*.

The vote which legalizes can *prohibit* if it will.

My liquor papers, with one consent, endorsed High License. As a child of God, I cannot, will not, take the ethics of these reeking sheets as mine. I am bold to cry: "Let pulpit, platform and press thunder against this iniquity. Let woman's wailing eloquence chime with the orphan's wail. Let legislative halls and senate chambers ring, vibrate, and echo with that cry until the last dram shop in America is hunted and driven to its native hell."

And to this work dedicated; in it enlisted, as we love the church, the Sunday school, humanity and God; let North and South stand united and pledged, for "we be brethren, and one is our Master, even Christ."

There was no appointed speaker on this subject.

The first volunteer speaker was Rev. T. T. EATON, D. D., of Louisville, Kentucky. He said :

The question of Prohibition turns first upon the right of the State to prohibit the saloon. Has the State a right to do this thing, or is it an infringement upon the personal liberty of the saloon men? I think the State has a right to suppress the saloon, for the State has a right to license. The right to license involves the right to refuse a license. You may say prohibition does not prohibit, therefore let us try and restrict. But that reasoning is not applied to other crimes or offences. Apply that reasoning to stealing. Because the laws against stealing do not prevent stealing, why not license a man to steal? Give the thief a license, that he may have the right to put his hands into other people's pockets. Let him have a badge, and let it be known that he has a license, that everybody may keep out of his way. I cannot see why it is right to license a saloon, and not right to license a thief, too. You say prohibition is a violation of personal liberty, but that is surrendered when you grant a license. More than that, as Dr. Herrick Johnson has very well pointed out, this question of personal liberty enters with other things beside the saloon. Here it is against the law to erect a frame building, but have I not a right to erect any sort of a house I want? Is it not tyranny thus to interfere with my personal liberty? No! The safety of the community is a factor. We talk about sins *per se*, but it is a philosophical abstraction. There is no such thing as *per se*. You cannot do a thing *per se* to save your life. Our lives interlace with other lives at every point. It is not a question as to drinking *per se*, because no one ever drank *per se*.

Professor E. H. JOHNSON, D.D., of Crozer Seminary, said :

Nobody is going to say anything against prohibition unless I do. When we have to do with a serious moral evil, anything that is radical, which strikes right at it, is a thing Christian people do not like to talk against—except me, I do, sometimes. I cannot mention qualifying facts, but I want to meet principle with principle. I object to prohibition on the ground that it is based on a false theory of government; also on the ground that it is a false application of its own theory. Of course I do not forget that prohibition is constitutional. But there are a great many legislative enactments that are constitutional, which the party not in power always considers bad politics. Of course it is the case that the right to license, that is the legal

authority to license, implies the legal authority to withhold a license; but it does not at all follow that to give a license is bad politics. It may be a great deal better policy to give a license than to withhold a license.

I claim prohibition is bad in respect to the theory it rests on. Prohibition really rests on the theory that the government is under obligation to hold some such relation to the people as a father to his children, that is that the government must concern itself with private affairs and personal morals. Now a government is good if it happens to be fit, and bad if it is unfit. A paternal government is fit for children, and to childish people, and is a good government in the case of children. What one of us could, on any plausible ground, object to withholding liquors from the continent of Africa? Who could possibly object to the prohibition of the sale of strong drink to the nation's wards—the red men? And I imagine in the North and the South there are a great many people so childish, that if they were the only persons concerned, we should not hesitate to set up a paternal government. But they are not the whole of the people. And I object to prohibition in theory because I object to the paternal government of the whole people of the United States.

I object to prohibition because it is a false application of its own theory. A paternal government ought to seek the best possible results, but prohibition does not. Where the need is greatest, there it is weakest. It is precisely in large cities that prohibition does not prohibit, that it never did, and never will, and so it does not do what the paternal theory ought to do, it does not secure the best results. In Providence, R. I., men who voted for the prohibitory amendment of the Constitution have told me that in a very few weeks they were sorry they voted for it. There are now more liquor saloons in the city of Providence than before the prohibitory amendment was carried. There is not the sentiment in the city of Providence to enforce their own law, and the temperance cause is set back at least 25 years in the failure of the amendment to their constitution. In one of our States just lately a man who had proved himself the superserviceable tool of the liquor interests ran for governor, and his opponent ran distinctly on high license, but the tool of the whiskey ring was elected by 20,000 plurality. The prohibitionists of that state voted 30,000 and they elected the worst governor of that state. Can they say they are making no compromise with crime? They are letting crime have its own way. Prohibition brings law into contempt and actually fosters intemperance, and, therefore, demoralizes the public morals and undermines the public safety in the great and dangerous cities.

Prof. W. C. WILKINSON, D.D., of Tarrytown, N. Y., said :

I reckon myself what I must call a provisional prohibitionist. I voted prohibition at the last general election for the first time in my life, because I saw no better way of voting against the saloon. A liquor seller applied for advice as to the attitude he ought to assume toward high license. The distiller who wrote the reply was a man of large experience, he had been in the business 30 years, seven years under a very high license law. He testified—this I saw in his own handwriting—that the high license law, according to his experience, had not injured his business, and that the liquor sellers ought to vote for high license. When I find out authoritatively what the saloon men want, *that* I will never vote to give them. I understand it to be a principle in warfare, that if you can find out what your enemy wants you to do, Don't do it. This distiller said high license had been found to give tone and character and respectability to the business; and I don't want to help to do that to the liquor traffic. Before my honored and beloved friend Dr. Johnson rose to speak, I should have been prepared to say I believe every person in this congregation would be ready to vote for the suppression by law of the liquor traffic, and I will venture to guess every one here would *except* Dr. Johnson. I was delighted to hear what Dr. Hoyt said, because I recognised the glorious, sound, Christian heart-beat of a man who looked forward to the abolition of the liquor traffic as the ideal and the end of this strife. He thinks high license is a step in the right direction; so it may be, but I, for my part, using my reason, would rather take the testimony of one man whose success depended wholly on the amount of liquor he could get consumed—and *paid for*, because one of his points was that the high license weeded out the disreputable and irresponsible liquor dealers who did not pay their bills—I would rather have that one man's testimony from *experience*, than the whole seemingly plausible testimony of the City of Philadelphia, after only five months' trial. But if it turns out that the statistics are well sifted—because they are awful liars, unless you sift them well—if it turns out that the measure in Philadelphia is a success, I am willing to throw my idea of prohibition, for the time being, into the background, and adopt that. I believe in whatever measure of restriction can be applied to that hellish business, the liquor traffic. It does not follow that we go on the paternal theory of government. What society does in legislating, is to legislate for its own good, and we have the right—and if there is no such right in government, there is no right whatever in government—to cut up by the roots whatever tree bears evil, and only evil, and that

continually. And I do not need to label that tree "liquor traffic." I fully believe that, as Horace Greeley said, if you have a mad dog to deal with the best way is to cut off his tail close behind his ears.

Hon. JOHN. G. SAWYER, of Albion, N. Y., said:

I must confess that nearly all the ideas I ever had on the question of temperance have been almost completely destroyed. Statistics have been introduced proving exactly the opposite. It has been demonstrated by figures, which, it is said, cannot lie, that high license is wrong, and prohibition is wrong. It has been demonstrated that sellers of liquors are in favor of prohibition, and in favor of high license, and are opposed to each. The difficulty with me is to know where I stand precisely. For over 40 years in the little village in which I live in Western New York, I have been a member of every temperance organization, and have always voted with the extreme men whenever any issue has been presented at the polls. But I must confess if the question were submitted to me now, in view of the statistics which have been given, I should be entirely unable to decide how to vote. In our election this fall two candidates ran for governor, one a pronounced advocate of high license, the other did not occupy that position. In our village, every saloon had in its window the picture of the candidate that was opposed to high license. It may be that some of the statistics quoted here were correct; but if every keeper of a saloon and every manufacturer of beer is in favor of high license, I know of hundreds in Western New York who do not agree with that. I have the best evidence for asserting and believing that a fund of over \$1,000,000 was raised in my State by the manufacturers of beer, and those engaged in that business, for the purpose, and used for the purpose, nearly all of it, of defeating the candidate in favor of high license. In my locality there never has been a public sentiment that would consistently and persistently enforce the weakest prohibition law we have ever had, and I am of the firm belief that in any community where there is a public sentiment so strong that it will enforce a law, you have a public sentiment that will substantially abolish the use of strong drink. And in my judgment it is entirely immaterial whether you have a high license or a prohibitory law, either of them is absolutely weak, unless there is a public sentiment to enforce it. And if the friends of temperance would stop their quarreling about the best method of legislation on this question of high license or prohibitory law, and create a healthful public sentiment against the use of strong drink; if the members of the Christian Church would entirely keep aloof from

saloons, and give no countenance to their business ; if the members of the Christian Church would none of them engage in the sale of beer and strong drink ; if there was in the minds and hearts of the best people in every community, and of the Christian Church itself, a determination that all their influence should be used against the use of strong drink, in my judgment, all legislation, practically, except, possibly in large cities, would be unnecessary.

REV. ALBERT G. LAWSON, D. D., of Boston, said :

There are about five ways of dealing with the rum devil. One is to allow everybody to keep a mad dog for himself, and enjoy the privilege of being bitten at the shortest notice. That is free whiskey. Another way is to have only a few of these mad dogs kept, and label them, and pay \$50 tax a year for each dog. That is license. Another way is to chain up the dogs to the corners, raise the price to \$1,000, and let them bite everybody who gets near enough to them. That is high license. Another way is to say we don't believe in mad dogs in our town, and to send them all over to the next town. That is local option. The other way is to say we don't believe in mad dogs any how, and take the advice of Horace Greeley : to cut off their tails just behind their ears. That is prohibition. Aim for the thing you want. Fire toward the centre of the target, keep firing, and you may be able to hit it some of these days. Petroleum V. Nasby, after having himself endorsed and preached in his *Toledo Blade*, and gone about the State to secure so far as possible high license, said, first it does not do the thing we need to have done, it does not kill the saloon ; secondly, it does not reduce the amount of liquors sold in any given city or town, though you may succeed in suppressing large numbers of the saloons. The man who framed the first high license law in this country is now sleeping quietly in his grave. He put it at \$1,000 and confessed it was one of the saddest mistakes of his life, for at just that critical point it failed ; while it might reduce the number of open saloons, it did not reduce the total amount of liquors supplied and used in any given city, or the harm that was wrought. The deceiving principle and power cannot be separated from it. "Wine is a mocker." Professor Tayler Lewis tells us there is nothing in any language to surpass the moral grip of those sentences in *Proverbs* which teach that princes must abhor altogether the cup, and not look upon it. Prohibitionists are commonly derided as impracticables. Give us any restriction pure and simple, not connecting it with license, which long ago Albert Barnes said was "the throne of iniquity, which

frameth mischief by a law," and we will go in with you from the least to the most. Give us anything in the shape of restriction which can be shown is not from below, and we will accept it.

Let every minister and child of God bring together moral suasion and legal suppression. God has put two wings upon the bird, if you clip either and command the bird to fly, what poor fruitless work it is. If you attempt either moral suasion or legal suppression of itself you are putting asunder what God has joined together. Both must be used and used together before we can ever clear the land from the demon.

The audience sang "Am I a soldier of the Cross," after which Dr. GEORGE COOPER, of Richmond, pronounced the benediction.

Second Day.

Wednesday Morning.

The Hon. J. L. M. CURRY, LL. D., of Richmond, Va., President of the Congress, occupied the Chair. The hymn, "Jesus I love thy charming name", was sung.

The Rev. Dr. MURDOCK, of Boston, read Psalm lxxvii, and offered prayer.

The PRESIDENT said :

I desire to express my thanks to the Executive Committee for the honor which they have done me in asking me to preside over the deliberations of this body. It would be a Parliamentary anachronism wholly inexcusable to inject anything like an introductory speech at this stage of the proceedings, and it would otherwise be painful to you, more so than to myself, under the conditions physical which exist this morning, as I happened to be making a speech, or trying to, about one o'clock this morning, and have not slept as much as the law allows. The subject for discussion this morning first is

" A NATIONAL DIVORCE LAW."

BY THE HON. ALEXANDER S. BACON, OF BROOKLYN, N. Y.

The subject of divorce enters the domain of both law and morals. Its influences extend everywhere—beyond State lines, beyond National lines even. No State can say that its divorce legislation is its own affair. "A condition confronts us, not a theory", and observations of stern facts teach us that lax State laws are continually used, or rather misused, by residents of other States to defeat their own statutes. Divorce has become a kind of slight of hand performance, by means of which a skillful and unscrupulous man may throw off his most sacred obligations under cover of, and, apparently, in connivance with many State and Territorial statutes. In theory, we are a great, moral, prosperous nation; in condition, in the matter of divorce, we are thirty-eight Bedouin tribes and eight Indian bands, pilfering each other and trading on the vices of our neighbors. The result is chaos, wherein the moral life of the nation is debauched, our good name tarnished, and our influence among nations weakened.

No man, nor people, whose habits are vicious and whose name is a reproach, can exert a healthful influence on others. The United States now occupies a position of preëminence, which enables it to exert a paramount influence on the awakening peoples of the world. That influence will be good or bad in just so far as we ourselves are a model for good or evil. Our mixed population makes us the best *foreign* missionary field in the world. It is a great seminary where the most restless and vigorous characters among heathen and semi-heathen nations go to school, and carry back with them our language, customs, morals, and ideas of government; and he who plans reforms for America plans for the world—not for the dying years of the XIXth century, but for all time. The world's best interests demand that the United States should be a homogeneous whole, welded together under moral and equitable statutes that shall demand the respect and imitation of the world.

But America is not only the world's school, it is the world's conqueror and civilizer. The world is becoming homogeneous, and will be fashioned after our model, if we are worthy of the honor; for honor it is, since imitation is the sincerest flattery.

Alexander conquered the world, and history calls him a great General. He had at his back a nation that was preëminently the

most intellectual, vigorous and civilized of its age. Greece was the centre of literature, culture, science and art. But the glistening of Alexander's armor makes us forget Greece, and his fame as a soldier outdazzles his truer greatness as a lawgiver and a civilizer. With every bivouac of his phalanx, the Greek power took root, and the Greek language, Greek civilization, culture, literature and art, Greek laws and forms of government and religion were planted from the frosty Caucasus to the Cataracts of the Nile, from the Ægean sea to the deserts beyond Palmyra; and that civilization continued for a thousand years, and its influence shall endure forever. His phalanxes broke up effete orientalism more effectually than they dissipated oriental armies. The rapidity and extent of Alexander's conquests, his schemes for commerce and civilization, for comprehensive union and unity among nations mark him as a great statesman, and show the possibilities of a small, but intellectual and vigorous nation, in making the world homogeneous after its own model.

We are to-day in the midst of a similar, though peaceful conquest. The fair-haired Saxon shall rule the world by virtue of his superior intellectual vigor and skill in invention. In place of battle-axe and spear, he wields the power of steam, and the lightning that he has harnessed in his service. Great religious and mercantile corporations are the phalanxes that wield these novel weapons in the conquest of the world. Who cannot read in the ocean cables and steamship lines, and in railways, galloping over Japan, Asia and Africa, with American engineers at the throttle-valves, a conquest of the world more far-reaching in its results than the triumphs of Alexander, scattering fire and smoke in oriental conquest. This army of Anglo-Saxon missionaries, inventors and capitalists, has scattered the English language, civilization, literature, morals and ideas of democratic government, from the Siberian shores of eternal frost, over the trackless Sahara, to the capes that bound the confines of continents; and the survival of the fittest is certain.

We already see the results in Japan, where the religious contest to-day is no longer with idols, but between American religion and German irreligion, with the chances in favor of American laws and morals. It no longer creates comment from a traveler to see a Bedouin sheik wearing pantaloons, a Chinaman clad in an ulster and silk hat, or even a Zulu belle attired in long train, trimmed with passementerie and duchesse lace. As surely as the Greek language, Greek religion and forms of government crowded out Egyptian hieroglyphics and Oriental superstitions and despotism; as surely as the new and vigorous American race has blotted out the

Indian tribes with their language and tribal laws,—so shall the English language, the Christian religion and American republicanism triumph over the whole world, if the Americans of to-day are true to the momentous trust imposed upon them, to make themselves worthy of imitation. Let America be perfect for its own sake—for the world's sake.

It is no mean problem, then, to study the conditions of our past successes, and to plan reforms for a more brilliant future. In studying the analogies of history, we discover nothing, but wrecks of nations strewn along the stream of time. All are failures to be shunned—none successes to be copied. One nation after another rose to empire, and the aristocratic few reaped the glory and gain, while the common people were degraded and venal; and with the crowning glory of conquest came the debauched morals of the people, and fast-following death.

“ Ill fares the land, to hastening ills a prey,
Where wealth accumulates, and men decay;
Princes and lords may flourish, or may fade,
A breath can make them, as a breath has made;
But a bold peasantry, their country's pride,
When once destroy'd can never be supplied.”

From the “plain people,” as Mr. Lincoln called them—that great moral balance-wheel of the nation—have sprung the giant intellects, the inventors and patriots—those consummate flowers of American civilization that have given us fame and influence in the world's councils. They were strong because they were moral, and the morals of the plain people must be kept pure, or Democracy will die.

Thus far our unique form of a people's government has been its own physician. One whole side of the body politic was paralyzed with slavery, but we administered home remedies and recovered. The festering sore of Mormonism has been lanced deep by our civilizing locomotive, and we are now convalescent. But a new disease appears, more dangerous than they all, for it is a blood poisoning; it is scrofula, and, if we mistake not the symptoms, the eruptions have appeared on the surface in every State of the Union, except, perhaps, New York and South Carolina. It attacks the heart and every tissue of the body, yet, strangely enough, our constitution forbids our physician to apply internal remedies. Divorce is a “domestic matter,” relegated to the States. We may apply arnica to Connecticut, a porous plaster to Indiana, and a blister to Utah, but are forbidden to administer a blood purifier internally at Washington, because these scrofulous eruptions—though they cover the body from the tip of the nose to the tips of the toes—are “local

issues," and the Constitution forbids National medicine. This defect in our fundamental law is apparent.

Every reform passes through three stages, it is said:—ridicule, argument, and adoption. We think that the ridiculous inconsistencies and vicious results of our State divorce laws have been sufficiently perforated by the darts of ridicule, and crushed by the dynamite of argument. The time has come for the stage of adoption.

I do not care to discuss the conundrum that is now serving to fill up the columns of the daily and comic press, "Is Marriage a failure?" The question is too serious for levity—too ridiculous for serious consideration. Marriage is the foundation of the home. Home is the foundation of the Republic. As long as the mothers of Rome were Virginias, Rome went on conquering the world: when the mothers and sons of Rome became wantons, the barbarian hawk perched above the Roman eagle. If it be a serious question for debate even, whether marriage in the Nineteenth Century be a failure, the venom in our blood has already had its fatal effect, and no medicine, for either external, internal, or eternal application will avail. Our doom is sealed.

We may better expend the shafts of our wit, and the volleys from our Krupp batteries on the question: "Is our Divorce system a failure?" To those familiar with recent newspaper and magazine criticisms on modern marriage and divorce legislation in the different States, little further need be said. Dr. Woolsey has given us an elaborate history of marriage and divorce, and he has been followed by many others who show their chaotic state and vicious tendencies.

Our whole social fabric is being undermined by a system, or rather lack of system, that allows one State to prey upon the morals, or immorals, of another. Should a citizen of New York make a raid into Connecticut and denude a hen roost of more than \$25 worth of poultry, the stern hand of the law would stretch across the border and bring the heinous criminal to justice at the very scene of the robbery. But a heartless wife may leave her innocent and confiding husband in New York, fly to another State on a visit at an expense to him of far more than \$25, obtain a divorce, marry the husband's next door neighbor, return to New York and make faces at him over the back fence. He has no redress.

The difficulty arises from the fact that under our Constitution the different States are foreign nations, as far as divorce is concerned. No two States have the same legislation, and many seem to invite divorce litigation to their Courts from abroad. The statutes relating to licenses, bans, common law and ceremonial marriages, records of

marriages, &c., are hopelessly diverse. A marriage good in one State may be void in another. Parties who would be arrested for bigamy if married in New York City, can, by squandering six cents in ferriage, and ten minutes of their precious time, be landed in Jersey City, where their marriage is perfectly lawful, and, after a wedding tour of ten minutes, at a cost of six cents more, they are at home again, safely and "honorably" man and wife.

But this husband may fall in love with another pretty face, or a full purse, and wish to sever his hasty Jersey City connection. His new love may be ardent, and his hurry great; if so, and, if favored with ample railroad fares, he can take the "vestibuled limited" for one of the territories, where, by alleging simply that he *desires* to become a resident, he can institute proceedings for divorce at once. Is it a wonder that in that territory the Court fees are paid largely by non-residents, and that 404 divorces were granted in twelve months? If time is not so important, and railroad fares too high, he can find a number of States nearer by where simply to allege residence is enough, and others where ninety days or six months residence is sufficient.

Such divergencies and laxity have every appearance of connivance on the part of legislatures to defraud innocent citizens of sister States. The strongest evidence of the connivance is the simple fact that such wholesale frauds do thrive, not only when the forms of law are strictly complied with, but in multitudes of cases where forgeries of signatures and seals are used by unscrupulous lawyers to deceive innocent clients. The frequent convictions of lawyers for these fraudulent and scandalous practices but emphasize the scandalous condition of the laws themselves that make such deceptions possible.

The causes for which a divorce may be had are as diverse as rainbow hues. In South Carolina none can be had at all. In New York, adultery and imprisonment for life alone will divorce man and wife absolutely, though separations may be secured for other causes. An analysis of the divorce laws of the other States is not within our limits of time, and might be but a free advertisement of objectionable legal wares. They vary from mere indictment for crime, to actual confinement from one year to imprisonment for life; the descriptions of the different phases of cruelty and the extent of its duration, as a cause for divorce, have bankrupted appropriate adjectives in the different statutes; desertion may extend from no prescribed time to many years; drunkenness extends from "habitual" to "insupportable." Naturally enough we find that there is as great diversity of opinion as to how long it takes drunkenness to become "habitual," as to how intense it must be to be

“insupportable.” Failure to support the family has its share of diverse interpretation.

Then we come to the so-called “Omnibus clauses” in the statutes of some States and Territories, which practically leave the whole matter to the discretion of the judge; and one judge actually sat in judgment on his own case where the wife was accused; among other things, of having the mad dumps, silently, for three days. One territorial statute practically enacts that divorce may be granted for any cause that the legislature would have provided for had its attention been called to that exact case. We think that we are none too emphatic in saying that, to all people who regard their marriage vows—who venerate the home and see in its purity the safeguard of the State—these laws are simply monstrous crimes against individuals, and venomous poison for the nation. They need but to be called to the attention of the people, needing no argument to prove their vicious effects, and requiring only intelligent and concerted action to procure their correction. But how shall it be done?

We no longer argue that we are a Nation. While in our new and experimental form of government, the nice adjustment of jurisdictions between the States and the General Government may not be wholly determined, the general proposition is admitted that we are a homogenous people, not distinct nationalities, differing in language, habits of thought, and codes of morals, and that all laws that effect all the people equally in all parts of our wide domain should be uniform; and such uniformity is practical through national legislation only. To unify the State laws, and keep them uniform, is a hopeless task. A law has been juggled through one legislature simply to allow one of its popular members to get a divorce.

Whatever objections there may be to any amendment of the Constitution that would place additional patronage in the hands of the executive, no pessimist even would argue that an amendment to Article I, section 8 of our Constitution, placing divorce on an even footing with bankruptcies would unduly centralize our government.

If alleged offenses against the marriage relation are contrary to the laws of God or nature or reason in one part of our country, they are in all parts, and uniform punishment should be inflicted and uniform remedies applied. There is no reason why a New Hampshire wife should be freed from her life long marriage vows for offences for which a Vermont wife, distant only a stone’s throw, across an imaginary line, must suffer without relief; nor should the methods of redress be widely different.

The mere fact that what is dishonorable, unlawful and immoral in one place is esteemed honorable, lawful and moral in another, weak-

ens our respect for law, dulls the conscience and tends toward anarchy ; and when such disrespect for law and dulled distinctions between right and wrong have become a settled "condition" among our people, we are already in the state of moral degradation and venal weakness that distinguished the latter days of the Roman Empire when the barbarian Goths swept down upon the degenerated Eternal City.

If our government of the people, by the people and for the people would avoid the wrecks of governments strewn along the stream of the world's history, the common people must be moral and the home life pure. An absolute prerequisite to the purity of the people's morals is the stability of the home. From Blackstone we quote an opinion from Lord Stowell: "It must be carefully remembered that the general happiness of married life is secured by its indissolubility ; when people understand that they *must* live together, except for a very few reasons known to the law, they learn to soften, by mutual accommodation, that yoke which they know they cannot shake off. They become good husbands and good wives ; for necessity is a powerful master in teaching the duties it imposes."

The morals of the voters are determined by the moral atmosphere of the boys' homes. When these homes are broken up by divorces obtained by the trick of a foreign statute, and their atmosphere polluted by the obscene scandals induced by the possibility of such sharp practice—when children are arrayed against each other, clinging part to father or part to mother in the unseemly strife,—when they find, perhaps, that in one State they are legitimate and respectable, and a few miles away are branded as bastards, forbidden to inherit a father's property, and unable to throw off his unsavory name, can they, in such circumstances, grow up to manhood with any feelings other than disgust for the laws of the land, and abhorrence for the country? can we wonder they are anarchists,—could they reasonably be any thing else? And when this feeling shall have become universal, will we not then be ripe for revolution and anarchy and their attendant despotism?

But what is the remedy suggested? We must have a blood purifier. All attempts at local treatment by the external application of arnica, blisters or poultices will be futile. First, let Congress appoint a commission to gather official statistics as to the extent and effect of the evil and recommend a code of divorce laws ; then let Congress pass a uniform law for the District of Columbia and the territories, thus wiping out at once many of the most vicious laws that afflict us, and breaking up at least two of the worst rendezvous for divorce bandits. By that time we have no doubt that the public conscience

would be sufficiently aroused and twenty-nine States would unite to pass the desired Constitutional amendment.

In this discussion I have not appealed to God's law nor to Christians, in behalf of this reform, but to common sense and to patriots. We have not suggested what should be the character of this uniform National law. A uniform law, though defective, would be vastly better than our present slight-of-hand system. The law should state clearly, however, for what causes a marriage is void, for what voidable, and for what causes a divorce, and for what a separation may be had, and should lay down specific rules as to the residence of parties and as to notice to the defendant, and it should throw about the trial every safe-guard against trickery and collusion.

The history of divorce legislation in the past gives us little satisfaction ; it is a history of failure—of statutes designed by immoral men to satisfy their own lusts. Never till to-day has woman occupied her true place as the queen of the home. New statutes must recognize her exalted position of honor, trust and increased usefulness. There was a time when God winked at certain objectionable statutes, but the New Testament—the highest Court of Appeals—has repealed all laws that Moses had suffered simply by reason of the hardness of the people's hearts. In clarion tones was declared the new commandment, suited to that highest type of civilization, which can only exist hand in hand with good morals. The Savior of mankind declared that man might have one wife and no more, and that absolute divorce should be decreed for adultery alone; and no nation can permanently endure that persistently violates God's law.

And we find that human experience invariably endorses the divine statutes. England and the State of New York have followed quite closely the New Testament doctrine, and nothing could induce them to alter their course. We may be pardoned for expressing so marked a preference for the statutes of our own Empire State ; we think no apologies necessary, however, when the Revised Statutes of New York agree so nearly with the latest revised edition of our Lord's own words. Certain alleged marriages, as when husband or wife is still alive, should be absolutely void ; some—like marriages of minors under age—should be voidable upon the decree of a court, but a valid marriage, entered into after all legal safe-guards against undue haste have been properly observed, should not be rent asunder by a less heinous offense than adultery, which should apply with equal rigor to each party. This proposition could be supported by quotations from writers of acknowledged authority in all ages, ancient and modern ; but to a Christian, it needs no support other than the word of God.

It took forty years to convert the slaves, that left Egypt an undisciplined mob, into a well disciplined army, before whom the giants of Canaan fell like grain before the reaper. It may have required a century of discipline to prepare the new American race for a post of honor in a conquering struggle where the battle field is the whole world. To win in that struggle and conquer the world, we must be a united, homogenous people—united in religious belief, in moral and political ideals. Above all, we must not be warring tribes on so great a moral question as the sanctity of the home. The battle is on ; the issue cannot be avoided ; different nationalities are struggling for conquest. Our scouts are Christian missionaries ; they have penetrated the farthest limits of the field. The skirmish line is pressing on their trail with schools, hospitals and chapels. The battalions are the churches everywhere. The balls are words of men ; the powder is the word of God ; the artillery, Christian inventors and capitalists. The greatest general is the wisest man,—he who knows most of modern science, literature and art, and has tact to apply his learning for the benefit of his fellow men. In fact, in the great struggle of to-day, the grandest man is the grandest character ; the grandest character is the one living nearest to the model man, Jesus of Nazareth : and the grandest nation is that one whose laws conform most nearly to the Statutes of God We have every confidence that America can attain that standard and win in the world's battle ; and that our historian of the future, while recording among the marvels of the nineteenth Century the rapid development of America's resources and her wonderful progress in science and invention, will, at the same time, record how the first practical experiment of a government of the people, by the people and for the people purified itself of one national sin after another, until, as a crowning glory, it became the exemplification of Christian laws and a model for a regenerate world.

Discussing the foregoing paper, NORMAN FOX, D.D., New York, said :

I listened with interest to the paper read. I have read with interest articles in newspapers and magazines on this subject. We must all study it with deep interest. It is a vital topic. The faults are confessed ; now as to the remedy. I do not see that any remedy is offered in a national divorce law. It is urged that there should be consistency in our divorce legislation, but much depends on the nature of the consistency. I would rather have a system inconsistent, with some parts of it good, than have it consistent all through, and

all wrong. There are two or three of the States whose divorce codes approximate to the standard of the New Testament ; there are other States whose divorce codes are simply outrageous. If it were certain that a national divorce law would be conformed to the standard of the two or three States whose legislation is the best, then we might favor a national divorce law. But if the probabilities are that that national divorce law would more closely resemble, if it was not fully on a par with the legislation of the very worst of the States and Territories, then it is better we should have purer legislation in one or two States than have a uniform divorce law which would bring corruption into every State throughout the Union. There are 38 States in the Union ; 20 of them would make a majority, and through their representatives could pass a national divorce law. Are there 20 of these States whose representatives would pass a law like that which now exists in South Carolina or in New York ? I do not think there are. It seems to me almost, if not absolutely certain, that any national divorce law would be like that of Connecticut or Indiana, or some of the Territories to which Col. Bacon has referred. If that is to be the case, certainly the citizen of New York has no reason to wish for a national divorce law. In South Carolina, I understand, there is no divorce code, in other words divorce is not allowed there. There may be other States comparatively pure in their legislation, but in most of the States the legislation is very objectionable, indeed. The reform in this matter must come from the elevation of the public sentiment. The public sentiment in our churches is lamentably low. How many communities there are in which the most disreputable couple will have not the least difficulty in finding a minister of the Gospel in good and regular standing, who will pronounce them united in marriage according to God's law. As long as that sentiment prevails legislation amounts to little. Let public sentiment be so raised that a social ban will rest upon those who are dwelling together otherwise than according to the law of God, and the matter will be to a great extent, if not entirely, remedied.

The next paper read was on

LIMITS OF IMMIGRATION.

BY THE HON. JOHN G. SAWYER, OF ALBION, N. Y.

The subject assigned to me is one that has for the last few years attracted much attention and elicited much discussion in our public press and elsewhere. And inasmuch as I have no references to what I may have seen on this question in my general reading, I

shall give simply the reflections of my own mind, ~~and~~ ~~by~~ ~~what~~ I may have read, giving nothing as quoted, and claiming no originality for the views here presented.

I will premise what I have to say by stating that the question we are considering is very different from the question of Naturalization. The latter relates entirely to the terms and conditions upon which aliens resident among us may become citizens and entitled to the rights and privileges of such ; while the former relates to what limits, if any, shall be placed upon the immigration to this country of persons born and living in foreign countries, and who desire to become residents here.

In examining this question I wish first to call your attention to the following considerations, as to which I apprehend there will be no difference of opinion.

The situation of our country, and the reasons for wishing to secure the settlement of aliens among us have greatly changed within the last half century. In the early history of this country, when our population was sparse, when the great West was comparatively undeveloped, when our immense mineral resources were either undiscovered or only partially known and developed, when we were just entering upon the construction of our marvelous system of railroads, we needed the assistance of the laboring men of other countries. We gladly welcomed them here to all the blessings which our new land afforded to every industrious, economical and peaceable resident. They at once found constant and remunerative employment. They were a valuable addition to our population. There was employment enough for all. Those coming here in no ways lessened the opportunity for full employment to all our own citizens.

But we are beginning to see a great change. Our population has increased until now it numbers over sixty millions of people. Much the larger part of our valuable agricultural land has already been taken up under the different laws relating to the public lands. Our own population can now very nearly furnish all the laboring men necessary for the several industries of the country, and the effect of the large accessions we are now receiving by immigration is beginning to be felt by our own people, especially the class known as skilled laborers.

Again ; in the earlier history of immigration to this country, those who came here were among the better portion of the middle and laboring classes, men in the prime of life, of good character, of industrious habits, persons who came here to become citizens, bringing their families and seeking to make new homes among us. But now, while a large proportion of our immigrants are still of this

class, we are receiving an increasing number of those who at home are supported as paupers,—some as insane. Besides these, numbers of those who at home belong to the criminal classes come ~~here~~ seeking fresher and more hopeful fields in which to pursue their criminal avocations.

And it is now a well established fact, as I understand it, that not only is the immigration of these several classes above referred to favored, but the same is aided by the local authorities in several of the governments of Europe, if not by the governments themselves.

Then in some of the governments of Europe there is a class of people whose views as to the rights and authority of established governments and the rights of society and the duties of its members, are such that if carried into practical operation they would be subversive of all good government, and destructive to all well regulated society; persons who are restive under the just restraints imposed upon them at home, and who seek a new country where they may promulgate and practice their peculiar views. And in some parts of our country this class is becoming a dangerous element in our social life.

Besides these, we have within the last few years received a large accession to our population, especially in certain portions of our country, of a class of aliens who belong to a different and lower civilization than our own, with peculiar and distinctive habits and customs, who come here with no intention of ever becoming permanent inhabitants, who do not assimilate with our people, but retain their own distinctive national habits, customs and peculiarities. Their only object in coming here is by the closest economy to lay up property with which they hope, after a short sojourn here, to return to live in their native land. They never, with scarcely an exception, become Americans in feeling or action.

Such, I apprehend, is our present condition, and the question presented to the American people and pressed upon their attention is, What limits, if any, should be placed upon immigration to this country?

The power of our country to limit immigration can scarcely be questioned.

I understand it to be a principle lying at the foundation of all governments that the government owes certain obligations to its inhabitants, among which is the obligation to protect them in their persons and property, and that it is immaterial whether they be native born, naturalized or unnaturalized.

If this be so, it would seem to be clear that the government must have the power to say that it will not extend the limit of these obli-

gations, but will restrict the number or class of aliens who may be permitted to become residents of this country and thereby share in the benefits to be derived from these obligations.

The late William L. Marcy, then Secretary of State under President Polk, in a letter to Mr. Fay, then, if I mistake not, our Minister to Switzerland, lays down the following proposition: "Every society possesses the undoubted right to determine who shall compose its membership, and it is exercised by all nations in peace and war."

If this be sound, then I think our government, speaking in the name and by the authority of the whole people, has the power to restrict, as it may see fit, the number or class of aliens who may come here and become members of our society.

I would throw no obstacle in the way of the immigration of any person of good character, well disposed to our government and to the good order and happiness of our people, who comes here for the laudable purpose of making this his home and becoming identified with our people. For them there is still room; but, unfortunately, other and undesirable classes of immigrants are coming here, and I would, therefore, except so far as we may be prevented by treaty stipulations with other countries, limit the immigration to this country of the following classes:

FIRST.—Those who, at the time of immigration, are and have been known as paupers, supported at the public expense, and burdens upon society at home. I would not include a person who, by reason of sickness or some temporary misfortune, may have been for the time assisted or cared for at the public expense. I refer to that class known in nearly every community as paupers, burdens upon the society where they live, and supported substantially by the charity of others or at the expense of the people.

SECOND.—I would exclude the insane. They can never become useful members of society and must necessarily be and remain a constant source of care and expense.

THIRD.—I would exclude persons known as belonging to the criminal class—persons convicted of a felony or guilty of the commission of smaller offenses. There are persons residing in nearly every community where they live universally feared and detested; their whole influence is demoralizing. But I would not include in this class those who are charged with or convicted of what are known as political offenses.

FOURTH.—There are persons belonging to that class sometimes spoken of as Anarchists, who are known to entertain views as to the rights and authority of government, and as to the rights of society

and the duties of its members, which, if carried into effect, would prove destructive to all government and to the good order and peace of society—persons who, entertaining such views, are seeking to spread and to give practical effect to the same.

FIFTH.—Immigrants from a country of a lower civilization than our own, whose habits, customs and modes of life are entirely dissimilar to ours—persons, judging from our past experience, who do not come here to become permanent residents, who do not assimilate with our people or become Americanized in feeling or action, whose presence here is a source of constant irritation to those of our people with whom they come in competition. The natives of Ireland, Germany and many other European countries may and do become Americans in heart, and loyally attached to the government and institutions of their adopted country and ready to make any sacrifice necessary for their defense, but the native of China always remains a Chinese in thought and feeling. His affections all cluster around the land where repose the bones of his ancestors and where he desires and expects his own to be buried.

To frame a law or devise a system of regulations which will completely limit the immigration of these several classes may be impossible, but it seems to me that a system may be devised that will largely limit the same.

I would suggest that our consuls, and, perhaps, our consular and commercial agents, if American citizens, might be clothed with judicial powers, with authority to call for and examine witnesses and to reduce such testimony to writing, to whom persons desiring to immigrate to this country might apply for that purpose and introduce testimony as above provided for, and that such officers be authorized to decide from such evidence whether such applicant comes within either of the classes above prohibited, and if he does not, such officers to be authorized to issue a certificate which shall permit such applicant to immigrate to this country. If such applicant be a husband or father then such certificate to authorize the wife and children under, say, sixteen years of age, all being named in such certificate also, to emigrate here.

Under our naturalization laws an alien must establish to the satisfaction of the Court by the testimony of two witnesses personally acquainted with him, among other things, that he, during his residence here, has behaved as a man of good moral character and well disposed to the good order and happiness of our people. In some similar way I would require every person desiring to immigrate here to apply to such officer authorized to act as above stated and to establish to the satisfaction of such officer by competent testimony

that he is a person of good moral character, well disposed to our government and to the good order of our people, and that he does not belong to any of the classes above prohibited.

Such certificate to be issued, as above stated, should issue under the hand and seal of the officer issuing the same, and no immigrant should be permitted to land in our ports or enter our territory without the production of such certificate.

Suitable penalties should be provided for the punishment of persons landing without such certificate and the officers of vessels bringing immigrants without such certificate. I would require alien visitors to our country to provide themselves with passports from their own country, and thus all coming here would be able to show whether they came here as immigrants or merely as visitors.

Of course, the above is but the merest outline of what such a law should be. To properly prepare such a law, with all necessary details, great care should be exercised and the attention of our most experienced and skillful legislators should be given to it.

It appears to me that some such law is practicable, and if carefully and properly drawn and faithfully executed would very largely limit the immigration here of undesirable and unworthy classes of aliens, and would protect our people against the addition to our population of those whose presence among us would prove an injury rather than a blessing.

DR. D. C. POTTER, of New York, was the appointed speaker, but was unable to be present. The paper prepared by him was received too late to be read. It was as follows :

WHAT TO DO WITH THE FOREIGNERS.

BY THE REV. D. C. POTTER, D. D., PASTOR OF THE BAPTIST TABERNACLE, NEW YORK.

The obstacle standing in the way of the adjustment of this question is all but insurmountable. There seems to be no way around it, and who is there bold enough to predict any kind of a success in an attempt to climb over the difficulty. It does not matter upon what side you stand, nor from what point you take your view, you will run straight into politics. There is no need to mince the matter. From what quarter can we hope to bring an influence to bear on legislators when we have the assurance in advance that they are already under obligations in a greater or less degree to representa-

tives of the very element which concerns us in this discussion. Self-interest is mighty ; it is all-prevailing. Where is there an advocate willing to confront future party disaster by really undertaking the solution of this question from a broadly patriotic and common sense standpoint? Under the inexorable existing conditions, it seems to me a little better than whistling in the wind to touch the subject at all.

There is no foreign element in our largest cities which is not already banded together under the name of its nationality, and with that name it has political power. They are not Americans ! They do not propose to become Americans, except in so far as by the use of their own country name and followers they can serve their selfish ends. It is impossible for any one living remote from a large centre to know how vast is the aggregation of these organizations and how potent is their influence. There is no effort nor attempt made to absorb them into our nationality. Their identity in that case would be lost, and they would not have a party value, nor could they be handled and traded as under existing conditions. The distinct determination is to keep these nationalities separate and apart from our general American life. They are separate factors, to be used as such, and at fit times to be sold, and delivered, as such. A single hint will illuminate this tendency. The vast and powerful liquor organizations of the country are identified with a certain class of foreign-born citizens. Their interests are identical. It does not lie in the power of man to make a break as between national characteristics, self-interest and the liquor power.

It ought to be conceded that the "*danger line*" of uncontrolled immigration has been already passed, and it is equally certain that the supervision at present extended by the Government is insufficient. We want a fine discrimination from this day on as to who shall be permitted to land upon our shores. Granting that in some way this can be brought about and that, as my honorable predecessor has held, the United States consuls abroad shall have authority and direction in this matter, there remains for us to confront what has already become one of the foremost questions of the time, *What shall we do with the foreign people massed together in quarters of all our large cities, who bring in and hold a life entirely alien to our traditions, customs and laws ?*

This is too serious a subject to be lightly passed by, and we shall surely suffer from the long-time lethargy that has fallen on us in regard to these matters. In my own city, which is, of course, an exaggeration of what can be found in other large cities, there are almost unbroken blocks of foreign peoples, amounting in the aggre-

gate to hundreds of thousands of separate nationalities. They preserve their foreign speech ; they keep their foreign customs ; they are in the main as un-American as though they were in foreign lands, and yet they drift into political power, expect to do so, and struggle for that accomplishment. Masses of these people are already squarely set against everything that we hold dear. They hate the law ; their only regard for it is that fear which is inspired by the policeman's club. They hate the administrator of the law ; they hate prosperous society ; they would cheerfully and gladly destroy it. In any struggle that can be precipitated they have nothing in the world to lose but life, which they do not hold dear, and if peradventure they can effect a change, *any thing is gain*. They know next to nothing of the spirit or letter of our institutions. They have never so much as heard the names of our heroes and representative statesmen. They only know that they were in a state bordering on desperation. They were poor, wretched, frenzied. They succeeded in escaping, and all the spite and discontent and rancor that they nursed and cherished during their years of degradation, under foreign despotisms, they hold ; and they recognize no distinction between conditions here and conditions abroad. These multitudes are here. They cannot be sent out. They are not assimilated. They do not become Americans. They do not intend to become Americans, and the professional politician prospers by keeping them what they are. It is no more a question of whether more of this sort shall be brought to our shores than of what shall we do with those already here. For unless we proceed with exceeding care and caution there are forces sufficient within our borders to work our lasting hurt if not our final ruin.

By the way, it may as well be said that of all those who may be classed among the undesirable who come here from abroad the Chinese are by no means the first. It seems to me that their great crime is that by untiring industry they gather to themselves more or less, generally more, of this world's goods and hie themselves back to their native land to enjoy it. Some do not do so ; some are illustrious representatives, and their conduct and character as well as their intellectual acquirements would be of credit to any race. It is highly probable that if the Chinese were to become commercial voters, their very great undesirableness would in a measure cease. It seems to me that as hard a thing as can be said against them is they have permitted Christian Churches to make fools of themselves in their behalf and to detail interesting females to individually teach John his a. b. c., and for this it hardly seems fair to condemn the almond-eyed wanderer. They are docile, respectful teachable, and as far

as possible, with an amazing quickness; considering the infrequency of their hours of study, they make rapid progress in acquiring our language, and the same can hardly be said by many who come from the continent. Substantially, the very same charge of gathering of our substance and the departing can be brought against the Italians; for that is their purpose, that is their practice. No politician has yet lifted up his voice to rule out the hard working sons of southern Italy, although 47,622 of them came here last year, and notwithstanding the hardships to which they are subjected, the poverty and bestiality in which the large proportion of them are compelled to live, the inhumanity of their bosses, and the ugly nature of their occupations, as many more expectant thousands, well informed indeed as to the treatment of those who are here, are ready to come. From what must they be fleeing? What line of action is likely to commend itself and is within our reach for the improvement of the objectionable people already within our borders?

I have heard, until it rings within my ears like the clanging of a bell, although I confess that, at present, the phrase is so meaningless and so inoperative, that it means as much, "*We must Christianize them.*" Doubtless we must; but, saying we must do it won't do it. They will not come into our Churches. We have had some little success in maintaining German Churches and Swedish Churches, but we have done little else; and I am firmly convinced that in doing this we are putting the cart before the horse. The great majority of the Germans in this country, probably the most desirable of all the immigrants who come from abroad, are practically untouched by our religion, and they have no particular respect for our Churches.

It seems to me that facts within our experience ought to lead us to question whether there is any hope of perpetuating foreign Churches. In coming to this country the immigrants abandon their native lands, and everything that marks or characterizes their national life. In like manner they ought to be led, persuaded and taught to substantially abandon their native languages. It is neither patriotic nor sensible to assist in the maintenance of foreign communities here. All the experience of history, sharpened by the Germans in Alsace-Lorraine, by the Russians in Poland, within the last decade, and by a multitude of instances in the changes on the map, made during the time of Napoleon the First, are against it. The American people cannot endure, except by absorbing, assimilating, and digesting these foreign elements. There is nothing more short-sighted, un-American and suicidal than to attempt the perpetuation of foreign churches! It is a hopeless and an impossible job. They can be kept up only by holding their own youth, and thus continuing their

career. But nothing is so easy as to demonstrate that they cannot and do not hold their youth. These foreign Churches are dams of obstruction in that current of absorption into our national life, which should be constantly going forward. They do somewhat toward maintaining an appearance of holding their own, if not of progress, by the immigration constantly coming on. But when it becomes necessary for a Church in America to find its growth in importation, the clock is already striking which tolls the limit of its life.

Every Church on this continent should have, at least, some of its services in our native tongue, and if for the necessity of reaching the very mature, services are held in European languages, it ought to be possible to approximate the time when that necessity shall pass away. There is but little more reason for organizing foreign Churches than for organizing foreign public schools, foreign boards of trade and foreign business communities.

The aim ought to be a clear one—to make Americans in the shortest possible time, by teaching the language, by disclosing the character of our institutions, and this aim ought to be pursued night and day. Foreign customs, foreign speech, foreign sympathies, will never perpetuate that which is embraced under the name America. The time is come for a crusade on this platform. In London the foreign element is two per cent. of the population ; in New York the foreign element is about eighty and a half per cent. of the population. The time for dallying on this subject has passed. The time has come to say something other than, "We must Christianize them."

The first and the indispensable step to be taken in reaching these foreigners is to teach them our language, and they not only are ready and willing to be taught, but it is the desire of their lives. It is fundamental with them. Their prosperity, their wage-earning power, depends upon their ability in this direction. It is no answer to say that this is the work of the public schools. It is not. The children of foreigners of the dangerous class under the public school age are utterly ignorant. The very moment they approach the age to enable them to evade the school law they are found at work, and it is more than likely that during this short period the parents have managed, by a real ignorance of our language, or by pretence and evasion, to keep their little ones at some kind of toil. And it must not be denied that this is largely a necessity. It will be found, however, that if **TEMPORARY SCHOOLS**, placed in convenient localities, are opened, either morning, afternoon, or evening, as the opportunities present, this foreign people

could be got cheerfully and gladly together for the purpose of learning our language. Along with it, simple history, good advice, and perhaps, as in the case of the Chinese, a little Gospel might be judiciously administered. But it is certain that standing in Conventions and saying that we must "Christianize" these foreigners, and fulminating the same from the pulpit, though making almost no effort to get them identified with a work for which they could have any interest will never do the business. As an illustration, there are in New York 30,000 Bohemians, 10,000 Hungarians, 16,000 Poles, 6,000 Russians, 25,000 Italians, and well nigh nothing is being done for them by way of education or improvement, except what is being done by the Roman Church. They could draw themselves together almost literally, and say, no man cares for our souls. This instruction is the first or primary step. It underlies all others. They are not interested in our religion, rather they are opposed to it. They make no distinctions. Religions abroad have brought them nothing. Society contributed not at all to their welfare, and the law was lynx-eyed to pounce upon them for taxations and the summary punishment of their misdeeds. They expect nothing from the Churches here. They expect nothing from government except interference, and they hate society as it is at present organized. They have the feeling that every man's hand is against them. It is no easy matter to disabuse them in this particular. Business, as far as they know it, is against them. Wages are pittance; their homes are hovels or worse. The vast tenement structures, comparable to nothing on earth but themselves, are an aggregation of nothing but foul nests. There is something to be answered for on the part of the public for the perpetuity of these iniquities. To one who has had an opportunity for observation nothing seems more trite and senseless than to sententiously say, "We must Christianize them", knowing full well that that means, in the main, that we must go into our Churches and preach about them. Of course, they know all about that, and are mightily edified. It must not be forgotten that the disorderly and Anarchistic element in Chicago have undertaken this work of teaching, and they have chosen, as is well known, our Sunday as the time. Imagine, my brethren, the deliberate establishment of schools in the large halls generally in the rear of the beer saloons. Imagine the assembled children sent to those gathering places by their parents, taught to believe that anarchists are high and noble characters, and that executed murderers are martyrs! What does that mean to the child mind and the child heart? Who is there that can wipe out that impression? How long is that to abide, and what is to be the out-

come? You have heard of these things, *but have you heard* of Christian people establishing little schoolrooms, and, by proper methods, teaching the language; correctly outlining our institutions, and perhaps parenthetically disclosing that a work like this, which must be gratuitous, is actuated by the spirit of Christ? What a revelation that would be to these children! And if they could but know of the Saviour of the world, and that they had in Him a sympathetic and a present friend! From such places as these the young and the old in all probability may be led to our Churches. They will never come in any other way, and when they do come, it will be indispensable that there should be some proper way of meeting them and some proper method devised for carrying on the work. But this Congress will have occasion to meet again before that day arrives.

The Rev. H. A. DELANO, of South Norwalk, Conn., said:

I am opposed to this idea of restriction, because I believe it is fundamentally unconstitutional. I believe it goes pat against the very organic law or underlying idea of this government. The fact is, it is too late in the history of this republic to undertake a thing of this kind. Our advertisement has been before the world too long for us to take any backward steps. We have people on these shores whose fathers, mothers, wives and children are across the water. They are here, and by-and-by they expect to have their friends here. They are writing to them to-day to come over as soon as they can. I know the facts which we are facing to-day, and which apparently are to try us as no republic was ever tried, but we have started with the fundamental idea of a republic, a great free government, with great hospitality toward all the nations of the earth. And the first step in the direction of restriction, it seems to me, is a confession to the monarchies of the old world that the republic is a failure, and that its diverse nationalities cannot be brought together, and welded into one beneath a free flag; that they are so opposed to our free institutions, that our institutions must fail in their presence. Our fathers believed when they wrote that matchless constitution that they had something which could stand this test. And we have believed it, until, lately there has come from the West the echo of a friction which is there with regard to one special class. While listening to that great orator, that matchless preacher, Rev. Henry Ward Beecher—I have sometimes found occasion to differ with him—I did not differ with him when, two or three years ago, one morning he said in Plymouth Church, in his own pulpit, he believed God Almighty had written "Jackass" opposite the

name of every congressman who voted for that Chinese Bill. I endorsed it, although I did not rise at the time and say so. I endorse it because he was speaking for the republic in its largest and most glorious conception of government. I remember he told us, the *Irishman* who landed at Castle Garden this year would go upon the coach next year on 5th Avenue, in blue coat and brass buttons, and in many instances in less than five years the Irishman would be inside the coach, and some other fellow outside. He had made money and wanted somebody to work for him. Mr. Beecher said these Chinese are coming to scour the kitchen, to do the work in the homes of New York by and bye, because such a class shall be wanted. I believe this government is large enough to take in these classes. I am opposed to restriction because it seems to throw a line across our great missionary work.

We have unbounded sympathy for these same poor emigrants when they are over the water. I want to know if they are men, and have immortal souls born in God's image, and if I believe that, I never would give my voice or vote for shutting them out from this government. However much we may be tried by these classes, let us turn our whole force and attention to the development of the Church of Christ, and to the bettering of the government. Dr. Henson said not long ago, "close your saloons in America, and you can leave the door of Castle Garden wide open for years, and we won't have any trouble with that foreign element." Let the Church be developed in her grand missionary operations, and let us thank God he has given us this opportunity of the ages by founding a Christian Republic, which by and bye, with its varied forces of Christianity, shall so work upon these classes as to consolidate them into a great Christian nation.

The Rev. L. A. CRANDALL, of New York, said :

There was one happy phrase used by the writer of the paper on Immigration, which has thrown great light on certain vexed questions in my own mind, and that was when, in drawing a distinction between those yellow-skinned brothers, who come from the far West, and those who come to us from Ireland and Germany, he said the latter are really "attached to our government." I think it is so, at least it is so in the State of New York. They are mightily attached to it. I visited the idiotic asylum on Randall's Island one day, and, as the guide opened the door to the room where the worst of them were kept, a buxom young lady formed an attachment for me, that was not especially pleasing to myself, and the attachment that has

been formed for our American institutions by some of the friends who come to us from foreign shores is not altogether pleasant. It is like an attachment that we sometimes find in the River St. Lawrence on an eight or nine pound pickerel. After you have landed him in the boat you find a great sore spot on his side, and the boatman says that's the mark of a lamper eel, which has an attachment for the pickerel. God forbid that I should say any word derogatory to the character of many of the men who come to us from Ireland and Germany; but when the writer of the paper draws so sharp a comparison between those men in their attachment to American Institutions, and the facility with which they are amalgamized and brought into entire sympathy with fundamental American ideas, and the Chinamen who have come to our shores, I object.

The class from whom we have the most to fear in America to-day does not wear a pig tail. In the five years in which I have lived in New York, and walked its streets, I have been accosted thousands of times by beggars; old beggars and young beggars, black and white, but I have never yet had a Chinaman reach out his hand to me for alms. They pay their way; they are industrious and frugal. I doubt if the position of the essayist is entirely correct when he says they don't come here with the idea of remaining. A Chinaman came here some time ago, leaving behind him in his own land his *fiancée*. He went into Mott Street, the centre of Chinadom in our city, and by his frugality and industry built up a thriving tea business, and had command, a few weeks ago, of \$5,000 capital. He got word from China that, unless he came back to marry his betrothed within three months, she would be married to somebody else, because her next youngest sister was at a marriageable age, and she had to get out of the way. See what a predicament our American legislators have placed him in. He dare not go after her, because he could never come back. He cannot bring that woman whom he has chosen to be his wife to the home he has made for her in this land of the free; more than that, he cannot even go over to see her, and return to the business he has established. And this in free America! Do you know why it is? It is because our politicians don't dare do justice to the Chinaman. They are afraid of losing Irish votes—the Republican party and the Democratic party, both; and I vote for both parties. Who are the men who have made the fuss about the incoming of the Chinamen? Are they men who have descended from Roger Williams or Patrick Henry? Not so. Are they men whose forefathers laid the foundations of these free institutions? Not so. Are they men that defend the sanctity of an American Sabbath? Not so. They are the keepers of our corner grogeries. Four-fifths of the

saloons in the City of New York are run by foreigners, and not one of them run by a Chinaman, either. Who fill the offices in the City of New York to-day? Irish Catholics. It is said that with one exception there was not a man elected in the late municipal election in the City of New York who was not an Irish Catholic. They are the men who object to the Chinaman. Of course they do. The Chinaman does not patronize the saloon; he has no vote; he is not a heeler. And that is the true inwardness of it. These hands have laid our brothers from China under the baptismal waters in the name of our common Lord, and with this tongue have I spoken words of welcome to our brethren from across the sea, as they came into the Church of the Lord Jesus Christ, and may my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth, if I ever lift my voice to keep out from this, our free land, these men, because they are these men.

PROF. E. H. JOHNSON, of Crozer Seminary, said:

I am delighted with the first suggestion of the essayist. There is a great change in public sentiment. Eight years ago, when the Northern Missionary Societies held annual meetings in Washington, and the Rev. Dr. Abbott made some extremely modest remarks regarding the opening of our doors on the Pacific coast, uprose that son of thunder, who used to be chairman of this committee—Dr. Thomas, who scathed and beat down and overwhelmed poor Abbott, until he felt constrained to get up and apologize, not for California, but for himself.

How things have changed since that day. We had an election a short time ago, and the question was, what did the candidates think on this matter? One of the candidates eight years ago was practically so obscure, that no one was interested in his opinion on the Chinese question. But the other man happened to be in public life, and the curious thing about it was—belonging to the party—which, I wont mention—which somehow interests itself in all sorts of nationalities—everybody belonging to that party, and who had a place in determining its chances, was eager to see what this particular candidate thought on this question, and was eager to defend their candidate from the least suspicion that he had been willing to admit the Chinese.

I agree with the Californians, and those who object to the immigration of some other folks, too. Look at what you have in the South. You have a race in the South more easily managed than any other race, but what is your problem? I stand aghast. I have equal sympathy and equal fear for the black and the white of the South. I don't know what you will do. We don't want a like prob-

lem in the North. Have we not enough of such problems in the North? It is the foreign races in our great cities that make mischief for us there. Why is it we squander such unmentionable sums in cities like New York? And now in Boston? Is it for any other reason than that the people who have the right of suffrage there, have in large proportion an interest in the squandering of the public money, and no interest in paying into the Treasury the public money. And we have them now and make voters of them, and are going to take more of them and make voters of them, too. What are we going to do about it? There is not a Northern city now but is on the edge of being broken down, or thrust into some mischief or other, in consequence of the large number of aliens present with us and now becoming citizens. I have stood near Castle Garden and seen races of far greater peril to us than the Irish. I have seen the Hungarians, and the Italians, and the Poles. I have seen these poor wretches trooping out, wretches physically, wretches mentally, wretches morally, and stood there almost trembling for my country, and said, what shall we do if this thing keeps on? In the name of God, what shall we do if the American race is to receive constant influx of that sort of thing, with such a history as they have had?

The whole hope of this country is that the Anglo-Saxon race, may have some such relation to the other races as the Father of Waters, the Mississippi, has to the other waters that flow into it. The charming fact is, that everywhere, throughout the whole length of it, the Mississippi remains the same. Its color predominates, its quality abides, it is the father of all these waters, the step-father, if not the first father of them all. And that, up to this point, is what the Anglo-Saxon race has been able to do; it has absorbed and assimilated other races, but we cannot keep it up. I would propose this addition to the restriction suggested, as the only one that concerns us. Exclude all mere laboring men, men who come here without any handicraft or trade, in no sense mechanics. On that plan I can see how we may exclude these fatal Poles, these deadly Hungarians, these dangerous, murderous and low lived Italians. We would have to exclude some Scotch, some English, some Irish, but we would be better off without them, if the cost of having them is that we are to take the others, too. Would to God we might take the English, Scotch, German, Swedes and a goodly number of the Irish, if they would not come to New York, but take them down South, but since the matter stands as it is, I beg you to ask whether the power of the Anglo-Saxon over the industrial ideas that have made America American, is capable of receiving without limit the influence of alien ideas and alien faith or want of faith.

Prof. W. C. WILKINSON, of Tarrytown, New York, said :

I have been wondering whether we speak here to-day as Christians, or as citizens, or as Christian citizens, and which capacity should qualify and control the other. There is a text in which Paul speaks about a divine providence overruling the distribution of the races of mankind upon the earth. He speaks about God as having appointed men to dwell on the face of all the earth, and having fixed the bounds of their habitation. God then has a purpose, are we going to find out his purpose, and obey it, or are we going to ignore it altogether in thought, and ignorantly contravene it? I thought of that touching story of our Lord, from which he drew the instruction to us, that when we make a feast we should invite the poor, the maimed, the halt, the lame and the blind, and I wondered whether as Christians we were fulfilling the spirit of that instruction with reference to the invitation to our great domain here of the nations of the earth. I am largely disposed to take the principles of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, if I can find out what they are, and let them bring me whithersoever they will. I do not understand where in the Gospel of Jesus Christ there is the least hint that this nation, or any nation, has a right to stand on the borders of its domain, and tell the other peoples that God has made of one blood with themselves, You shall not come in here.

Where is the deed which God has executed and lodged in our hands, by virtue of which we can thus stand on the borders of our domain and say to the other nations, You shall not enter here? We did not ask the former possessors of this Continent whether we might come, and suppose they had stood upon the shores as finally they learned they had better have done, and said, You cannot come in; should we have bowed to that as to a decree of divine providence? I trow not.

I lately visited the Pacific Slope. On the voyage, I heard a great deal about the horrors of Chinadom in California. There were two Chinamen, passengers on board our steamer, and some of the passengers objected to being seated at table with them. They were gentlemen, and I expressed my perfect willingness with my wife to be quartered at table with these Chinamen. As a matter of fact it did not happen that I was so placed, but they were under my observation, and I did not see wherein they did not, upon the whole, behave themselves with quite as much fundamental politeness and good breeding as those who had whiter skins. In San Francisco I placed myself under the conduct of one of those who knew all about Chinatown. I expected to find it—worse than I expected I should, and was disappointed—in *not* discovering anywhere the scenes

of dreadfulness I had been led to anticipate. I could not help saying to my friends, If you do really so wonderfully object to these Chinamen's coming here you certainly have it all in your own hands ; refuse to employ them, don't deal with them, and they won't come. You make a convenience of them and then you talk about the horrors of their coming. I have no respect for this talk—except when it is uttered by my friend, Dr. Johnson.

I sometimes put myself forward in imagination to the final day of account, and then I wonder with myself how I should be able to answer this question. If the Lord and Master of us all should say to me, I sent those who knew nothing of my Gospel, by scores and hundreds and thousands to your shores, where they might share the truth with you, but how did you treat them? And in imagination I was speechless, in view of the fact that I might possibly have voted to keep them away. I tell you our citizenship as Christians is paramount.

What we are in this world for is not to make the best of a little domain for ourselves, but it is to win the world for Jesus Christ. We shall stand little chance at his Judgment-bar if he should say to us, I decided, since you did not go to all the nations of the earth with such speed as I wished, to bring the nations of the earth to your feet, for you to give them the Gospel, and you said "Go away." I should fear he would say in turn to us "Depart from me, ye know not what spirit ye are of."

REV. WALTER RAUSCHENBUSCH, Pastor of the Second German Baptist Church, New York, said :

I am not in favor of any restriction on immigration. I do not believe it is right to restrict immigration. I see one proof that it is not right in the fact that you will never be able to execute such laws. We have very stringent laws against the immigration of the Chinese, but they are not working. They are coming in by the way of Canada, and over the border line, and if the Chinese manage to do that, do you think European nations will not manage to get into this country somehow? If there is this pressure of the populations over to this country because this country is more prosperous and affords them better chances of food and clothing and habitation than their own, they are bound to come in here. I think also if any one of you were living at a minor seaport or some little town on the coast, and a little vessel landed out there with a few immigrants trying to come in, I think very few of you but would be willing to let them

in. We may talk of the Hungarian in general, but when we meet the individual Hungarian, our Christian heart goes out to him.

The paper we have heard this morning is very moderate in tone and its demands were exceedingly moderate, and yet—I don't know whether I would be willing to second even them. I believe in throwing open this country to all who will come, for I believe God made it for all. Who are we that we should close this country against the rest of the world? We all came over here sometime; if we did not, our fathers or our grandfathers were all immigrants at one time. Think of a vessel being wrecked; the life-saving crew goes out to rescue them, and takes in enough into the boat to fill up the benches comfortably while there are plenty of other wretches out in the water eager to be saved; suppose those in the boat should say to those outside, we cannot take you in, it would inconvenience us, and if the poor wretches got their hands on the gunwale, the others should drive them into the waters, would it not be driving the men back into a living death? We are driving men back into their poverty in Europe. Let all the nations come in. Throw open the resources of this country. Let men go to work with the chances they have and there will be plenty of opportunities to gain the bread they wish. I think this very pressure of population brought on by immigration is a boon to us; even the anarchists are a boon to us, for the explosion of a dynamite bomb has set us thinking. We have been turning our attention to social questions in a way we have never done before.

REV. GEORGE E. HARR, Jr., Boston, Mass., said:

I wish I could think Prof. Wilkinson correct in seeing marks of the Providence of God in the increasing immigration to this country. I think I am rather inclined to see in it the very human device of steamship companies to enlarge their revenues. I fully agree with the main point made this morning, that the purpose of our nation should be not only to live for itself, but to live for others, and that we ought to make the advantages we enjoy here world-wide. But the question comes, can we do the more good for this earth of ours by opening our doors here to all nations, or can we do the more good by developing the type of civilization and of Christianity that we have here, even at the expense of closing the doors both at Castle Carden, and at San Francisco? I am one of those who are of the opinion that our nation will bless this earth more by making its type of civilization, and its system of free institutions and its Christianity effective in the largest measure in this country, with the population we have, than by imperilling

these in seeking to solve problems of race complications, involved in opening our doors to all peoples. The gentlemen here seem to think that it is a settled matter that free institutions in this country are a success. Gentlemen, they are not. The American republic has not yet decided the great problem whether free institutions can be sustained, whether a popular government can be a success. And slowly and in pain and in conflict here in this land we are trying to work out this problem. We cannot afford to handicap ourselves with additional conflicts at this time. And the simple question is whether we as a nation will not be caring more effectively for the cause of free institutions, for the cause of our common Christianity, and for the blessing of this wide earth in shutting our doors against these undesirable classes, and working out our problems here with as few complications as possible, than by opening them to all the earth. It seems to me that the illustration used here about a boat into which people might get at some inconvenience to those already rescued was particularly unfortunate. That is not the problem here. It is not so certain that our boat will not sink. It is already loaded to the gunwale, and the question is whether humanity or Christianity, and even a love for those outside and those we have on board would lead us to take in more passengers than we can carry, and sink those we may be able to save.

E. NELSON BLAKE, Esq., of Chicago, said :

I thank brother Sawyer for the first half of his essay. With the Chinese part I should not agree. I would like to ask those who favor an unlimited opening of our doors, where anarchism was born? Had you lived in Chicago on that night when those brave policemen went down before the dynamite bomb, thrown, not by a native of this country, you would feel differently, my brother, when you say you welcome anarchists. When you speak of Bible views, let us see if God never had a care for his people. In the fulness of time He said of the nations represented by Adoni-bezek, who caught seventy kings and cut off their thumbs and toes, and sent them in *his* civilization to gather the crumbs from under his table with the dogs, that their day of retribution had come, and God told the children of Israel to drive them out of that land because he wished to plant His people there, and said, "if you leave them they will be pricks in your eyes and thorns in your sides." The children of Israel, I imagine, said our civilization and our religion is so broad we can take these Perizzites, Hittites, and Jebusites, and infuse our civilization and religion into them,

and make them good Israelites. When you imagine the civilization of to-day is going to take Herr Most and his like and make respectable law-abiding American citizens of them, you are reckoning without your host. The constitution guarantees to every citizen life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, but it does not give to the congregation connected with this Church the right to set it on fire simply because it is theirs, because that would imperil some one else's property. When the citizens of this country see the criminals, paupers, and the insane, and the dregs of society, whose fares are paid by foreign nations, pouring in here, they have a right to stand up and say it shall stop. The law of self-defense is strong in the human heart, and it will be carried out. What we have passed through in Chicago—unless something is done to stay the tide of evil—is going to take place in New York, Philadelphia, Boston, and Richmond.

When this country was settled, who came here to settle it? Read Mrs. Hemans' poem and see. God-fearing men and women planted here free institutions, where free thought, and liberty, and a right to worship God should be allowed them. Was Communism or Socialism born here? Did they spring from Plymouth Rock or Jamestown? There is a point where unlimited toleration must cease; that time has come in our government, or Ichabod is written all over its walls. Today in Chicago there are about 1500 or 2000 children educated in the principles of Anarchy. Inspector Bonfield may have opened his lips too soon, but he told the truth when he said that Anarchy had received a new impetus. When these men next rise they will do a bigger work than they did in Chicago. Maimed officers, widows and orphans for years will attest their hellish work. You say "we will take them in and amalgamate them into our institutions, and instil our principles into them." Don't flatter yourselves. You may as well take a mad dog and think you could make a little pet of it and put into your daughter's hands. Our institutions will only be handed down to our children if we are worthy of maintaining and defending them.

Rev. FRANK M. ELLIS, D. D., Pastor of the Eutaw Place Baptist Church, Baltimore, Md., said :

There are many sides to this question, and two great issues. From one stand-point I think the issue might possibly be expressed by the two terms, the Almighty dollar and the Almighty God. The question as to safety is becoming more and more a practical question. On the one hand we have a lot of material, on the other hand we

have an assimilating force. As we get more material of a revolutionary kind than we can assimilate and control, we have an element of danger.

The practical question is not so much what my theory of Christian missions is, or what my interpretation of the Bible is, or what my relation to the Chinese or the Dutch, or the devil is, but is this tide of immigration going to deluge the government, or is the government to utilize this immigration? Look at the facts. The three elements of strength in this government are: First, the Christian Church; second, intelligence; third, honesty among politicians. The third of these elements may be difficult to secure: the two bulwarks of safety are the church and the school. What is the school doing in the way of providing against the danger arising from this great tide of immigration? The answer depends largely upon the character of the men who are controlling our school boards, as for instance in Boston, Baltimore, or Chicago. In so far as the school boards are in sympathy with the Papal church, so far our schools become questionable elements of protection and safety. If our school books are to be revised so that nothing shall be taught unfavorable to Catholicism, or that would imperil its interests, then it becomes a very plain question how far the school is an element of protection. Let us come to the church. The salvation the church can afford to this government is its spiritual power, its relation to God, rather than to steamships or railroads, school-houses, or newspapers. Ignore the relation of the church to Jesus Christ and the Holy Ghost, and you settle the question of its protection to the government. Who are the saloon keepers of this country? Ninety-one per cent. in New England a few years ago were foreigners. The American saloon is sustained by foreigners. The saloon is manufacturing appetite in this country. It is, comparatively, a recent importation into Germany and the Continent. It has been taken over the water by American cupidity. The educational power of the saloon is rapidly preparing material on the other side to become constituents of the saloon on this side. These constituents are being trained, under the influence of the saloon, to be absolutely lawless. How do I know? Who are the persons who are filling the prisons of this land to-day? Do Americans fill the jails and pauper houses? A large per cent. of the criminals in the jails, pauper houses, and places of that character, are foreigners. Do not such facts suggest the question as to whether or not, with all our spread-eagle nonsense about the perpetuity of the institutions of this country, this government can perpetuate itself, in spite of these elements of peril? Does it not look as if the digesting, or assimilating power of this country was

weakening rather faster than this raw material was being amalgamated? In other words, as this material is being taken in, is not our power to assimilate growing weaker all the while? You will perhaps take me for a pessimist, but I do not believe we are Americanizing this tide of immigration.

Rev. HENRY McDONALD, D. D., Pastor of the Second Baptist Church, Atlanta, Ga., said:

I am one of the dangerous classes. I am a native of Ireland, because I was born there. I am greatly interested in this discussion. The question is one of pressing importance. In its discussion men must always be very much like the chameleon, that takes its special hue from surrounding objects. There is a great deal in the sort of atmosphere—in the hue of things—by which we are surrounded. I have this, however, to say, though I feel a delicacy in touching on this question—not that I am not interested in its discussion or feel the heartiest interest in everything that concerns the perpetuity of American civilization and American freedom. I came here when I was a boy, of my own free will, after the failure of one of those sporadic attempts at insurrection in Ireland, which is its abiding, peaceful condition. When as a mere boy I was turned by red-coated soldiers upon the streets of Dublin, I said I will go anywhere rather than live here, and, upon the deck of the steamer next day, amidst the pelting of a December rain, I looked at the low, fading outlines of my native land. I came here a mere boy, and through all the forty years I can say as I said then, Ireland shall not bear me now. The first oath of allegiance I took was to renounce allegiance to Ireland. I have this idea, that while we are to preserve this freedom of ours, we are to do so by making this a great school for the education of freedom, and of free men. I believe in the educational force of a free government. Here is a place where the human soul can speak out its utterances, and the human heart breathe a congenial atmosphere. There was an illustration given about extirpating the Jebusites. We have done that pretty well with the Indians, have we not? The brother ought to have remembered that the Jewish invasion was foreign immigration upon a larger scale than was ever seen at Castle Garden or the Golden Horn. The Pilgrim Fathers—I was not one of them, but I have the greatest respect for them—came here with the best idea of freedom they had, and gained the highest idea of freedom here, and new views of Church and State ran all over this country. And go where you will through Europe, wherever you find

an American citizen, there you find the genuine spirit of the American system of free thought, free churches, and free States. We have the power to educate. Even in priest-ridden Mexico, freedom is lifting itself up, and the clerical party that held free thought by the throat is being smitten in the dust. Spain, with her long, strong arm, has held the Queen of the Antilles, and even there the native Cubans are beginning to feel the Spirit of God lifting them up into a larger conception of spiritual thought and liberty. Men raised here are not the same men, even with same faith as in other countries. They are being lifted up, and I believe we have this power. The anarchists who come here with the idea of Church and State allied against them come here the victims of oppression. No wonder they are wild with fanaticism ; no wonder they have wrong views. But the fellows that cannot behave themselves—hang them. That is a Divine institution.

Rev. A. G. LAWSON, D. D., of Boston, said :

I believe in restricting immigration. With respect to anarchists, can we bring them near to Christ? Some one said the surest way to convert a man is to convert his grandmother. We ought to begin a good deal farther back than their grandmothers, with some I have seen in underground Boston. We have one building on Tremont street so ordered that there can go on in it six or eight meetings at one time. I have stood in some of those rooms where tobacco smoke was so thick you could hardly see across the room, and heard things said both from men and women that would hardly be decent to repeat in such an audience as this. I have tried to speak with them, but they are so far beyond any recognition of what is at the threshold of our idea of relationship to God, that they are practically unapproachable. With the best appliances we can bring to bear they simply sneer in our face and turn away. In a certain gathering, where there were present nearly 600 men—men, not boys—we ventured, because of the kindly greeting they had given us, to put one or two personal questions. They had challenged us to say anything we chose, and had said to us : “We will not throw you out of the window ; we will deal decently with you, provided you will answer the questions we will ask in turn.” We said : “That is a fair game. How many of you have been inside any church whatsoever in six months?” we asked. Not a man raised his hand. “How many in a year?” Not one raised his hand. That meeting was held at the ordinary hour of church service.

In Boston, every Lord's Day, at the very hours of our services, there are many gatherings of men—solidly of men—who drink, smoke and discuss all sorts of things except purity, and truth, and righteousness. What are you to do with them? In Chicago, Mr. Blake is simply forced to recognize what has been compelled upon his conscience, his eyes and his ears, and sooner or later we shall have in other cities besides Chicago—unless God delivers us—similar results. We have tried to bring the gospel to these men. A good many thousands of dollars is being used for this purpose, from month to month, and as yet our hearts ache, and are heavy. We have enough of such men, and I understand that the chief point of the paper and of those who have advocated restriction, bears upon those who come here already entrenched in such ideas and habits of life that they become, the very instant they land upon our shores, a menace to everything we esteem of worth. The Chinese are not so. If the Chinese had in their hands the ballot, the politicians would run after them, pig-tail and all. On another side the chief difficulty is that we have fallen away from spiritual contact with Christ. But this much, at least, we can do: we can, as churches, as ministers, as superintendents and teachers of classes, as christian merchants—we can give to these men the practical, personal co-operation of our Christian sympathy and helpfulness. Let us read our bibles a little more closely, and come a little nearer to Christ as we put to them the personal and the practical side of a spiritual, christian life.

The Rev. LEIGHTON WILLIAMS, of New York, said:

This question has elicited *the* discussion of all the Congress. It is a practical question. Papers are written on it in this periodical and that, and from all sides it is receiving thought. The great question separating us has been as to whether immigrants to the Eastern shores of this country, and to the Western, should be regarded as on an equal footing, whether we should receive the Asiatic element as freely as the European. I say, for one, no. By no means. I should hardly agree with the writer of the paper when he said the question of citizenship was not necessarily and closely linked to that of immigration. I should say it is closely linked. No country in the world can afford to have any considerable portion of the population within its borders that is not citizen, and not fit for citizenship. We have known ourselves the evils of the negro question, and we felt after the war it was necessary to give to the negroes citizenship

on that account. With all the attendant evils that would necessarily follow from putting the vote into the hands of ignorant men, yet we deemed it necessary. It is necessary, then, that we should consider the question of the possibility of giving citizenship to the immigrant. And the Chinese, no matter what their qualities in some respects may be, are in one respect decidedly inferior to the European immigrants—they have been brought up in a radically different civilization. When our brethren here have spoken of the religious aspect of this question, I am in agreement with their general fundamental ideas on the subject. But first, the question of right comes in. Our fidelity to God and the bible is our fidelity to the constitution under which we live. By our Constitution and attendant documents, we hold out the offer of citizenship on certain conditions to immigrants of European or African race. The offer thus made is a pledge which we are in duty bound to maintain. But no such offer has been made to the Asiatic races—the heirs of an alien and antagonistic civilization. In coming to the religious aspect of the question I feel, after the solemn words of one of the speakers, in which he invoked the notice of Almighty God as to whether he ever lifted his hand, or uttered a word on my side of the question—I certainly feel I take a solemn responsibility in lifting my voice. The scripture precept gives me the warrant to keep out these heathen nations of the world. Let us first hold up the candle of a right civilization and true liberty here. In order to do that we cannot welcome the heathen into our own homes nor into this country. At a distance we keep them and there evangelize them. The scripture says in order to make the evangelical preparation for the coming of Christ, God, in His holy providence through long centuries, did just that thing. He shut up the Jews from all other nations because to throw open the gates of the covenant thus to all other nations would have been to blot out the oracles of truth from the world. Evangelize them first, and then bring them over. Was not this done in the case of the negro in slavery? Slavery forced him to accept the religion of those in whose bondage he was, and in this way the curse was turned into a blessing.

Rev. W. E. HATCHER, D. D., Pastor of Grace Street Baptist Church, Richmond, Va., said :

I shall always have a great deal more respect for the United States Congress after this discussion than heretofore. I doubt whether we could get a better bill through this Congress in regard to the Chinese, or any other foreign nation, than has been gotten through the United States House. We have had to-day a most extraordinary

diversity of opinions, and it seems to me to emphasize the very solemnity of this question before us. Down here we discuss the question as to the best means of *promoting* emigration and immigration. There is a desire on the part of our people, I think, for the incoming of new population. We want immigration in the South, but we want what, it seems to me, this country wants, and that is a good element in the way of immigration. I believe it is impossible to look to the idea that we are ever to have any legislation in this country shutting the doors against foreigners. If that is the case, then all we can hope for is that we are to have legislation that will look to the quality of the immigration. For America to shut up her ports now would be a libel on her record. I do believe we can and ought to work to the point of fixing the quality of the immigration. On that point it seems to me there is a possibility of agreement. I get fairly frightened by the statistics brethren bring. I am always oppressed. After all, our hope for our country is in that God that brought our fathers here, and who has enabled us to fill this country with the honor of His name. I do not want us to lose hope of the country on account of immigration. I don't believe the country is going to be destroyed, because I do believe in the influence of the living God and the strength He gives us. I believe we ought to meet this question of the incoming population, not in the suspicious spirit indicated by many brethren here to-day, but in the name of the Lord. I never hear this question discussed but what I think of the disciples when they gathered around the Master, and began to tell of the unwashed herd that crowded the Galilean shore ; and these sceptical friends of the Lord said, "Master, send them home ; we have nothing for them to eat ; they are interrupting us in every possible way." But there was a brighter, stronger spirit in the Master, and He said, "What have you got?" And they brought out their little stock. It was not much. It was short rations, surely. And when the Lord looked at that, and then at the 5,000,—and the disproportion, that was a great deal bigger than that of to-day, He said, "Make the people sit down quietly, composedly ; treat them well, show them you are interested in them ; assert your superiority and your power over them. Make them sit down, and they shall have bread." And by the touch of His magic power, the little they had, the little resources they brought, Christ touched into abundance, and fed the multitudes. I believe that is going to be, brethren. If we will only use our resources, we can convert America, and save the world.

The session closed with the Benediction, pronounced by the Rev. Dr. McDONALD, of Atlanta, Ga.

Second Day.*Evening Session.*

The Congress convened at 8 P. M., Hon. J. L. M. CURRY, the President, in the Chair. Hymn, "There is a fountain filled with blood", was sung. Rev. Dr. F. M. ELLIS, of Baltimore, read the 19th Psalm, and offered prayer.

The subject appointed for the evening was, "Romanism". The first paper on the subject was entitled :

ROMANISM : ITS RELATION TO SCIENTIFIC THOUGHT.

BY REV. A. J. ROWLAND, D. D., PASTOR OF THE FRANKLIN SQUARE BAPTIST CHURCH, BALTIMORE, MD.

In starting out upon this discussion it may be well, first of all, to call attention to the precise subject in hand. This, as will be seen from the statement of the theme, is not the attitude of Rome towards the physical sciences, but the relations of Romanism to that wider realm out of which, not only the physical sciences, but all other sciences come, viz. : the realm of scientific thought. By scientific thought, we mean thought that follows scientific methods and reaches scientific conclusions. The scientific man, as we understand him, claims the right to gather and sift all possible facts bearing on any subject he has under investigation ; to mark the relation of these facts to one another, and to cognate facts ; to draw, from the widest possible survey of the data thus furnished, the laws which seem to condition them ; to state the conclusions which appear justly to arise, and then to leave the whole matter for further time and investigation to modify, correct or confirm. In scientific thought, authority, except that found in the facts themselves, is not at all recognized. Whether the facts are those of nature, society or revelation, the scientific thinker estimates them according to their own weight, and will permit no one to add aught to either side of the scales in

which he is massing them. In a word, scientific thought applies the rigorous Baconian method, as the process of induction has long been called, to the discovery and elucidation of truth in all departments of human knowledge.

Having thus given what seems to us a fair definition of scientific thought, let us now go on to examine the relations sustained towards or with it by Romanism, a system which will be sufficiently defined as we proceed.

In the first place, I wish to say that it is a great mistake to suppose that Rome discountenances scientific study. In preparing for this discussion I sent for and received the catalogues of half a dozen of the best Roman Catholic Colleges and Universities in America. In every one of these catalogues I find schemes of scientific instruction. In some of them the scientific department is furnished with facilities fully equal to those offered in the best Protestant schools. There does not, indeed, seem to be much provision made for the study of the social sciences, political economy and kindred branches being generally referred to post graduate courses, where these exist. Still, with this exception, the recognition of the claims of modern science by Roman Catholic schools is very fair indeed.

It should also be said that Rome has had in her communion not a few who have made themselves a name as scientists. Father Brennan, of St. Louis, has gathered up quite a respectable list of these in the little book he has written on "What Catholics have done for Science". (1) In astronomy, he gives the names of Father Secchi, Jean Picard, and the Italian Jesuit, De Vico. In physics, he mentions Galvani, Biot and Coulomb. In chemistry, he selects Lavoisier and Chevreul. So in other branches of scientific study he finds Roman Catholic ecclesiastics or laymen who, by discovery or patient investigation, have enlarged the boundaries of scientific knowledge. The list is, indeed, somewhat marred for Protestant readers by the fact that it includes the names of Copernicus, Galileo and Descartes, men who, if history is to be believed, were not treated with special kindness by the mother who now takes such pains to number them among her children. It is a question also whether many of the men who are thus claimed by the Church were anything more than nominal members who, having been brought up in Catholic countries, merely remained in external fellowship with Rome, and were tolerated from the necessities of the case. It would be a much better showing if scholars could be produced who, in Protestant lands, gave their strength to scientific pursuits and at the

(1) Published by Benziger Brothers, 1887.

same time maintained an unswerving loyalty to the Roman Catholic system. Still, I have no disposition to detract from the claim Rome may make in this regard. I confess I do not see why a rigid Roman Catholic may not, up to a certain point, engage in the study of the sciences, and even become famous for the work he has done.

The highest authority in Romanism, too, has expressed himself on the attitude of the Church towards science. In that awful list of errors deserving special anathema, summarized by Pope Pius IX., in his Syllabus of 1864, we are told that it is utterly wrong and reprehensible to say, "That the decrees of the Apostolic See and the Roman Congregation fetter the free progress of science". (1)

Still further, it should be said that many of the most prominent Roman Catholic writers in the most positive terms proclaim the friendship of the Church towards the physical sciences, viewed merely as branches of human knowledge. It would be easy to produce numerous quotations in proof of this. Let one or two suffice. Archbishop Vaughan, of Sydney, Australia, the author of some very readable lectures on the relations of science and religion, says: "Did scientific men—men, that is, whose lives are dedicated to the investigation of nature—keep to their science, and were they content with what could be demonstrated and verified by it, then they would be looked upon by the Church as the benefactors of mankind". The trouble is, he adds, "Even scientific men are men of like passions and proclivities with their fellows; and many of them, not content with the study of nature, feel an indescribable itching to bring their hypotheses to bear against the teachings of religion". (2) So Cardinal Newman says, in his "Idea of a University": "Were it not for the scandal it would create; were it not for a certain tendency in the human mind to outleap the strict boundaries of an abstract science, and to teach it on extraneous principles, to embody it in concrete examples, and carry it on to practical conclusions; above all were it not for the indirect influence, and living energetic presence, and collateral duties which accompany a Professor in a great school of learning, I do not see why the Chair of Astronomy in a Catholic University should not be filled by a LaPlace, or that of Physics by a Von Humboldt". (3)

It will be seen, therefore, that Rome has no objection to science, up to a certain point, at least. She will accept science as her servant, and even as her ally, if the latter will keep its mouth closed as to matters affecting her spirit and creed. A morally or spiritually colorless science is treated kindly in her halls of learning, and recom-

(1) Art. 12. (2) Science and Religion, p. 25. (3) pp. 300-1.

mended to her people. While she will not go out of its way to encourage science, even in this narrow sense, she will yet, without hesitation, yield to the demands of the age for scientific instruction, and, perhaps, claim some credit for her liberality in so doing. As Protestants, we will do well to recognize the position of Rome in this matter, and not charge upon her what is not fairly her due.

But now, while we are perfectly willing to give the Church of Rome all the credit she deserves for her recognition of science as a department of human knowledge, we, at the same time, do not hesitate to affirm that her relations to scientific thought are those of constraint, and even of hostility. There are certain limitations which she insists upon prescribing, which make the full exercise of such thought utterly impossible. We will see, I think, that she reserves to herself the right, and adjudges it her duty, to say to scientific thinkers, "Thus far shall ye come, and no further". Here, as everywhere else, her authority is to be recognized, and all the conclusions reached are to be weighed in the scales she has been pleased to set for the testing of what men are to accept and believe. In the Syllabus, from which I have just quoted, she claims it as her right to have the education of the world put in her hands. (1) She proclaims it a damnable error that the obligation which binds Catholic teachers and authors applies only to those things which are proposed for universal belief as dogmas of the faith. (2) She asserts that the dogmas of the Christian religion are, without exception, not the objects of scientific knowledge, and that it is the bounden duty of the philosopher to submit to her authority as to truth. (3) She invokes her heaviest curse on those who venture to say that the Roman Pontiff can and ought to reconcile himself to, and agree with, progress, liberalism and civilization, as lately introduced. (4) It is an offense worthy of an anathema for any one to affirm that the methods and principles by which the scholastic doctors of the middle ages cultivated theology are no longer suitable to the demands of the age and the progress of science. (5) And finally, to clinch the business, she asserts that she has the right to use force, or any direct or indirect temporal power, to assist her in bringing recalcitrant scientists, or other rebels against her authority, to a better mind. (6)

So, also, in the decrees of the Vatican Council, issued by the Infallible Pope, April 24, 1870, we find the following in the article defining the relations of faith and reason: "Further, the Church, which, together with its Apostolic office of teaching, has received a charge to guard the deposit of faith, derives from God the right

(1) Arts. 45-48. (2) Art. 22. (3) Art. 9. (4) Art. 80. (5) Art. 13. (6) Art. 24.

and the duty of proscribing false science, lest any should be deceived by philosophy and vain fallacy. Therefore all faithful Christians are not only forbidden to defend, as legitimate conclusions of science, such opinions as are known to be contrary to the doctrines of faith, especially if they have been condemned by the Church, but are altogether bound to account them as errors which put on the fallacious appearance of truth". (1) As if this were not sufficiently explicit, the decree goes on to say²: "The Church does not forbid that each of the sciences in its own sphere should make use of its principles and methods; but, while recognizing this just liberty, it stands watchfully on guard lest the sciences, setting themselves against the divine teaching, or transgressing their own limits, should invade and disturb the domain of faith". In the same document it is further declared that, "If any one shall assert it to be possible that sometimes, according to the progress of science, a sense is to be given to doctrines propounded by the Church different from that which the Church has understood and understands, let him be anathema". (2) Finally, as if it was determined that there should be no mistake about the matter, and everybody be fully warned against allowing his reason to lead him astray, it is solemnly said in the article defining the duties and powers of the Infallible Pope: "If any shall say that the Roman Pontiff has the office merely of inspection and direction, and not full and supreme power of jurisdiction over the universal Church, not only in things which belong to faith and morals, but also in those which relate to the discipline and government of the Church, or assert that he possesses the principal part, and not all the fullness of this supreme power, or that this power which he enjoys is not ordinary and immediate, let him be anathema". (3)

According to the Syllabus and the decrees of the last General Council of the Roman Catholic Church, therefore, that Church reserves to itself the right and duty of directing, limiting and restraining human thought, and especially that form of thought which bases itself on fact or reason rather than upon her commands and decisions. The exercise and maintenance of this right and duty she has placed in the hands of the Pope, whom she proclaims to be infallible, and who, when he speaks '*ex cathedra*', is to be implicitly obeyed. Under such a system the full exercise of scientific thought seems to me to be utterly impossible.

That this is not an unjust conclusion will be evident, I think, if we examine the writings of those who, next to the Pope, may be

(1) Chap. 4. (2) Chap. 4. (3) Chap. 4.

presumed to be authoritative exponents of Roman Catholic doctrine. Here again there is a wide opportunity for selection. I shall restrict myself, however, to Cardinals Manning, Newman and Gibbons, and to Archbishop Vaughan, men who, from the fact that they reside in countries mainly Protestant, may be presumed to give as favorable a statement as possible of Catholic views.

Cardinal Manning says : "The infallibility of the Church extends directly to the whole matter of revealed truth, and, indirectly, to all truths which, though not revealed, are in such contact with revelation that the deposit of faith and morals can not be guarded, expounded and defended without an infallible discernment of such unrevealed truths."⁽¹⁾ This is almost as strong as the statement of a writer in the *Catholic World*, who says : "We have no right to ask reasons of the Church, any more than of Almighty God, as a preliminary of our submission. We are to take with unquestioning docility whatever instruction the Church, through the Pope, may give us. A Catholic must not only believe what the Church now proposes for him to believe, but be ready to believe whatever she may hereafter propose. And he must, therefore, be ready to give up any or all of his probable opinions so soon as they are condemned and proscribed by a competent authority."⁽²⁾

Cardinal Newman, in speaking of the duty of the Church towards knowledge, says : "If the Catholic faith be true, a University can not exist externally to the Catholic pale, for it can not teach universal knowledge if it does not teach Catholic Theology. Hence, a direct and active jurisdiction of the Church over and in any school is necessary, lest it should become a rival to the Church."⁽³⁾ He adds : "It is no sufficient security for the Catholicity of a University, even, that the whole of Catholic Theology should be professed in it, unless the Church breathes her own pure and unearthly spirit into it, fashions and moulds its organization, watches over its teaching, knits together its pupils and superintends its actions."⁽⁴⁾ In another place he says : "In the midst of our difficulties I have one ground of hope, which serves me in the stead of all other argument whatever. It is the decision of the Holy See. It is his office to determine how much can be known in each province of thought ; when we must be contented not to know ; in what direction inquiry is hopeless, or, on the other hand, full of promise ; where it gathers into coils insoluble to reason, where it is absorbed in mysteries, or runs into the abyss."⁽⁵⁾

(1) The Vatican Council, p. 84. (2) *Catholic World*, Aug. 1871. (3) *Idea of a University*, pp.214-5. (4) *Ibid*, p. 216. (5) *Ibid*, p. 461.

Archbishop Vaughan says, in speaking of the Church of Rome : " This teaching body, with the Pope as its mouth piece, claims to a commission to teach the world the true meaning of the Bible and tradition so far as they are necessary to salvation ; and it, moreover, claims, basing these claims on the distinct promise of Jesus Christ, to be divinely protected from poisoning the world with error, instead of giving it the wholesome bread of truth."(1) A little further along in the same lecture he adds : " In matters of supreme importance a man is bound in conscience to seek the best and safest advice, and to be guided by the highest authority. Now it has been shown that in matters of religion the Catholic Church represents, unapproachably, the safest and highest authority ; therefore, it is a duty and ' a fortiori ' reasonable, to be guided by the authority of the Catholic Church."(2)

To these recognitions of the right of the Church to regulate and control thought and opinion, we may add that of Cardinal Gibbons, the chief officer of the Roman Church of America. In his " Faith of our Fathers," among many similar expressions, I find the following : " The Church has authority from God to teach regarding faith and morals ; and in her teaching she is preserved from error by the special guidance of the Holy Ghost. The Church is the work of an incarnate God. Like all God's works, it is perfect. It is therefore incapable of reform. It is a marvellous fact that in the whole history of the Church, no solitary example can be adduced to show that any Pope or General Council ever revoked a decree of faith or morals enacted by any preceding Pontiff or Council. Her record in the past ought to be a sufficient warrant that she will tolerate no doctrinal variations in the future. She is the mistress of truth. If a child is bound by natural and divine law to obey his mother, though she may sometimes err in her judgments, how much more strictly are not we obliged to be docile to the teachings of the Catholic Church, our mother, whose admonitions are always just, whose precepts are immutable."(3) In defining the infallibility of the Pope, the Cardinal does indeed endeavor to show that this belongs only to the realm of faith and morals. He, however, allows ample scope for the exercise of this infallibility in other things, as will be seen from the statement he makes. " Finally," he says, " the infallibility of the Popes does not extend to the Natural Sciences, such as Astronomy or Geology, *unless, where error is presented under the false name of Science, and arrays itself against revealed truth.*"(4)

(1) Science and Religion, p. 222. (2) Ibid, p. 229. (3) Pp. 85, 94, 95, 96 (4) P. 148.

I have now quoted enough from the standard authorities of the Roman Catholic Church, I think, to warrant the conclusion that Rome herself recognizes an incompatibility between her system and Scientific Thought, and seeks to make provision against the dangers arising therefrom. It is evident that Romanism claims to be the mistress of such thought. The human reason, in this as in all other things, is to submit to her authority. The scientific thinker is to do his work under limitations which the Church reserves the right to define. He is not to press the scientific method too far. He is constantly to hold himself under surveillance, and to submit his hypotheses or conclusions to ecclesiastical censorship. If the Church, through the Pope, adjudge him to be in error, he must yield without question to her decision, no matter what may be his opinion as to the facts. So far as theology is concerned, Rome will tolerate no interference whatever. The scientific method is not to be used in dealing with the facts of Revelation. The right of private judgment, one of the necessary postulates of Scientific Thought, is not to be exercised for a moment in the interpretation of God's word. The infallible Church, or Pope, has definitely settled, or will definitely settle, the teachings of that word, and all men, scientific thinkers included, are humbly and quietly to accept her or his decisions. Whatever difference of opinion there may be among Protestants as to the question whether Theology is a progressive Science, there is no trouble on that score among Romanists. "The notion of doctrinal knowledge," says Cardinal Newman, "absolutely novel, and of simple addition from without, is intolerable to Catholic ears, and never was entertained by any one who was ever approaching to an understanding of our creed. Revelation is all in all in doctrine; the Apostles its sole depository, the inferential method its sole instrument, and ecclesiastical authority its sole sanction. Knowledge of revealed truths is gained, not by any research into facts, but simply by appealing to the authoritative keepers of them."⁽¹⁾

With this idea of theology it is impossible for the Roman Catholic Church to be on other terms with scientific thought than those of an armed truce. The scientific man is bound to hold himself strictly to the mere mechanical part of his work. If he attempt to draw any conclusions which seem to traverse the interpretations of the Church he is at once held guilty of violating the truce and may be dealt with in the most summary way within the power of the Pope. Every subject of human enquiry is limited by hard and fast lines, beyond which no man dare go on peril of excommunication and the consequent

(1) Pp. 223, 446.

loss of his immortal soul. Freedom, under such a system, is impossible, and the scientific investigator or observer is so hedged in that he becomes little better than a machine.

It is well also for us to remember that the limitations to scientific thought, insisted upon by Romanism, are not those which may now, or hereafter, be made, but those already fixed in the ages of partial knowledge and intolerance. The present Pope demands, in a recent Encyclical, that the philosophies of our time be made to accord with the Philosophy of the Middle ages. In one of the catalogues mentioned in the earlier part of this paper I find it stated that: "It is sought, in accordance with the expressed desire of His Holiness, Pope Leo XIII, to make rational and moral philosophy wholly harmonize with the teachings of St. Thomas Aquinas."⁽¹⁾ If philosophy is to be allowed to make no advance beyond the 13th Century, we can hardly expect that a much better chance will be given science. That Rome is reactionary is evident to any one who will take the trouble to read her latest deliverances. None of the anathemas of Pope Pius IX are pointed sharper or dipped in a bitterer gall than those directed against modern progress. Surely in the midst of such influences scientific thought can have little freedom to work out the conclusions which it is its right and duty to draw. Science may be the slave of the Church, but she must never expect to become anything else. So long as she is content to draw water and hew wood for her mistress she may be allowed to exist, but if she express any aspirations beyond this she will be cast into the outer darkness.

It is to be remembered, too, that, practically, since the decree of Infallibility, the decision with regard to the limitations of scientific thought is in the hands of one man. This man may be the personification of the narrowest mediævalism. As a matter of fact he is the creature of the Italian ecclesiastics, who have clear majority of the College which elects him. It is hardly to be presumed that these ecclesiastics, imbued, as they have repeatedly shown themselves to be, with the most despotic and reactionary ideas, will elect a man who is not in the closest sympathy with their views. But with this man, chosen under such auspices, and cordially hating everything that looks towards progress, rests the determination as to the limit scientific thought may be permitted. With such a director it is not likely that scientific, or indeed any other, thought, except that which is bounded by the walls of time-honored decrees, will have much space to breathe, or much opportunity to stretch its wings for flight.

It is forbidden us nowadays to read history, as we have been accus-

(1) Catalogue of Rock Hill College, Md.

tomed to do. Roman Catholic historians are busily engaged in re-writing and revising the story of the past, and we are bidden to wait patiently until their laborious investigations are concluded. It is claimed that a good many things that have long been supposed to owe their origin to the Roman Catholic Church are simple historic slanders unworthy of belief. The Inquisition was a State institution, which the Popes did not countenance, and over whose atrocities they wept in secret many unavailing tears. Luther was all wrong in his ideas about the matter of selling indulgences, and all Protestants since his day have been guilty of the same grievous error. The Popes have invariably been pure of life, and heartily in favor of everything good and uplifting in the progress of humanity. Alexander VI was a gentleman, and Leo X a saint. In our time we are assured the Church is devoted to freedom of opinion, and by no means anxious, in this country at least, for the Union of Church and State.

We hold ourselves ready to believe these things when they can be properly proved, but meanwhile we must beg leave to say that history, as the ungodly writers of it in and out of the Church have handed it down to us, does not give us much present encouragement as to the attitude of Rome towards scientific thought. I do not see how there can be any doubt, notwithstanding the laborious explanations Roman Catholic writers have given, that Galileo was persecuted and imprisoned for venturing to hold and proclaim certain scientific opinions which in his day were thought by the ecclesiastical powers at Rome to be opposed to the teachings of the Church. The same may be said of Copernicus. Father Brennan is careful not to include in his list of eminent Catholic scientists the names of Bruno and De Dominis, both of whom were brought to their death at Rome for daring to maintain scientific theories not in harmony with those then entertained by the Pope and his advisers. In 1515 the Lateran Council ordered that no books should be printed but such as had been inspected by the ecclesiastical censors, under pain of excommunication and fine, the censors being directed to take the utmost care that nothing should be printed contrary to the orthodox faith. On the Index Expurgatorius will doubtless be found many of the noblest products of the scientific thought of the past and present. I fear history will have to be tinkered a great deal before the world can be persuaded that the Roman Catholic Church has not assumed by force wherever this was necessary, and could safely be used, to throttle, or at least shackle, the thought of men on scientific subjects as well as other things. But if this be so in the past what have we to expect of an institution which prides herself upon writing "semper

idem" on the banner she floats out to the breezes of the 19th Century?

If Rome really gives encouragement to scientific thought, we should see some evidences of this in the production of a Catholic scientific literature. As a matter of fact there is no such literature. The text books used in Roman Catholic institutions are, with scarcely an exception, the work of Protestant writers, Hill's Rhetoric, Dana's Geology, Eliot and Storer's Chemistry, Loomis' Astronomy; even Arnold's Latin and Boyce's Greek books are the common text books in all the Catholic schools. The simple reason for the use of these books is that Rome has no others. If she answers the demands of the age for an instruction which measures up to that offered Protestantism in scientific subjects she is compelled to borrow from Protestant writers. We may be sure that it is not liberality, but sheer necessity, which compels her to this course. It will be found, I think, that when a man starts out a Roman Catholic in scientific investigations, he speedily discovers the incompatibility between the spirit of the Church and the freedom which he must have if he makes any progress in his investigations, and either becomes a merely nominal member of the Church, or, like Richard H. Proctor, drops out of it altogether. Were Romanism friendly to scientific thought, she ought to have something to show in proof. The fact that she has nothing to show is evidence that such friendliness does not exist.

Along this same line it deserves also to be said that in countries largely Catholic there is constant irritation between those in the Church inclined to give themselves to scientific pursuits and the ecclesiastical authorities. This is especially true in Italy. On the one hand the Jesuit school maintains the most pronounced Scholasticism, holding to the insufficiency of the human reason and the supreme authority of the Church. On the other hand, there is a tendency towards the most pronounced rationalism or Positivism, which will eventually cast overboard not only Catholicism but all revealed religion. If Rome did not lay her heavy hand on those who differ from the Jesuit Scholastics to whom she has sold herself, we should see an entirely different state of things.

We renew the conclusion already expressed, therefore, that the relations of Romanism to Scientific Thought are, to say the least, exceedingly constrained. Romanism has nothing to gain, and, in all probability, much to lose by the encouragement of the scientific method. Her assumption of the right to set limits to scientific inductions, and her vesting of this right in the person of an infallible Pope, are utterly at variance with the freedom which is absolutely necessary if scientific thought is to attain any real success in the dis-

covery and elucidation of truth. Between the scientific idea and that of Romanism there must ever be an irrepressible conflict—a conflict which will become more and more deadly as time advances, unless Rome changes her policy and falls into line with the spirit of the age, a desideratum which, at the present, seems utterly improbable.

Finally, I wish to say that Protestantism has, in many respects, as much to suffer from the speculations of agnostic or materialistic science as Romanism, but she will do well if she ever strives to meet such science on its own ground, and seeks by argument, and not by mere authority of any sort, to defend herself. It is vain for Protestantism as it is for Romanism to attempt to shield herself from the attacks of infidelity, whether this be grounded on the basis of science or criticism, by hiding behind creed statements or theological formulas. The age of the odium theologicum is past. The only authority the human mind will now recognize is that of the naked truth. If we want the truth to be triumphant we must give it an open field. Victory won in any other way than by fair and frank discussion will prove eventually real defeat. The wise course for Christian men is to throw open to scientific methods the whole realm of truth. God gives us his word as well his works to be studied, and we need have no fear that, with sufficient study, the two revelations will be found to be in the strictest accord. While the contest is going forward the hearts of good men, many, indeed—often be filled with fear, but when the contest is at last over the Church of Jesus Christ will be found to be “Fair as the moon, clear as the sun, and terrible as an army with banners.”

The same subject was further presented in a paper entitled

ROMANISM: ITS POLITICAL ASPECTS.

BY REV. HENRY McDONALD, D.D., PASTOR OF THE SECOND BAPTIST CHURCH, ATLANTA, GA.

There is no obscurity in the New Testament upon the duties which Christians owe the State. But there was need of definite instruction. The kingdom which Christ came to establish was in marked contrast with all others. It was to outlive the kingdoms of

all the Cæsars. These world-kingdoms were often founded and sustained by the rapacity and cruelty of tyrants.

Could the subjects of Christ's reign properly belong to these kingdoms, which in their genius and methods were so alien to the rightful authority of Him who was Lord of all? The life and teachings of Christ illustrate and enforce the rendering "unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's," while the apostolic epistles are clear, unambiguous, certain. Paul, in the letter to the Church at Rome, lays down the law of Christian duty, "Let every soul be subject unto the higher powers. For there is no power but of God; the powers that be are ordained of God." In Titus, "Put them in mind to be subject to the principalities and powers, to obey magistrates." Civil government is a divine ordinance. The duty of the citizen is subjection—cordial and patriotic support.

In the lapse of time, not unforeseen by the Spirit of prophecy, a very different interpretation of duty prevailed. The simple form of Church life gave way to the slow but sure trend of an ever-increasing hierarchical domination.

Monarchs and military chieftains, poorly instructed in the gospel, were received into the Church. The Church was exultant that now at length many mighty and noble were among her number. The days of her poverty and suffering were over, and the throne of the Cæsars was graced with her triumph. In this way was developed at last the union of Church and State—the source of unnumbered woes to both Church and State. The union was not without accompanying signs of such an ill-starred misalliance.

Though the bans had been published and the contract of the Holy Roman Empire sealed with courtly pomp and priestly ceremony, for many a century it was a fierce struggle which of the contracting parties should be the dominant one.

Now the Emperor claimed the coveted power of appointing popes and bishops, calling councils, deciding controversies about the faith; and now the counter-claim is urged by the watchful Pontiff as the divinely appointed proprietor of all these spiritual franchises. It would be a difficult task to decide which of these rival claimants had gone farther from the simple truth of Apostolic days. But the fretful impulse of weak or wicked Kings, oftentimes uncertain of their thrones, was not often a match for the wakeful persistence and regnant purpose of a Gregory or an Innocent. Thus by degrees Romanism was established, and for centuries the Pope has wielded a power which the proudest Cæsar never knew and over a territory so vast as their wildest ambition never dreamed. What does Romanism teach in regard to politics—our duties in regard to

the State? Without passion or invective, let us state the history of her claims and conduct in this regard.

1. The Church of Rome claims supremacy in the spiritual realm. She decides all points of belief and morals. She is the teaching body—the divine organism. What she teaches is truth, what she denies is error. Sole arbiter, divinely appointed. There is no room for doubt, examination or rejection. Of course, the organ of such immense authority is the Pope. He, he alone is infallible. Cardinals and Councils may meet and deliberate, but the authoritative utterance is his, the vicegerent of Christ. I have already intimated that there was resistance and controversy in regard to the extent of this supremacy, Rome interpreting her power of interference in a way which met with opposition from many otherwise good Catholic sovereigns. Did this claim of paramount supremacy include temporal as well as spiritual matters? What is the attitude of the Church toward civil rulers and civil government? Council after council have determined that the Holy Father had the right to depose reigning monarchs and to free or absolve their people from allegiance to them. The line of argument varies with different defenders of the doctrine, but in the main it is urged by the ablest advocates of Rome that the supremacy in spiritual matters carries such inherent fullness as to entitle its possessor to settle and determine all questions of political duty. Some make a show at argument on this wise: as the sun illumines the otherwise dark moon, even so the Church rules and graces the State with her favor; and from the first chapter of Genesis is evolved the doctrine of papal supremacy in all things, spiritual and temporal. The same facility for exegesis which makes in the dawn of creation the sun and moon do obeisance to the far off power of Rome, shows its dialectic skill in interpretation of the incidents of Gethsemane, where the two swords are produced, and the Lord says they are enough. Is it not plain that the meaning is that Peter held the symbols of complete supremacy—two swords, one for spiritual and another for temporal?

Such is the meaning, I suppose, of their presence in the regalia of the papal crown. We need follow no longer such adepts in expositions of proof texts. What her belief is is best illustrated by what she has done; what are the records? Her deeds were not done in a corner but in the blaze of the centuries. Time would not allow the abundant citations which could be easily made, and we must summarise results. But we must honor the Pope under whom the full blown doctrine of infallibility reached its diffusive fragrance

in the Ecumenical Council of 1870. Pius IX. of immortal memory, in the syllabus of errors which he presents, has his deliverance on this question—condemning those that teach “The Church ought to be separated from the State, and the State from the Church.” I judge, he means not only to condemn the separation of the States of the Church from the Roman see, but to lay down a general principle. In harmony with this latest infallible expression of papal faith, the records of her past history agree, and hence the prime and ever present factor in European politics was the Papacy.

“By me princes reign and kings decree justice.” We do not decide the merits of many a conflict which was thus waged between the Imperial and Ecclesiastical Cæsars, but surely there can be no doubt as to the claim which the Church urged as her legitimate right. It matters but little as to what plea she used in asserting her claim—the end was the same, that of controlling and shaping States as seemed to her good. In England, John, that meanest monarch of them all, having unwillingly yielded to the aroused barons the Great Charter at Runnymede, was freed by the Pope from the oath which he had taken for its observance and its provisions annulled by papal decree.

Will limping apologists in this country dare to insist that this was simply spiritual discipline? John, after excommunication, made his peace with his papal master and basely consented to hold England as a vassal to the pope. The very deed of gift which Innocent, the Pope, made of the whole of England to the base-minded king is still preserved in the British Museum, the monument of the Pope's assertion of temporal power and of the king's degradation. Did not Adrian, the only Englishman that was ever in the Papal chair, give Ireland to Henry II. of England? I think for this, every Irishman ought to boycott the Pope.

Paul III. excommunicated Henry VIII. and by papal decree absolved his subjects from their allegiance. In the same way Elizabeth was deposed by Paul V. Innocent IV. deposed the Emperor Frederic II. Gregory, the Hildebrand, deposed Henry IV. and made him wait as a menial slave to do his bidding. Time would fail to produce a tithe of the testimony, but surely there can be no doubt that such power was exercised. I care not under what grant such power was claimed or for what ends it was wielded, here is the mailed hand that with priestly grasp threatens the very autonomy of national life. But it is said by the apologists for such political intermeddling that these Emperors and rulers were parties to the bestowment of such power; that the papal control was but

the paternal chastisement upon the unruly children of the family. I am not discussing the methods by which this power was acquired, whether by fraud or fanaticism, but that such power was exercised and claimed. It is a tribute to the altered condition of things in this country at least that the advocates of Rome wince at this record, and affect great indignation that common school histories should incidentally allude to these things. That is right. I hail it as somewhat auspicious that their cheeks blush at the black record.

An expurgation of history is needed, but there is too much of it. The black record will not wash out. We see the theory in the light of the practice inspired by its teachings. The papal conduct is the infallible commentary of the papal belief. How shall we understand the answers to the questions submitted to Catholic bishops and theological professors during the agitation for Catholic Emancipation in England? These answers repudiated any civil allegiance to the Pope. The Catholic subjects outside of the Papal States owed no allegiance to him as the civil ruler of these States, but the all-comprehending submission to an infallible head would easily determine the devout Catholic mind to see and do whatever the sovereign of the soul would demand. In the very nature of the soul's allegiance it must be. So it has been in all the past, interdicts and deposing decrees were delivered and at one word the civil allegiance was stricken in the dust. *This, too*, while the question of the Pope's infallibility was still an open question. Infallibility was not then localized, it was in a nebulous state, resting upon Councils with the Pope, but the Council of 1870 localized the virtue in the Pope, and hence his decrees are stamped with infallibility. Who can set bounds to the exercise? How much more readily can the Pope now issue his decrees than in the unsettled medieval condition of the doctrine of infallibility?

2. As further illustrating the positions already taken, let us see what is the substance of the bitter wail which the Pope embodies in Encyclical letters. Since that great awakening of the Reformation, the papal power has been repudiated in many countries once subject to his power and interference. He bewails the decadence of all faith in these countries, and the loss of his power as well. Hence these tears. These nations are apostate children, full of rebellion. They have broken his bands asunder.

Sentences of excommunication, the terrible interdicts which once smote the recalcitrant nations with horror, the deposition of heretical kings and punishment of heretical people, are no longer issued,

or if issued, are as impotent as the hieroglyphics on an Egyptian mummy case. But this power has never been repudiated by them. Their voice is neither of the nineteenth century with its larger freedom, nor of the first, when the men of the new light started the principles of religious freedom with a clearness which has never been equalled—but it is the voice of the absolutist theories of the Papacy in its glory in the night of the middle ages. The claim hangs in powerless abeyance, but the theory is unchanged, and has been again and again presented as the hopeful ideal yet to be reached. If the power to do was equal to the readiness of belief and will, the Medieval Christianity would be rehabilitated.

The last indignity to papal power was the turning away of the people of the States of the Church from the Pope as a civil ruler. This territory was merged in United Italy. Over this the Pope weeps with sincere sorrow. He bewails his dependent condition and sits as a martyr to his children, especially those who are far from Rome. It is urged by him and his advocates that he should not be subject to any earthly State; that he should be a civil sovereign and owe no earthly allegiance. Why?

If he is invested only with spiritual power, it seems that his present condition would free his mind from the cares of earthly politics and give him the larger liberty to attend to his spiritual duties. But, no, the claim for regaining his former power is, that he is the arbiter and judge, and ought not to be subject to any political power. What is this but the old principle that he should be free from all that he might lord it over all, or, to put it in Canonical phrase—"the servant of servants?" If in order to the free exercise of his papal functions he should owe no earthly allegiance, why should not this hold good of every subaltern in his wide-spread army? If freedom is necessary to him who issues the command, surely an equal freedom is needed by those that are to execute the command.

Thus, we reach the theory which received such abundant illustration during the height of papal power; that ecclesiastical courts should exist independent of civil control, not merely for inflicting spiritual discipline, but for the large adjudication of every churchman's question. These were the palmy days of Rome, when, proud and defiant, she ruled the rulers of the world. Crowns and sceptres were her princely and priestly gifts. How the fine gold has become dim! Shorn of her august power, she is but the grinning skeleton of her former self. There is a vast difference in the state of power which once made emperors kneel at his feet, and the waning glory which contents itself with issuing rescripts to the ill-used peasantry of Tipperary concerning the land league, or little manifestoes about

the Knights of Labor in our country, which are published so gravely by the grace of our American Cardinalate. These are as the withered leaf on a stream, only pointing the sluggishness of its current. It is true Rome does not exercise this power upon every question of political life. Many of these questions are not sufficiently important to awaken her scrutiny or challenge her authority. That many of her adherents do not know the full extent of this claim of authority, and deny its existence, is what might be expected. Their religious life is satisfied with the confessional, attending mass, keeping holidays, observing feasts and fasts, with obedience to their spiritual advisers. But history is full of testimony, clear and decisive upon this point. The limits of this paper forbid its further discussion. I have given a sufficient outline to establish the main position that Rome has directly and of divine right sought to shape and control the polity of nations according to the dogmas of the Church. It could not be otherwise from the principles which she maintains. In view of these teachings I beg leave to present to your consideration the following suggestions as to our line of duty :

1. It is obvious that this power, active or dormant, is not the expedient of a shifting and unprincipled policy. It is the very blood of the system. She claims it by divine right. Her enemies may disregard or repudiate, but in calm consciousness she bides her time and waits and works for better days. She thinks "the eternal years of God are hers." Her servants, whose glory is that they can serve, are not a conscienceless set of political tricksters. They are devoted body and soul to her interests, and her interests alone. I mention this because too frequently we mistake or fail to apprehend the principle which underlies and shapes their whole conduct. We do well to know the convictions which influence them. We are only able to help them or guard others from their influence, when we fully know their standpoint. There is something sad, yet grand, in their unquestioning devotion to the Church. O that Christ had it all! In showing the fundamental errors into which this long-standing system has so deeply fallen, let us guard against the practice of bitter denunciation. In view of all the past, it is hard to keep cool and dispassionate. Denunciation is easy; a well-balanced spirit is more difficult, a Christly temper is still harder. Teach our people what her doctrines on this, as on other subjects are, fairly, fully, tenderly.

2. The errors of Rome in our time, and *among* our people, cannot, as I think, be dissipated and corrected by the formation of a Pro-

testant or an anti-papal party. It would prove a shallow and impotent policy, while the genius of the gospel and of liberty would be opposed to such political warfare. We dare not copy the methods which have been too frequently followed in advancing her interests. Let us protect the Catholic citizen in every political right as we would resolutely defend our own. But let us demand that they too shall submit to every just requirement of our political system.

3. Let us resist every encroachment upon the principle of entire separation of Church and State. No matter who or what makes the attempt, Protestant or Catholic. With the eternal vigilance which liberty deserves and demands, we must resist every attempt which threatens our fundamental safeguard of free Churches in a free State. The past is full of warnings. Let us heed them. The danger is not now and here that there will arise any formal departure from our established American system. But let us watch any attempt to secure political power, and use it for Church purposes under the very cry of religious liberty. Grave fears have been felt in view of the large emigration which constantly reaches our land. It is said that a large majority are Catholics, and ready to do priestly bidding. I may not see as clearly the dangers from this direction as others. I may sympathize more with these emigrants who have left the homes of their childhood, and the graves of their dead, to find a home under more propitious skies than shone on their native land. I have large faith in the liberalizing influence of well regulated liberty. Let our free institutions touch the human heart, and like the imprisoned Apostle, when touched by the angel of deliverance, chains and bonds are cast off, and the prisoner led into the larger liberty.

But with this faith in the education which freedom gives, there is one class that I fear more than these poor emigrants who flock to our shores. Native born men are they—the politicians, who, for personal or partisan ends, will covet and court any influence that their plans may succeed. Watch this class we must, in Municipal, State, or National Elections. The average politician will be more influenced by five hundred Catholic voters, than five thousand Protestants. For a consideration they can be controlled without hardly feeling that a power has moved. The candidate who bids highest, or that kindly favors a public donation, or gives largest contribution to some church enterprise, can receive a support which most are willing to secure. I do not want a man to wage war on Catholics to secure my vote, but the man who crawls around the feet of priest or bishop to secure his influence to be paid by helping onward favorable legisla-

tion is unworthy the support of the free American citizen. His passage should be paid by such conduct, and the ferryman escort him, not across the fabled Styx to the land of Shades, but up our own Salt River. But is there danger in this direction? Not much in rural districts, of course, but take New York.

The Roman Catholics have taken the city.

Their hand was in the sale of the Coogan party to Hugh J Grant.

They already have every member of the Board of Tax Commissioners.

They have for years had and still have the control of the Board of Aldermen.

They have the Mayor, the Sheriff, the Comptroller, the Counsel to the Corporation, the whole Board of Tax Assessors, the majority of the Police Justices and of the Civil Justices, the Recorder, the Commissioner of Public Works, the Superintendent of the Street Cleaning Department, the Clerk to the Board of Aldermen, the Superintendent of the Bureau of Elections, several of the Justices of the Supreme, Superior and Common Pleas Courts; the control of the Board of Estimate and Apportionment, the majority in many of the ward Boards of School Trustees, a large portion of the Board of Education, the control of the Department of Charities and Correction, the majority in the Police Force, the control of the Fire Department, of the Board of Street Openings, the whole of the Armory Board, the Register of Deeds, the Commissioner of Jurors, one-half of the Commissioners of Accounts, the Supervisor of the *City Record*, the Collector of the Port, the Sub-Treasury, the majority of the Commissioners of the Sinking Fund, the majority of the delegation in Congress and in the State Senate and Assembly.

Surely this is a pointer in the direction in which Rome surely moves.

It is true also Rome has as fine a field in a Republic if she can control the votes of the many, as when her principles were fulfilled by Philip II. in his terrible persecutions of the Netherlands, or when the Queen Mother plotted the destruction of the Huguenots. I confess the larger hope that there is something in freedom—our American freedom—which must modify American Catholics. May we not hope that this may prove more than a match for the ready-made Catholics which come to our shores? But watch! watch! in no mean petty narrowness, but in the love of freedom and truth.

4. Let us foster with generous liberality our Public School system of education. This system is here, and here to stay, and here I

think it ought to stay. Let us make the best of it for all of our people. Let private and denominational zeal endow schools and colleges with amplest facilities for highest education; but let our Public Schools be generously helped until the present defects shall give way to increased efficiency in every direction. Ignorance is the soil on which tyranny of every kind can thrive—as good for the mobocrat as the autocrat. Knowledge is the ally of freedom and friend of man. I am tired of the croaking about unsanctified knowledge, as if knowledge was a sort of incarnation of the devil. Let us plant ourselves upon the defence of our Public School system. Let us not be too ready to embarrass the issue by accepting the gage of battle which Rome gives in regard to the Bible being put into the Public Schools. She wants to make this issue, and there are Protestants so valliant as to fight it on that line. With all due deference to such, I think they make a mistake. Of course, this is not the true ground of Rome's opposition. She never has organized a Public School system for the masses in the heyday of her power. There is a sort of instinct which feels the danger. Of course we have become familiar with the pious platitudes about "godless schools." That is the line: if schools are not under Rome, they are godless just as the State not in alliance with Rome is a godless State; just as our marriages are godless because their sacrament has not been observed. Let us not falter. If priests are ordered from Rome to fight our Public School system, by demanding their quota for conducting it in their own way, they might just as well ask for their quota of taxes to run a slice of the rest of the government in their way. If this demand is sustained, the Public School system may be frittered away. Educate, educate! Open the schoolhouse for every boy and girl; and with God's blessing, we are not afraid of the cramping process of parochial schools.

5. But above all these is the first and highest obligation to preach the Gospel. The war between Catholics and Protestants has been too often the real red-handed work of the battlefield. Again, the war of words has been bitter. Denunciation has been hurled in response to anathema. Well, the Gospel, let it be preached, the Gospel of Christ. The heart may be closed, prejudice strong, no open door, but wherever there is an opening in God's providence, let us meet the Catholic with the pure, sweet Gospel of our Divine Lord. It once conquered pagan Rome; the Lord's hand is not weakened that He cannot save papal Rome. Too frequently, if there is an allusion to Catholic faith made in Protestant pulpits, about the ugliest adjec-

tives that can be gathered up and hurled with Adamic vigor. Let us remember that these people are the heirs of centuries of error, and if our Divine Lord pleaded for those that crucified, "Father, forgive them, they know not what they do," then surely may we, in the spirit of our suffering Lord, lift up our hearts, without cant or pharisaism, and pray for these brethren—yes, brethren—crying and blind, but, thank God, brethren.

The appointed speaker on the same subject was the Rev. H. B. GROSE, Pastor of the Fourth Avenue Baptist Church, Pittsburgh, Pa. His speech was as follows :

MR. PRESIDENT, MEMBERS OF THE CONGRESS, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN :

I am to speak to you on Romanism in its Relation to Republicanism. In so doing, let it be clearly understood that we are dealing with Rome political, not Rome ecclesiastical. I am not here as the advocate of one religious faith against another. I have no word to say against the sincerity or convictions of those fellow-citizens who make up the membership of the Roman Catholic Church, and who in the main are, I believe, vastly better than the system which enslaves them. Indeed, I am persuaded that a very large proportion of them would resist the authority of their Church in the very matter of education which has called Romanism into question to-day, if they dared to do it, and to act according to their own wish and will. But they are bound. They have surrendered their will to a man. The Pope stands in God's place to them. Their conscience was chained in childhood to the Church which claims to hold the keys of heaven, and whose anathema consigns to hell. They are the victims of a politico-ecclesiastical despotism which is as destitute of pity as it is destructive of free personality. For them I cherish only Christian sympathy and brotherliness. Towards Romanism it is not easy to keep one's temper kindly.

It is well if you can discover your enemy's intention. Two Catholics from the country went to the metropolis for the first time, and of course visited the cathedral. It was the celebration of high mass—and a much higher mass than ordinary, with the Cardinal present in all his pomp, and such elaborate ceremonial as the countrymen had never imagined. At last, his amazement no longer to be restrained, one leaned over and whispered, "Ah, Moike, did yees iver see the

loikes o' that? That bates the Ould Boy himself!" "Faith, Pat," was the quick-witted reply, "an' that's the intintion!" If it is Romanism's intention to "bate" the "Ould Boy," it must often have been with bait quite to his liking. If Romanism stopped with the celebration of high mass, the State need have no care. But when it goes on and claims high mastery over all States as well as all souls, then it is time to join issue, and investigate the claim.

Is there any special reason why this question should engage our attention to-day? Rome's attitude toward and assaults upon our public schools say, Yes. I am not an alarmist, only an American who believes it easier and wiser to look out for liberty while you have it than to regain it when lost. Is there no possible danger in having at Rome a so-called supreme authority which teaches millions of our people that to disobey the laws of their country, at command of the Pope, would be their duty to God? To quote Bishop A. C. Coxe: "The proposal to introduce a papal nuncio into the Republic; the residence among us of a cardinal, who is a foreign prince and bound to a foreign court by obligations which no American has any right to assume; the goings to and fro of ecclesiastics to consult an alien potentate as to our domestic questions of labor and labor associations, and to prescribe to our citizens what they may do or not do in such issues; and the proposed establishment in Washington of a university under the authority of a pontiff who, whatever the virtues of his private character, has been forced to reinvest the Jesuits with unlimited powers, and with functions against which every Roman Catholic government in Europe has protested, not only in words but by banishing the Jesuits as public enemies and confiscating their estates—I ask, are not these tokens of peril to be resisted here, and now, and for all time to come? Are they not the prelude to an open assault upon our common schools, and their subversion through political subserviency?"

Dr. J. P. Thompson, in a valuable discussion of Paparchy and Nationality, says, in connection with Bismarck's contest with Pope Pius IX.: "The time has fully come when the question must be settled for the whole future of society, whether each nation shall make its own laws, rule its own subjects, determine its own policy, subject only to the law of justice within and to the comity of nations from without, or whether an ecclesiastical power shall be recognized as higher than all governments, and competent to dictate, to revise, and even to annul their acts by the personal will of a man who claims to be the infallible medium and expounder of the will of God? To understand the question as it lies in Germany, one has but to ask himself whether the Parliament of Great Britain and the Congress of

the United States shall pause on the eve of every act to inquire, will this be approved or allowed by the Pope of Rome ?

“Some affect to think that there is no longer reason to fear the aggressions of Rome. But in reality the personal power of the Pope within the Romish Church was never so absolute nor so immediate as it is to-day. The doctrine that the Pope is the supreme and infallible autocrat of the Church of the world, which in the Middle Ages was the ambitious assumption of individual pontiffs, *is now obligatory as a dogma of the Church upon every true Catholic.* All faith and all authority are centred in him, and the whole hierarchy hangs upon him, and is the instrument of his will. Ten years ago, (1865), speaking as for the Pope, Dr. Manning put into his mouth these words: ‘I acknowledge no civil power; I am the subject of no prince; and I claim more than this—I claim to be the supreme judge and director of the consciences of men, of the peasant that tills the fields and of the prince that sits upon the throne; of the household that lives in the shade of privacy, and the legislator that makes laws for kingdoms; I am the sole, last supreme judge of what is right and wrong.’”

“If this seemed a rhetorical extravagance when written, to-day one must accept Dr. Manning’s testimony, (1875), that ‘the Holy See is ultramontane, the whole episcopate is ultramontane, the whole priesthood, the whole body of the faithful throughout all nations, excepting only a handful here and there of rationalists or liberal Catholics—all are ultramontanians. Ultramontanism is Popery, and Popery is Catholicism.’ This compact, unified power, seeking always its own supremacy, is ready in every land, whether through the laws, behind the laws, under the laws, or over the laws, to seize its opportunity. The United States may yet learn that, to cope with the political schemes and encroachments of the Roman hierarchy, liberty must equip herself once more for the final conflict with slavery.”

If we must learn it, let us learn it in time. Aside from national peril, a further reason for recognizing Rome’s true political character is the purpose not simply to check her plots, but to break her bondage over her own people. Exposure of certain monstrous claims, like exposure of certain chemicals, produces evaporation by a natural and noiseless process. If American Catholics have imbibed the atmosphere of this free land, and are true citizens, such evaporation will take place here, when once the astonishing assumptions of the papacy are exposed, and the Pope will then be reduced to his proper dimensions.

I hold that Rome is the enemy of the State *because her principles*

are absolutely subversive of the principles of our Constitution. Romanism is hostile both to civil and religious liberty. The universal supremacy of the Pope and the independent sovereignty of the nation are two essentially antagonistic and irreconcilable ideas. They admit of no compromise. Give Romanism predominance, and a free Republic like ours could not stand. The mere statement is sufficient that papal sovereignty and popular sovereignty cannot co-exist. This is a large country, but there is not room enough in it for Romanism and Republicanism both to rule at the same time. An infallible Pope could recognize no inalienable right of a fallible people. No more could a free people recognize the infallibility of a human potentate. Romanist polity has no liking for or sympathy with American patriotism. There is no Fourth of July in the Romish calendar. Every Saint has his day there except St. Independence. He is anathema. Put him into the Vatican once, and St. Infallibility would have to go out. Romanism is hostile to a free State because it claims control over citizenship as well as conscience, and would if able crush both in the clutch of spiritual, intellectual and temporal tyranny. Romanism's temporal inability is the measure of any free State's security. Not lack of purpose, but of power, is the reason why Romanism in America is not suppressive and oppressive as in subjugated Spain or so long manacled Mexico. South America is already captured, chained, gagged, and delivered into civil and soul servitude. For North America Romanism is secretly but steadily reaching out, with fixed plan and purpose, with infinite patience, waiting only for opportunity. The result will much depend on whether Romanism knows how to wait better than Americanism to watch.

Is it to be Pope or President in America? Pope first, if you let him have his way. The Pope assumes to be supreme ruler, both temporal and spiritual, of all peoples. He demands of every subject of every State obedience and loyalty to himself. Our Constitution requires obedience to the laws of the United States and loyalty to the government. But the Pope sets himself above this. In an Encyclical Letter Pius IX. says: "The Romish Church has a right to exercise its authority *without any limits set to it by the civil power.* * * In case of conflict between the ecclesiastical and civil powers, the ecclesiastical powers ought to prevail." The bishops and priests of Rome in this country are the sworn servants of the Pope, entirely subjected to him, soul and body. They are bound not to recognize any authority but his as supreme. And their people are subject to the priests. *Hence a Catholic can only be a good citizen in proportion as he is a bad Catholic.*

The history of Romanism is one long chapter of Papal intrigue and interference in the affairs of State. Popes not only assumed to depose kings, but did so, and did not hesitate to declare the people free from their solemn oaths of allegiance to their rulers.

It is well to remember that Magna Charta was condemned by Pope Innocent III. in these terms: "We on behalf of Almighty God, also by authority of his Apostles, Peter and Paul, and by our own, reprobate and utterly condemn an agreement of this kind, prohibiting under a threatened anathema, said King John from presuming to keep it. We completely annul and quash the Charter." This Innocent Bull did not succeed in tossing Magna Charta, but failed for no want of malicious intention. And it illustrates Romanism's attitude towards human liberty from the first to the present day. The power claimed by this Pope when he deposed King John of England; by Pope Paul III., who said, in excommunicating Henry VIII., "We being placed over all nations, having obtained supreme power over the kingdom of the whole earth and over all people, do smite them all (Henry and his followers), with the sword of anathema, malediction, and eternal damnation;" by Pius V., who said in his Bull excommunicating Queen Elizabeth, "This very woman, Elizabeth, a slave of wickedness, having seized on the kingdom and monstrosly usurping the place of the supreme head of the church in all England, hath again brought back the said kingdom unto miserable destruction, which was then nearly reduced to the most Catholic faith and to good order. She hath placed impious preachers, ministers of iniquity; hath compelled the prelates, clergy and people to abjure the authority and obedience of the Bishop of Rome;"—these claims of State supremacy have never been surrendered, as a claim, by any Pope. Indeed, the present Pope laments the loss of temporal sovereignty above all other things, and would like to have war waged upon Italian liberty for no other purpose than to reinvest him with a pretence of temporal power. The claim of popery now is precisely that of Gregory VII., who declared papal and kingly government like sun and moon. The Pope's government was the sun, the monarch's was moonlight reflected from the Pope's sunlight. And the claim would have been made good, had not the monarchs wisely and forcibly declined such moonshine sovereignty.

Such assumptions, with that of papal infallibility added as a crown, and added in our own day, are amazing enough to be amusing, were it not for the peril in the power back of them. Any assumption which binds ten millions of people in this country to a foreign political authority passes out of the realm of amusement into that of practical concern.

But has Rome in our generation shown any disposition to interfere with government? The contest in Germany, a decade ago only, gives answer. Prince Bismarck then truly said: "In my view it is a falsifying of politics and of history when one regards the Pope exclusively as the high priest of a confession, or the Catholic church chiefly as a representative of churchdom. The papacy has ever been a political power which, with the greatest audacity and with most momentous consequences, has interfered in the affairs of this world. The goal which floats before the papal power is the subjection of the civil power to the ecclesiastical."

The Emperor William wrote to Earl Russell, that the duty devolved upon him "of leading the nation once more against a power whose domination has never in any country been found compatible with the freedom and welfare of nations. To my deep sorrow a portion of my Catholic subjects have organized for the past two years a political party which endeavors to disturb, by intrigues hostile to the State, the religious peace which has prevailed in Prussia for centuries. Leading Catholic priests have, unfortunately, not only approved this movement, but joined in it to the extent of open revolt against existing laws."

Here then is the same old endeavor of the papacy, unaltered in spirit or intent by all the changed conditions of society or state. The Pope denounced Germany's Emperor, absolved Catholics from allegiance to their sovereign or the laws of the country, and would have deposed the Emperor had there been the power to do it.

Of Rome politically so eminent a statesman and fair-minded a judge as Mr. Gladstone says: "The Pope demands for himself the right to determine the province of his own rights, and has so defined it in formal documents as to warrant any and every invasion of the civil sphere. Rome requires a convert to forfeit his moral and mental freedom, and to place his loyalty and civil duty at the mercy of another." And, again: "Individual servitude, however abject, will not satisfy the party now dominant in the Latin church; the State must also be a slave."

Hon. R. W. Thomson, formerly Secretary of the Navy, says: "He who accepts papal infallibility, and thinks that by offending the Pope he offends God, will obey passively, unresistingly, uninquiringly. Such a man, whether priest or layman, high or low, is necessarily inimical to the government and political institutions of the United States; with him, his oath of allegiance is worth no more than the paper upon which it is written."

But these are Protestant opinions. Let us gather some Catholic evidence. Bishop Gilmour says in one of his Lenten letters, spe-

cially written for the instruction of the faithful: "Nationalities must be subordinate to religion, and we must learn that we are *Catholics first and citizens next*. God is above man, and the Church above the State."

Cardinal McCloskey said: "The Catholics of the United States are as strongly devoted to the sustenance and maintenance of the temporal power of the Holy Father as Catholics in any part of the world; and if it should be necessary to prove it by acts they are ready to do so."

This testimony will not be questioned, and it places Rome in direct antagonism to our free and independent government by, of, and for the people.

Again, Rome is the enemy of our Constitution, because she is totally opposed to *liberty of conscience or worship*. Our Constitution guarantees liberty of conscience. No true Roman Catholic knows anything of such liberty. The Pope's and priest's conscience he has to take in place of his own. Pope Pius IX. said in an Encyclical Letter: "The absurd and erroneous doctrines or ravings in defense of liberty of conscience are a most pestilential error—a pest, of all others, to be dreaded in State." And the same Pope afterwards anathematized "those who assert the liberty of conscience and of religious worship;" also, "all such as maintain that the Church may not employ force." Thus he directly cursed the Constitution of the United States; and what the Pope curses every good Catholic must curse also. Remembering that religious liberty lies at the root of all liberty; that without a free conscience there can be no free ballot, and a free ballot is essential to popular government, the question is in place, do such declarations mean anything? Do Roman Catholics in America accept any such views?

Bishop O'Connor says: "Religious liberty is merely endured until the opposite can be carried into effect without peril to the Catholic world."

The *Catholic Review* says: "Protestantism of every form has not, and never can have, any right where Catholicity is triumphant."

So, from the Pope down, religious liberty is denounced as a wicked delusion, never allowed in Catholic countries, as indeed we do not need to be told. That Catholics cannot cherish toleration towards other faiths is proven conclusively by the nature of the oath which every cardinal, archbishop and bishop must take, an oath of allegiance to the Pope, in which occur these words:

"I will assist in retaining and defending the Roman Papacy and the royalties of St. Peter against every one. I will take care to preserve, defend, increase and advance the rights, honors, privileges,

and authority of the Holy Roman Church, of our Lord the Pope, and his aforesaid successors. *To the utmost of my power I will persecute and attack heretics*, schismatics and rebels against the same our lord, and his aforesaid successors. I will humbly receive and with the utmost diligence obey the apostolic (papal) commands."

The Catholic people are not only under subjection to the prelates who have thus signed away their personal liberty and free citizenship, but bear directly upon them a foreign yoke, contrary to the ideas of our free government, in the binding form of faith, the Creed of Pius IV., which is universally accepted, and contains this clause :

"I promise and swear true obedience to the Roman Pontiff, successor of St. Peter, prince of apostles and vicar of Jesus Christ. This true Catholic faith, *outside of which no one can be saved*, I promise, vow and swear, that I will most steadfastly retain entire and undefiled to the last breath."

I maintain that such a pretentious faith as this, wherever applied, must destroy both freedom and loyalty. As Dr. J. P. Thompson says :

"The claim of a divine prerogative vested in a person, or a power apart from the constituted government and its laws, to define the limits of obedience, and to absolve subjects from allegiance, is destructive of all order and authority in the State, and must reduce society to anarchy. The instinct of self-preservation is for the civil power against the clerical."

Romanism is equally hostile to *free speech and a free press*, precious among our liberties. These are anathematized by the papacy as "the liberty of perdition." It certainly is a liberty not existing where Rome's censorship reaches and controls. There all literature or expression of human thought must be examined and approved by a church authority. Authors, publishers, booksellers and librarians are placed under penalty, and Rome unblushingly claims the right to dictate, control, and at will suppress the thought of the world. Rome's impotence is the world's intelligence.

Romanism is the enemy of the Republic, because hostile to *free education*. Free schools are essential to self-perpetuating free government. Rome claims the right to educate as well as legislate. How she educates is shown in the exclusively Catholic countries. The facts cannot be concealed. Mexico is a fair specimen of intellectual development under Romanism. Spain is another,—Spain, where a dense, blighting ignorance, deeper far to-day than on the day Rome first established her despotism there, shows the fruits of what is called a religious education. And Rome, the imperial city, whose masses, reared for generations under the

very droppings of the wisdom of the church, are wretched and ignorant beyond all conception, gives conclusive proof of the care of this church for her own. Romish education is simply education for Rome, and the less the masses know the better for those who would hold them in superstition, the easier to keep them Catholics, hence the shrewd but satanic policy of a mind-muzzling as well as a conscience-crushing church.

What is Rome's attitude toward the public schools? Begin with evidence from the Pope himself. In a recent letter written by him through Cardinal Antonelli, his secretary, to the Bishop of Nicaragua, he says :

"We have lately been informed here that an attempt has been made to change the order of things hitherto existing in that Republic by publishing a programme in which are annunciated *freedom of education and of worship*. Both these principles are not only *contrary to the laws of God and of the church*, but are in contradiction with the concordat established between the Holy See and the Republic. Although we do not doubt that your most illustrious and reverend Lordship will do all in your power against *maxims so destructive to the church and to society*, still we deem it by no means superfluous to stimulate your well-known zeal to see that the clergy, and above all the curates, do their duty."

The Pope also says : "The Romish church has a right to interfere in the discipline of the public schools, and in the arrangement of the studies of the public schools, and in the choice of the teachers for these schools." And how thoroughly she does interfere is, fortunately, becoming known to the people. Just so soon as its danger is fully appreciated that will be the end of Rome's priestly dictation as to text books and of Catholics as teachers in our public schools.

Pope Pius IX. condemned the Austrian Constitution because it "allows Protestants and Jews to erect educational institutions." If this condemnation were with power, what would become of our Constitution?

How is it with Rome and the public schools in our own country? The Vicar-General of Boston says : "The attitude of the Catholic church toward the public schools of this country, as far as we can determine from papal documents, *the decrees of the Council of Baltimore*, and the pastorals of the several bishops, is one of *non-approval to the system itself*, of censure to the manner of conducting them that prevails in most places, and of solemn admonition of pastors and parents to guard against the danger to faith and morals arising from frequenting them."

Says the Cincinnati *Catholic Telegraph* : "It will be a glorious day for the Catholics in this country when, under the blows of justice and morality, our school system will be shivered to pieces."

Says the *Freeman's Journal*, of New York : "Let the school system go to where it came from, *the devil*. We want Christian (Roman Catholic) schools."

Says Father Schaur : "The Public schools have produced nothing but a Godless generation of thieves and blackguards." This he says in the face of the fact that the great proportion of the thieves, blackguards and criminals of all classes belong to the Catholic population !

Says *The Tablet* : "We hold education to be a function of the Church, not of the State ; and in our case we do not and will not accept the State as educator."

Says Father Walker : "I would as soon administer the sacraments to a dog, as to Catholics who send their children to the public schools."

And *The Tablet* adds : "What Father Walker says is only what has been said by the bishops all over the world, over and over again, in their pastorals, and we heartily endorse it."

These are representative utterances, which show the courtesy as well as the spirit of the Romanists.

In this educational battle we have to do with Jesuitism—the most pernicious force in Romanism—an organization so troublesome and seditious, that it has been banished at one time or another during the past two centuries from nearly every country, even Catholic nations and Popes revolting against it, and which yet has now gained the ascendancy at Rome. America is to-day the retreat and most promising field of the Jesuits, and to them the Catholic educational interests are chiefly committed. Read the Jesuit's oath, and see what sort of Americans they are, and whether they can possibly be proper teachers of the children of this nation. They are spies upon each other. They are compelled to renounce all will of their own, and to do any service commanded by their superior unquestioningly, no matter how criminal. In their oath are these words, which are all I can take time to quote :

"The Pope is Christ's Vicar General, * * and hath power to depose heretical kings, princes, states, commonwealths and governments, all being illegal without his sacred confirmation, and that they may safely be destroyed."

"I do renounce and disown any allegiance as due to any heretical king, prince, or state, named Protestant, or obedience to any of their inferior magistrates or officers. I do further declare the doc-

trine of the Church of England, of the Calvinists, Huguenots, and other Protestants, to be damnable, and those to be damned who will not forsake the same. I do further declare that I will help, assist, and advise all or any of his Holiness's agents in any place wherever I shall be, *and do my utmost to extirpate the heretical protestants' doctrine, and to destroy all their pretended power, legal or otherwise.*"

These men are the sworn enemies of liberty in every Independent State, and need to be taught here as elsewhere that Cavour's maxim, "A free Church in a free State" does not mean that the Church shall be free to conspire against the State. These are the men, forever aliens among us, who now swarm into America, and "under the protection which the influence of an open Bible gives to honest men," are bent on the destruction of our public schools, the debauchery of our politics, and whatever can work the overthrow of Protestant liberty and the ultimate triumph of Romanist despotism. Senator Blair is authority for the statement that at one time on the floor of the House of Representatives nine Jesuits were pointed out to him, they being engaged in log-rolling against a proposed amendment of the constitution which was forever to prevent the appropriation of the public money to the support of sectarian schools. The teaching of these minions of papal absolutism is un-American and immoral. Mr. Gladstone describes a catechism taught in the Romanist schools in Naples as "the most singular and detestable work he had ever seen." It teaches that "all who hold liberal opinions will be lost, that kings may violate oaths in the interest of papal absolutism, and that the head of the Church has authority from God to release consciences from oaths." It has been shown that text-books in use in this country teach the Catholic children that the Protestants have no saving faith, and will all be eternally damned. Thus these children are taught to look with suspicion and aversion upon the masses among whom they are to live and labor. The parochial schools need investigation and government supervision. No church has a right to teach bad citizenship and doctrines which disastrously affect the State.

What is the deep-laid plan of the Jesuits? Let a Catholic organ, *The Freeman's Journal*, answer: "Is it the intention of the Pope to possess this country? Undoubtedly. In this intention is he aided by the Jesuits, and all the Catholic prelates and priests? Undoubtedly, if they are true to their religion." This is their steadfast purpose. For this they mass themselves in cities and dominate politics wherever possible. Consider their intrenchment in New York, Boston, Pittsburgh, St. Louis, San Francisco, New Orleans, and

Chicago. Every Catholic is made a politician, but always a Catholic first and last, ready to advance the interests of his church and to obey the priest, who plays him as a puppet. And this is what makes him an unreliable citizen, being really under control of a political system which recognizes no claim of government that conflicts with its own interest or the claims of its supreme head, the Pope.

The American people are not easily aroused to danger. The storm usually has to burst before it is heeded. We believe in majorities, and we say complacently that fifty millions of Protestants need not fear ten millions of Catholics. That is true, if we do not allow them to dig mines beneath our free institutions and fill them with dynamite while we sleep on unconcerned. The Romanists know something about majorities too. They know how majorities can be turned. Archbishop Lynch, of Toronto, wrote Lord Randolph Churchill that the Catholics hold the balance of power in Canada, and through it have controlled the elections there; and then asserts that by a similar use of the balance of power presidential elections will be decided in this Republic. Who can doubt it? What politician ventures to do or say anything that would alienate the Catholic vote? How large a portion of the press is deeply influenced by Romish power, if not controlled by it?

It is time for patriots to study carefully and dispassionately the political aspects and aspirations of Romanism, and to say to those who openly antagonize and denounce our public school system, "Hands off." Home rule is a cardinal principle in America. We will have no foreign interference with our labor or laws or liberties. We recognize no sovereignty but that of a free people. No Pope can dictate, no priest can carry out the mandates of a foreign ruler, religious or otherwise, in violation of our principles and independence.

Romanism is inherently hostile to our free State, but patriotism can take care of papacy and priestcraft. All we need is to keep our eyes open and our hearts true. Pope Boniface VIII. wrote to Philip the Fair of France: "Know thou, that thou art subject to us both in spiritual and temporal things." Philip made answer: "Philip, by the grace of God, King of France, to Boniface, who gives himself out for Pope, little or no greeting! Know thou, O supreme fool, that in temporal things we are not subject to anyone. If any think otherwise, we will take them for fools and idiots." This was Gallican independence. And American independence is apt to be as forcible and expressive, if occasion arise. The one thing which we cannot afford, and must not allow, is the

domination in our politics of a political organization which, under the mantle of religion, teaches the vicious principle that our citizens, or any portion of them, owe allegiance to the Pope in Rome first, and to the United States Government second.

The discussion of the papers was opened by REV. DR. POLLARD, of Richmond College, who said :

First of all, I wish to express my commiseration for New York in view of the presentation of the case there, as we have had it from Dr. McDonald ; especially do I feel sorry for some of the brethren of this Congress who have their residence in New York. I do not know better how to express my sympathy for Dr. Elder and Bro. Williams than by saying to them : Come South ; we shall be happy to have you in this part of the land. The doctrine of infallibility must of necessity be a foe to scientific thought. The Romish Church has been claiming infallibility all through the ages. It was only in 1870 that they found out where the infallibility rested. It was then they found out that the infallibility rested in the Pope. But they have always believed that infallibility was somewhere among them ; and consequently they have taught the doctrine that the Romish Church is always and everywhere the same.

That is a barrier to science. Science is always ready to revise, and ready to correct former utterances ; but an infallible church, from the very necessity of the case, cannot revise, cannot correct. What she says first she must say last. Science says with La Place, " It is the little that we know, it is the great that remains unknown." And into this great unknown science is constantly pressing forward to see what she can find ; whereas Rome must stand by all her declared opinions, and refuse to go into the great region yet unexplored. This is an age of science ;—not only an age in which sciences long established have been pushed to investigations unattempted before, but an age in which sciences are having their birth, their beginning. In the last thirty years there has sprung up the science of textual criticism as applicable to the Word of God. Rome has shut off all light from the science of textual criticism by infallibly proclaiming 300 years ago that the Vulgate is the perfect Word of God that can in no way be amended as to one chapter or one verse, one sentence, or one word.

As to the relation of Romanism to the State, it is not necessary for us to deny that there are many good citizens among the Romanists. Still, I do most heartily agree with the brother who said that so far

as a man is a good citizen in a free country, to that extent he is a bad Catholic, and there are a great many Romanists that are bad Catholics just because they are good citizens. I do not mean to deny worth of personal character to any Romanist, from the Pope on his throne down to the humblest child of the church. We are dealing with a system, to-night, and not with men, and I say that in the doctrine of the papal infallibility there lurks every foe that can possibly threaten American institutions. The papal church is about to establish a great university at the seat of the United State Government. We have a university there too, and I hope it will be resting soon upon an imperishable foundation, and will rival all other universities that can possibly be established in Washington. Our history and our tenets alike forbid that we should ever use a university at the seat of the government for the purpose of improperly influencing the government. But both the history and the tenets of the Roman Catholic Church lead us to suppose that when she establishes a university at Washington, the act is nothing more than the reaching forth of a stealthy hand for the purpose of seizing the sceptre of the Government in our country. Romanism will sometimes forbear out of policy. I know Romanism will sometimes trim, sometimes accommodate herself to circumstances; but the danger lurks in the very system. Romanism must have a great deal of watching or our liberties are gone. We must use our eye, and we must not use our hand to seize that which we do not want them to seize. If we do not wish the public treasury to fall into the hands of the Romish Church we, as Baptists, must keep our hands out of the public treasury. Thou that sayest a man should not steal, dost thou steal? You that say the Catholics must not have the public funds, do you seek to have the public funds?

REV. W. W. LANDRUM, D.D., Richmond, Va., said:

I am not going to make a speech, but want to say one or two things. I believe with all my heart and soul in the public school system, but, as a Baptist, I would vote for the exclusion of the Bible from our public schools wherever found. It seems to me, if we are going to have the Bible taught in the public schools, somebody must decide what is the Bible: Roman Catholics say the Douay version is the Bible. If you put the question to a Protestant, he will answer, the American Baptist as well, the King James Version of 1611. I do not believe, if we could determine accurately what is the Bible, pure and simple, that institutions which are planted and fostered and propagated by the State, ought to teach religion. If you

give the State the right to decide what is religion, it will decide by-and-by through a vote, which, if the Catholics become the majority, will be the Douay version. And if we put in our Bible it is practically unfair to the Roman Catholics.

Two hundred thousand dollars are granted by the United States Government for the teaching of the Indians. Of that large sum about \$175,000 go into the treasury of the Roman Catholics.

Brethren, we have accepted for our eleemosynary institutions money raised by taxes upon the people, Romanist and Protestant, Atheist and Agnostic, as well as Evangelical Christians. I contend the principle is unfair. Every dollar that goes into the Baptist Orphanage, or Old Woman's Home, or Baptist anything else, out of the treasury of State or country, is contrary to the Baptist doctrine of liberty of conscience. Until the Baptists occupy the true Baptist position on this platform, I, for one, will be compelled to hang my head with shame. You have been Romanized, and you are to-day, many of you, conducting your institutions upon principles which can only be defended upon the ground of the superiority of the Church to the State. I go still further. I say every Church in the city of Richmond, in the State of Virginia, and in the United States, ought to be taxed. Our Roman Catholic brethren are shrewd real estate dealers. Here they are, buying in this direction and in that, where a city may be placed, large tracts of land which are not taxed. They are being held so that at some proper time Churches and schools, exclusively sectarian, may be erected upon them. Now, we are giving encouragement to that thing, and we ought to have our mouths stopped until we refuse to receive from any government exemption from taxation. Have we not the benefit of the police to guard our property, and the benefit of the Fire Department? Is it not a logical consistency that, sooner or later, Baptists plant themselves fairly and squarely upon these three grand, indestructible Baptist principles: First, the entire separation of the Church and State in the matter of the public schools, by the exclusion of all religious instruction from the public schools. I say that as an ardent supporter of the public school system. Next, keep their hands out of the public treasury; and lastly, let every piece of Baptist property be honestly taxed. God grant that we may repent of our sins, and act in the spirit of our Constitution and the Gospel, and invite our Roman Catholic brethren to do the same.

REV. T. G. JONES, D.D., of Norfolk, Va., said :

I have the highest regard for individual members of the Romish Communion, among whom are some of my cherished friends; respect, admiration, veneration even, for some of its illustrious adherents, such as Thomas à Kempis, Sir Thomas More, Fenelon, and that almost brightest of human intellects, Blaise Pascal. Yet, must I say that, with the religious system with which their names are identified, I have no sympathy at all.

The Church of Rome, so-called, was originally a Baptist Church—a band of baptized believers, men and women, who had been buried with Christ in baptism, as the Apostle Paul says, and were walking with Him in newness of life. But, in the course of time, and especially after the conversion of Constantine, that Church, overrun by immense hordes of baptized but unregenerate and unbelieving pagans, apostatized, ceased to be a Church of God, became a huge synagogue of Satan, which gave origin to and became the nucleus of the most stupendous and mighty organization that has ever existed in the world. In connection with it, and in subservience to it, was formed that colossal and tremendous Hierarchy which for twelve or thirteen hundred years, has dominated much of the finest portion of the earth, and the character, and lives, and fortunes of millions of the human race.

I may be an alarmist, a croaker, a craven, but I must confess that I am afraid of that huge Hierarchy! It aims to gain supremacy and absolute control over my intellect, my heart, my will and my conscience, my body and my soul, to fix my *status* in this world, and to determine my destiny in that which is to come. It aims to do the same for you, Mr. President, and for all the rest of us and our families, and communities and whole country. Nay, it aims to do this for all nations, for the whole race. It lusts for universal domination.

No one has a just view of the Romish Hierarchy who does not see that it is essentially a politico-religious organization, and far more political than religious. To compass its ends of undisputed sway, of universal empire, both *extensive* and *intensive*, it subsidizes man's religious instincts, his hopes and fears, and superstitions, his yearning for heaven and future felicity; his horror of hell and unending woe; in a word, every principle, whether generous or selfish, noble or ignoble, in his nature, whether pertaining to the narrow span of the present life or the infinite expanse of the future. Outdoing those whom Christ charged with compassing sea and land, to make a proselyte, Rome not only compasses sea and land, but time

and eternity, heaven, hell, purgatory, and all imaginary beatitudes and ills. It would almost seem that the spirit of the elder Rome, after the decline and fall of its vast imperial realm, had transmigrated to the later Rome in eager quest of its lost dominion.

Well may that dread Hierarchy be feared. It has the most extraordinary combinations of power and influence—hoary and venerable antiquity, wealth, learning. Kings and queens for its nursing fathers and nursing mothers, with hosts of other princes, potentates and nobles on its side—everything that makes up a dazzling and almost irresistible prestige—it has too the very quintessence of human nature, informed with all the subtlety and wisdom of the serpent, if not with the harmlessness of the dove; faith in itself and in its destiny; zeal, audacity, resolution, aggressiveness, persistency of purpose, iron endurance, enough of truth to save the sin-smitten, humbly yearning human soul, as well as to buoy up its own sinking fabric, a residuum of Apostolicity, lingering traditions of the true Church in which (when overborne by baleful influences), it started; a most marvellous organization, an astute, sagacious government; and, finally, (a matter of immense moment,) a wise utilization of the incomparable qualities of woman—woman so self-abnegating, fruitful in invention, exhaustless in resources—a utilization of the better half of humanity, which in its methods and practical workings towards the accomplishment of its own ends, puts utterly to shame all our Protestant woman's societies and other female organizations for the up-building of the Churches and the evangelization of mankind.

The REV. DR. BOYD, of Newark, N. J., pronounced the Benediction.

Third Day.*Morning Session.*

HON. J. L. M. CURRY, President, again presided.

DR. E. T. HISCOX, of Mount Vernon, N. Y., gave out the hymn beginning, "Sweet the moments rich in blessing," and afterwards read the parable of the Pharisee and the Publican, from Luke 18, and offered prayer.

The PRESIDENT said: The first paper to be read this morning is on the subject of

MOHAMMEDAN PROPAGANDISM,

BY THE REV. FRANK S. DOBBINS, OF ALLENTOWN, PA.

Mohammedanism is, unquestionably, bestirring itself of late. We seem to be on the eve of a conflict between the Cross and the Crescent. Islam seems to be arousing itself, putting forth its energies, and preparing to contest with Christianity the possession of the world. Buddhism as a missionary religion has almost died away, the only aggressive system rivalling Christianity is Mohammedanism. We are under obligations to a distinguished Churchman for compelling our notice of the impending struggle. Dr. Edward Blyden, an African educated in Christian schools, had long ago reasoned that Christianity was too sublime a faith for the Negro race generally, and that Islam was far better adapted to its present stage of arrested development. Archbishop Trench had noted, so long ago as 1877, that the Moslem powers were arousing themselves with remarkable energy, and hopefully prophesied that a reform movement would take place which should make Mohammedan regions more hopeful fields for Christian missions. Trench hoped that it would appear that, as Solomon, according to the Eastern legend, had compelled other spirits besides the good to do

drudging work in building the Temple of God, so Mohammedanism should be shown at last to have done its part in working out the good purposes of God. For now more than forty years, observers have noticed thoughtfully the reanimation of this system, and particularly a quickening of its anti-Christian elements, just as Trench pointed out. But it is chiefly to Canon Isaac Taylor that our thanks are due for forcing upon our notice the need of taking heed to the activity of the most formidable antagonist of Christian missions. It is not so much to the strength of his arguments as to the belligerent character of his statements, that he compelled consideration for his views. At the Wolverhampton Church Congress a year ago, Canon Taylor pleaded that Mohammedanism is a sort of semi-Christianity. He followed up his plea with the charge that the Christian churches are perpetrating, in their mission work, a huge blunder. Yet later, the Canon visited Egypt for the double purpose of escaping the consequences of his daring championship of Islam at the expense of Christianity, and that he might justify his assertions. The account of his finding exactly what he sought, Canon Taylor gives in a decidedly interesting little book, "Leaves from an Egyptian Notebook." In this volume he dwells upon the interpretation which reforming Moslems put upon the Koran. The question of the struggle between the followers of Messiah and the disciples of the Prophet is now fairly before us, and the Christian world is giving it a fair share of attention.

First, let us notice briefly the two preceding contests. Mohammedanism was born, properly speaking, at the time of the Hegira, in 622 A. D. From calling him a false prophet and an imposter, the world seems inclined to swing to the other extreme, and to pronounce him another Moses, if not another Christ. Truth to tell, Mohammed was more than an hysteric dreamer, more than a cataleptic visionary, more than a mad fanatic; he was a shrewd leader, a practical politician, the organizer of a new Arabian Commonwealth. Gathering from Talmudic and Apocryphal sources some little information as to Judaism and Christianity, quickened by contact with the Sabians [Prof. Welshausen says that this word means "Baptists"], Mohammed quickly organized his system. His remarkable success in securing its acceptance in Arabia, the truly wonderful rapidity of its spread within the one hundred years after his death, and the recent successes of its propaganda, are all attributable to one fact, which it is important for us always to bear in mind, namely: *Where religions are decaying or effete, or where religions are of such a character as hardly to be worthy of the name, there Islam has triumphed.* Mohammed heartily believed himself the

chosen Messenger of God to bring the nations to Himself. God had, said Mohammed, tried meekness and gentleness in the person of Jesus Christ, now He summoned Mohammed to compel the nations to obedience to Him, or else to destroy them. Thus Mohammed and each of his followers felt that both himself and his sword were especially commissioned of God. Animated with such a conviction, with the gloomiest faith in fate, with reckless fanaticism, the armies of the prophets flung themselves on the world, to the East and West of Arabia, and speedily triumphed. The sons of the desert, so long cooped up, rushed forth in their wild zeal upon the drowsy nations, and ere they had time to arouse themselves, compelled them to submission. Like a whirlwind they swept over Arabia, Syria, Egypt, Northern Africa, across to Spain (to Gibraltar, Jebel Tarik, the mount of Tarik, the Moslem General), on to lower Gaul, where, in the Providence of God, Charles, "The Hammer", withstood them, and Europe was saved. Eastward through Persia, into Northwestern India, even across the border into China, swept the Mohammedan propagandists, with sword and sermon.

Soon after their start, the Moslems seized upon one of the emblems of the Greek Church, the Crescent, the sign of progress and success, and adopted it as their badge. They seized upon the Christian churches and converted them into mosques. They laid hold upon the Christians and turned them into Mohammedans. The Christian lands were weakened by wars and by heavy taxation. The rival sects were quarreling over dogmas. The ritualistic conceptions were growing at the expense of vital Christianity. The masses had precious little sympathy with a pure Gospel. A faulty faith and a faultier life had so weakened Christianity that Islam's triumph was not hard to win. In the first conflict Islam triumphed, but it was because Christianity had lost its ancient power. The Crescent was elevated, the Cross cast down. Yet God preserved a remnant from these devouring eagles that had swooped down upon the carcass. Yet, in His scourging, God measured His strokes that His Church should not be wholly destroyed.

A second time Christianity sought to counteract Mohammedan propagandism in the Crusades. Irritated and inflamed by the Mohammedan possession of the places sacred to Christianity, stung into the defense of Christian pilgrims to the shrines of Christendom, Europe flung its badly organized, improperly armed knights, against the Saracens, only to have them flung back, and in the very reaction from the assault to have the Saracens sweep into a corner of Europe. Yet, once again, are those who carry the Crescent victorious over those who wear the Cross. Islam is not to be subjected by

the sword. God's servants must be pure, their piety must have a nobler aim than to win holy places. Yet God checked Mohammedan propagandism just at the point where He would raise up the power that should in the end conquer this apparently invincible foe to His Christ. Christianity in Europe was spared that His Church might, in due time, once again enter the field, but with the Cross, and the Cross only, in hand and heart.

"The Kingdom of God cometh not with observation." It is not to be wondered at that we are hardly awake to what is taking place in the East. Our great missionary rival appreciates the need of a vigorous propaganda as well as the necessity of a stout resistance to Christian propagandism within its own territory. The third conflict between Cross and Crescent is already well under way, and we hardly knew it. The rooting up of the plants which the Heavenly Father had not planted, is proceeding, though we heard not the quaking earth. Let us now notice the great rivals in their present suit for the world's heart.

Mohammedan propagandism is succeeding in Africa, in India, in the Dutch East Indies. Yet here again it is only with the fetichists and idolaters of the lowest class that Islam is gaining. "Whole regions are becoming Mohammedan," say some. Yes, in the heart of Africa, under fear of the Moslem's sharp sword, under terror of the slave-stealer, village after village yields to Islam. Obstinate pagans are simply wiped out of existence, and the depopulated regions become Mohammedan. Or, for the old-time fetich, a slip of paper with a sentence from the Koran is substituted, and the wearer is a convert to Mohammedanism. Or, yet again, in rare instances, the Moslem missionary succeeds in persuading a people to give up cannibalism, drunkenness and idolatry, and to accept a faith which lifts them higher in the social scale. Without question, in Northern Central Africa, Islam is winning on the debased religions of the savage races. In the Dutch East Indies, similarly, the lowest idolaters are yielding to Mohammedanism. In India among the aborigines, among the low-caste, the no-caste, the outcast people, a system that promises social elevation is welcomed. In India, just a trifle (about seven-hundredths of one per cent.), faster than the increase of the population is the growth of Islam, in the Dutch East Indies and in Africa at a greater ratio.

There are to-day, in all the world, nearly two hundred millions of Mohammedans. With the exceptions above noted these are almost all the descendants of Mohammedans, and not converts from other faiths. Hinduism, Buddhism, Confucianism, Parseeism rarely yield converts to Mohammedanism, and Christi-

anity almost never. Mohammedan relapses into paganism, especially in the Dutch East Indies, are very common.

Islam's spread does not prepare the way for Christianity. For every weed of a rude idolatry, of a savage superstition that Islam uproots, it plants a weed of a sturdier growth. Islam is not better for the most savage races than the sublime faith of Christianity. The Negro's development is rapidly increased by his acceptance of Christianity, it is stunted by Islam. Islam is the Pharisee among religions, there is less hope of the speedy conversion of a Mohammedan than of almost any other man. Mohammedanism has been hitherto the almost impregnable fortress in the onward march of the Christian army. If Africa is suffered to become Mohammedan, if the Asiatic lands are to be the uncontested fields of Moslem missionaries the day of their being won to Christ is postponed, pushed far into the future.

Because of his arrogance, because of his bigotry, because of his lack of the spirit of inquiry, because of his fierce hatred of the only rival he dreads, the Mohammedan is the most unyielding opponent of our faith. Every new disciple of Mohammed catches the spirit of fanatical hatred of Christianity. The Mohammedan propagandism has done little for the world's good. Northern Africa has been for nearly twelve hundred years, Turkey for now some five hundred years, in the possession of Mohammedanism. Islam has buried its talents. Its lands have steadily lost in civilization, in political strength, in the moral, social, and religious growth of their inhabitants. Stagnation is written over them all. The Bosphorus, the Suez Canal, the Nile, the Ganges, the Euphrates, are now open to the Christian. The Christian unarmed can venture in safety where the mailed Crusader dared not tread. Christian nations make the Sultan and the Khedive nod like puppets. Islam's sword is no longer dreaded. The Christian propagandist has not only strengthened the things that remain among the Christians in Moslem lands, but has even snatched trophies from the ranks of Islam.

The Christian nations are derelict in that they suffer the abominable traffic in opium and liquor to continue. (Let me ask, without attempting to answer, the question, what is the duty of Christians to these questions? How far are we to carry our doctrine of the independence of Church and State in the suppression of these evils, in securing the defence of the missionary's person and property, in protecting his educational and religious works, more particularly in Moslem lands?) With bitterest sarcasm the Moslem chief of an African people invokes the aid of England's Christian Queen in the suppression of the rum traffic. Beyond all question Mohammedan

propagandism succeeds where it would otherwise fail, because it points to these evils.

The curse of the slave-hunt, the slave-caravan and the slave-market lies at the doors of Islam. The domestic condition of the slaves in the households of Moslems may not be, as Canon Taylor declares it is not, so very bad, but the horrible stain of the slave-stealing, the greatest blight of Africa, rests on the Mohammedan robes. "Islam's banner is a banner of blood," says Schweinfurth. "These Arabs are barbarizing brutes, the inhuman scourges of Africa," says Lieutenant Wissman, with the flash of energy in his eye. So Professors Drummond and Virchow, so Livingstone and Stanley, esteem the Arab influence in Africa to be for evil. The present uprising in Eastern Equatorial Africa is, as Dr. Peters, of the German Emin Pasha Relief Expedition says, an uprising of Mohammedanism in protest against Christianity's interference with the slave-trade. The disturbance in Wadai, in U-Ganda, and about Lake Nyassa, are attributable to the Arabs. The only markets in the world at present in which the stolen slaves can be disposed of are in Moslem lands.

Yet, though every interest presses upon the Mohammedan to hold on to his faith and propagate it vigorously, Christianity is rapidly gaining. In somewhat the same way that Christianity led to the development of the Brahmo-somaj, among the Hindus, and the Wu-wei-kiau and other reformed sects of Buddhists, so the Naturi of India is a new Moslem sect, aiming to bring Mohammedanism into line with the philosophy, the science and the religion of Christian lands. The reform movement has gone even farther than this. As Canon Taylor declares, and as others have stated, who have a fuller and more exact knowledge of the situation than he, there is a spirit of reform in all Moslem lands that is pregnant with hopeful change. Christian missionaries have won a few in Turkey to the Christian faith, notwithstanding the malice of the Turkish government and that the death penalty is in force even yet. Some eight thousand Moslems, in Eastern Bengal alone, have become Christians, while, as Dr. Schreiber said at the late London Missionary Conference, all of the converts to the Dutch East India missions have come from the Moslems, and these are numbered by the tens of thousands. Beyond all this is the quiet, steady process of leavening Mohammedan minds with Christian doctrine. The results of Christian propagandism can never be measured by counting heads alone. Islam now declares that polygamy, while permitted, is not encouraged by the Koran; that the harem is not part and parcel of the faith, and that it will sooner or later be abolished; that slavery has already been denounced by the Sultan, and Moslems generally will soon see that it is contrary to the spirit of the

Koran ; that a spiritual interpretation is to be put upon the teaching of a Paradise of hours; that the other evils of Islamism are not inherent in its real life. Further they express a desire that Islam shall be so reformed as to bring it into closer fellowship with Christianity. Islam is declaring that it is Christian, that it accepts our Scriptures as inspired, that Jesus Christ is Lord, and in a sense that even Unitarians would not accept, that he is the Son of God, that Mohammed was a reformer of Christianity, and that there is nothing in the world to keep us apart. The progressives among the Moslems would have us to look at those few strands of Christian truth which are interwoven into the Mohammedan system, and to overlook all that in which we differ. Among the masses, says Dr. Hamlin, there is a suppressed demand for the whole of our faith, with no adulterations. Thus with high and low there is a tendency towards Christianity.

There is one single insurmountable obstacle to the amalgamation of the two faiths. Self-righteousness is the very heart of the Moslem system. There is no consciousness of sin, no felt need of any Saviour, no demand for a sacrifice. That Jesus Christ should have died on a cross is abhorrent to Moslem. They say that it was Judas Iscariot, or Simon of Cyrene, who was crucified, Jesus escaping from mortal vision ; as it was with Abraham and his only son Isaac, when a substitute was provided. There is no philological, no theoretical, no philosophical ground upon which to base an agreement on this question. The cross is again the stumbling-block, it is once more foolishness. The objection to its reception rests on moral grounds. If Christ crucified, which is the glory of Christianity, is accepted by the Moslem, his whole system falls to the ground. So once again, and in a more real sense than ever before, we see the Cross and the Crescent set over against each other. We are hopeful that Christianity, taking up the challenge which the Mohammedan propagandists fling down before her, will quickly conquer. We must hasten our steps. We must not let the Moslem missionary anticipate the Christian in pagan lands. We must match zeal with zeal. We must present true Christian simplicity of living with genuinely earnest piety. We must preach the Gospel of a Saviour for the world. We must carry the cross into the very citadel of our strongest foe. "I, if I be lifted up, will draw all men unto me," is the promise of the Captain of our salvation.

PROF. W. C. WILKINSON, of Tarrytown, N. Y., said:

I have been urged to contribute something from my own observation lately had in the lands of the East, that might tend to throw a little light on this subject. I had indeed a few weeks, amounting perhaps to two months, of travel and observation in Mohammedan lands. I went with my eyes open and my ears, though my ears did not bring me any great amount of information, for the language was Arabic, and Arabic is not my own vernacular. What I shall say will be impression rather than matured opinion. I was reminded, more, I think, than ever before in my life, of that solemn, depressing and yet encouraging promise of Scripture concerning Christ: "He shall not fail nor be discouraged." The moment I set foot on Mohammedan soil I noticed a weariness of oppression and despair that settled down like a universal incubus on everything I beheld. When I first landed at Alexandria, I was more impressed than ever before with the magnitude of the work that my Lord, and yours, undertook—to redeem this world. I thought again and again, on my very first day in Alexandria, what meaning there was that you cannot possibly understand until you go into the Orient and see with your own eyes what is there to be seen—what meaning there was in that pathetic language of our Lord: "Come unto me all ye that labor and are heavy laden." Such heavy-laden people never anywhere did my eyes behold. And beside that, there was a downcast, dejected, saddened, gloomy, hopeless expression over all their countenances. The very babes in their mothers' arms were born with that expression on their faces. My heart was oppressed. I found nothing whatever anywhere to indicate anything like a propagandist spirit among Mohammedans. What I saw I interpreted to be Ichabod, Ichabod, Ichabod written everywhere over everything in Mohammedanism. I saw, I may almost say, hundreds of mosques—there are said to be 400 in the single city of Cairo—and I never saw a single mosque that was not dilapidated. Nothing is kept up; all is forlorn. Decrepitude is the one universal aspect of everything to the mere observer's eye. Now, that Mohammedanism may make some inroads as a conquering military power is of course credible, but it is simply incredible that Mohammedanism is to be thought of for one moment as a rival to Christianity for the possession of the earth. I visited the great Mohammedan University, which I never heard of till I got there. It was in the city of Cairo. It numbered its students by thousands. My impression is, there were ten thousand of them. It was the most *bizarre* and incredible and unimaginable sight I ever saw under the sun. I cannot begin to convey to you any idea of it.

DR. NORMAN FOX, of New York, said :

One thing suggested itself to my mind in listening to the paper, the parallelism that exists between Christian propagandism and Mohammedan propagandism. Mohammedanism was in earlier ages propagated by the sword, Christianity was in earlier ages propagated by the sword. Mohammedanism is to-day making no inroads upon established religions. That I understood to be the statement. We have no apprehension that in Europe or America any Mohammedan preaching would succeed in turning Christians to a belief in Islam. It is somewhat the same with Christianity. There are 80,000 Jews in New York City. They are good neighbors; we can meet with them as acquaintances and friends, and talk with them on Christianity; but very rarely does a Jew become a Christian. Practically not at all does the Brahmin become a Christian. In Buddhist lands we have preached the Gospel, but we are making no very great inroads upon Buddhism. So when the Gospel is preached in Mohammedan countries, it seems to go against Mohammedanism like water against the rock. To be sure, in certain districts, there have been several thousands of converts to Christianity, but if I understood Mr. Dobbins, these converts are not the old hereditary Mohammedans, but simply savage, ignorant peoples, who recently have been brought into Islam, and now have been brought into Christianity. It is of no more significance than if in some abandoned mission of ours in a heathen tribe, where converts had been baptized by hundreds, the missionaries were called away before they could indoctrinate them, and then a Mohammedan missionary went among them and they become Mohammedans. You could not say from that, that Mohammedanism was making conquests over Christianity. Christianity and Mohammedanism make their progress mostly among heathen or savage tribes. We have had triumphs in Christian missions, but they have been among savage tribes or outcast races. The Karens, who are something like our American Indians, were converted to Christianity and are being built up into civilization. The Telegoos are not the educated classes, but the ignorant races. The explanation is this: A Mohammedan missionary goes to an African tribe and tells them of Saracen civilization, and they have brains enough to see that is better than their savagery, and so they say we will accept your religion. A Christian missionary goes to the other tribe on the other side of the mountain and speaks of reaping-machines and comfortable houses, &c., and the savage has sense enough to see it is better than his civilization, and so he becomes a Christian. I speak now of nominal Christianity. Of course we assume there are individuals among them who come to a spiritual apprecia-

tion of Christianity. It comes to be a question which gets on the ground first, the Mohammedan or the Christian missionary, and should arouse us to more active missionary work.

The REV. A. G. LAWSON, D. D., of Boston, said :

Quite rightly we take first what are called in the New Testament, "the common people." And we should thank God the side of the truth we are entrusted with giving to the world adapts itself to the common people. Necessarily, it is a slow siege to take the higher classes, intellectually and socially, in any land in the East. But the difficulties there, as to principles and underlying truth, are being witnessed in our own land. As to the Jews, Rabinowitz, in Russia to-day has to some extent set aside the broad deductions our brother seems to make, where there are hundreds and thousands of Jews who are being "led out of darkness into His marvellous light." In Dr. Judson's early ministry there came one day tapping at his door, a man who sent in this seemingly singular request : "Does Mr. Paul live here?" At first the keen, quick-witted Dr. hardly apprehended the man and his question, and it was repeated. He had been reading one of the translations, made by Dr. Carey, of the epistle to the Romans, and he wanted to see Mr. Paul. Now, that man was in the higher ranges, and what became of him Dr. Judson does not know. We are not able to say he became a disciple of Jesus, but we have reason to believe that his conversation regarding this interview resulted in bringing the truth to others of like caste with himself. They do come slowly; yet they come. Dr. Judson said, at Saratoga a few years ago, it was about as easy to convert a Mohammedan as to draw a tooth out of a living tiger. I thank God for the influence that has come through Canon Taylor's unintentional misrepresentations. A fresh attention has been drawn to Africa. There is the battle-ground; and there is to be more largely than in Asia, the battle-ground between Mohammedanism, and this and that fetich, and Christianity in its purest form. Perhaps in the Providence of God this was one of the things He had chosen to draw attention to that land for the redemption of the multitudes who had been so long hidden there. There is a three-fold call to that land. First, the soul has always a right to know God's clear truth, and God has a right to have Himself clearly known to the soul. Secondly, because these multitudes there are weak and we who are strong must go down to them with Christ's strength. And thirdly, because Mohammedanism is just before them. The statements of Canon Taylor may be the very things we need—both North

and South alike—to prod us anew to more earnest efforts to help these men and women of color with the Gospel, and to qualify them to go into that very continent, and there face to face with the Mohammedan teacher, to illustrate the saving and uplifting power of Christ's grace. Let us ask of God grace to put more living zeal into the work of Christian missions in Africa, and everywhere else.

The HON. ALEX. S. BACON, of Brooklyn, N. Y., said :

I have fought a great many desperate battles on Mohammedan soil, and was whipped every time. I cannot tell you how many thousands of Mohammedans I have fought with at a single encounter. My antagonists were Mohammedan fleas and on that account, perhaps, I have a spite against Mohammedanism. I roughed it over there in the intense heat of August, as the guest of Mr. Floyd, in 1879. We would ride at night and sleep most of the day. Towards evening we would come to some Mohammedan village, and the whole town would turn out to greet us. We were royally received, but everywhere it was with the salutation of "Backsheesh." Naturally, I learned Arabic,—became proficient in the language,—at least all I wanted; and it was simply this: "Go away O dog; clear out O hog, I have not anything for you." The natives frightened me at first with their loud talk and fierce jestures, but after awhile I got to despise these people, and went alone into their most disreputable villages with the most firm confidence that any Yankee could clean out a whole village. They do not drink Kentucky whiskey, or New York beer, as a general thing, and that is about the only good I have ever heard about them. I left the hotel in Cairo one morning very early, and was at once surrounded by about a dozen donkey boys, one of whom seemed to recognize that I was a Yankee, and said, "I have a Yankee-doodle donkey," and so I took the Yankee-doodle donkey for a visit to Old Cairo. This donkey boy kept whipping up the donkey all the time. I entered into conversation with him. Pretty soon we came to a grog-shop on the corner, a little place with bottles on the shelves, and seats on the outside. I said, "what is that?" "Café." "Coffee in bottles?" "Oh, no, wine." "But that looks like cogniac." "Oh, yes," he says, "cogniac." I said, "Why! I thought Mohammedans did not drink whiskey." "Yes, very much; men come here, sit benches, drink much, and go so"—and he began to reel around to tell me how they did. Said I, "I thought it was against Mohammedan religion to drink rum." He said, "Yes, they no good Arabs; they bad Arabs; they Irish Arabs." (Laughter.) Some English-

man had evidently been there on a spree and had perverted the donkey boy's mind.

The very worst falsehood is one that has a little truth in it. That is the trouble with Mohammedanism. I consider the Mohammedan religion the most vicious of any I have become familiar with, because its tendency is demoralizing. There is no heart in it; religion with them is a matter of business. If France or England could gain control of that country, in my opinion every Mohammedan would turn Protestant in a week, and if Russia could get possession, the next week they would all be Greeks. Religion with them means government protection, and you never can convert them until some decent nation gets control there and gives the people an object lesson in pure government, puts up pachas, governors,—judges we would call them—who will be paid salaries for their offices, where there will be exact justice between man and man, between government and governed, and where the tax-gatherer will not go in with a club and take all he can get. If some Christian nation could hold the reins of government, and give them judges who could not be bought or sold, I think in a few generations these object lessons of Christianity, with hospitals and schools would do wonders for that people. But as they are to-day, they are absolutely without any of those principles we cherish, and our standard of morals. If you go in amongst them and say “you are all liars,” they will say, “of course we are, what of that?” “You are all thieves;” “well, what of that?” “you are all murderers;”. “well, what of that, if we are not caught at it?” There was a massacre of about 30,000 Christians in Damascus and vicinity in 1860, and the French marched in from Beyrout and hung up about 150 of the principal men on the lamp posts the next morning, and the soldiers would have continued, had not the English come in and stopped it. Let there be an honest government there, and missions will have a chance.

The REV. S. H. FORD, D. D., LL. D., of St. Louis, said :

The conflicting statements about Mohammedanism are interesting subjects to reconcile. I wanted to call your attention to Mohammedanism in the United States. Anybody who has traced closely the career of Mahomet and the development of Mohammedanism, and has been familiar, as we are in the West, with Mormonism, must be struck with the parallel between the two developments. The revelation of the Angel Gabriel to Mahomet, bringing in that strange thing they call the Koran, which Gibbon says sometimes soars in the clouds, and sometimes grovels in the dust, and Joe Smith's

bible, bear such a similar policy that you are struck as you compare the two. If you just get the two and compare them, either in that strange depravity of human nature, or work of Satan when he wishes to operate on men, it will fill you with contempt for humanity. The flight of Mahomet to Medina and Joe Smith to Nauvoo, are striking. The very doctrine they teach, and the combinations of it, and the new system followed in Joe Smith's fanatical account, and the combinations and visions of Joe Smith, will strike you all over. And then if you notice for a moment the policy of that man of the desert as a politician and a leader, and the policy and workings of Joe Smith in his imitation of Masonry, all brought to a culmination which Masonry itself has never reached, in their leadership, their bishops, their apostles, and down through all the varied ranks of Mormonism, the organizing power of Smith is positively wondrous, so much akin to Mahomet himself. The actual military genius of Mahomet, Smith did not develop, because he could not in this country lead an army to conquer a neighboring state. The Propagandism of Mohammedanism is strong, whatever my brother may say. I have been in Mohammedan countries, too, and did not have exactly the same experience as my brother. There is an intense, forceful propagandism that is desolating in its effects. Look at the proselytism of Mormonism. It goes to all the nations of the earth, Norway, Denmark, Wales, England and the Latin countries, as well as our own. They are bringing over converts every day, and they are growing in their strength. I have no fear of Romanism. This country has absorbed four millions of Romanists in the last hundred years. Romanism is now at its height, and will never be so strong again. Romanism cannot control the political power of Italy, and it cannot control this country. Mormonism is a machine, wielded by the leader as an army is handled by the dictation of a general. Mohammedanism hates Christianity. Did you ever hear of a converted Mormon? I have mingled with them more or less through life and I never did. There they stand cemented together, not like the Romanists, flung into the great stream of civilization, not scattered through the rural districts, and thrown into the public schools, but down in their own valley, or along the Salt Lake, there they are, pressed down by a power you cannot reach, and which government cannot affect, and multiplying every day, fenced in from every influence of civilization. There is Mohammedanism with its peculiarities, its leader, its doctrine, and its prohibitions, too, for they are not a drinking people. That is the Mohammedanism that is waiting to burst forth and inundate the West, and perhaps the country.

That is the Mohammedanism or, rather, Islamism, of the United States.

A paper was then presented on

CHRISTIAN SCIENCE,

BY REV. GEORGE E. HERR, JR., PASTOR OF THE FIRST BAPTIST CHURCH, CHARLESTOWN DISTRICT, BOSTON, MASS.

In opening the discussion of the subject of Christian Science, it is right for me to say that the investigations upon which this paper is based have not been those most approved by Christian scientists. I have not taken Mrs. Eddy's courses of lectures. I have, however, acquainted myself with the literature of the subject. I have sought to read fairly and widely, and I have had the advantage of conversations with those who have taken courses of Mrs. Eddy's lectures.

In laying the subject of Christian Science before the Congress, I will ask your attention to four points: First, the fact of cures of bodily diseases by the practitioners of Christian Science. Second, the Christian scientists' theory of these cures. Third, the present writer's theory. Fourth, the inferences from this survey that seem to the writer legitimate.

In 1866, Mrs. Mary B. G. Eddy, as the result of her own immediate recovery from the effects of an injury that neither surgery nor medication could reach, alleges that she discovered a secret of physical healing, which she has elaborated in the volumes, "Science and Health," first published in 1875, and which are now in the thirty-second edition. "The Metaphysical College," in Boston, of which Mrs. Eddy is President, was chartered in 1881. "The Christian Science Journal," for November, 1888, contains one hundred and fourteen advertisements of the practitioners of Christian Science, distributed throughout the Union. Since Mrs. Eddy appeals to "all true and loyal Christian scientists to insert their cards" in the Journal, it is likely that there are just about one hundred and fourteen centers from which this new gospel is propagated in this country, for practitioners of Christian Science are usually also teachers and zealous proselytizers. It should be further stated, that Mrs. Eddy's power as a healer cannot be tested. She announces that she is so overwhelmed with the cares of her college and Christian Science church, that she neither receives patients nor takes part in consulta-

tions. At present, therefore, we have to test the claims of Christian Science as a therapeutic agency by the performances of her pupils.

I.—The writer reaches the following conclusions as to the fact of the cure of diseases by the practice of Christian Science :

(1.) There is not, as yet, on record a clear and indisputable instance of recovery from organic disease through Christian Science. Such cures have been alleged, but when submitted to scientific tests, Christian Scientists have, so far as the writer knows, been proved to be mistaken as to their diagnosis of the case, or as to the fact of cure. In "The Zion's Herald," for Dec. 3, 1884, Prof. L. T. Townsend, D. D., of the Boston University, offered Mrs. Eddy \$1,000 "if she or her entire college of doctors would put into place a real case of hip or ankle dislocation, without resorting to the ordinary manipulations or without touching it;" and he offered her \$2,000 "if she or her entire college, would give sight to one of the inmates of the South Boston Asylum for the Blind, that sightless person having been born blind." In her own Journal of Feb. 7, Mrs. Eddy replied to this offer in these words: "Will the gentleman accept my thanks for his generosity, for, if I should accept his bid, he would lose his money. Why? Because I performed more difficult tasks fifteen years ago. At present I am in another department of Christian work, 'where there shall be no sign given them,' for they shall be instructed in the principles of Christian Science that furnishes its own evidence." The comment of Rev. Dr. H. M. Tenny, in his discriminating pamphlet, "Christian Science; its Truths and Errors," is none too severe upon Mrs. Eddy's reply to Dr. Townsend. He says: "Had Mrs. Eddy refused on the ground that such a test was unfair, and that, under such conditions, her power to heal would be limited, we could not object. But when she claims the power and practically affirms that she is able to work the cures, and still refuses, her answer seems but little better than the evasion of a quack."—[Christian Science; its Truth and Errors, pp. 42-3.]

(2.) Functional diseases, especially those of a predominantly nervous type, have, in many instances, been cured, or materially assisted toward what looks like a cure, by the practitioners of Christian Science. But even in diseases of this class, I do not think that the cures outnumber the failures. It is certain that alleged cures are frequently magnified out of all proportion to the facts of the cases in Christian Science literature. One's own report of the disease of which he has been cured, as every physician knows, is as nearly worthless as evidence as anything well can be, and yet this is the kind of evidence that crowds the Christian Science publications. And yet, after every allowance has been made, I am inclined to believe that

the evidence shows that those nervous diseases which often baffle a physician's skill, are sometimes successfully treated by Christian scientists, and that functional derangements of many kinds have been benefitted and perhaps assisted to a recovery.

II.—Let us now consider the Christian Scientists', explanation of these cures. Their theory of healing is embedded in philosophical and theological statements, which it is difficult to state concisely, largely for the reason that neither Mrs. Eddy, nor her followers have a decided gift of concise and lucid exposition. One has to thresh a good deal of straw in reading their books. I hope, however, that the following statements would be accepted by the Christian scientists themselves as imperfect solely on account of their condensation. The fundamental postulate of the school is a Berkleian denial of the reality of the objective world. God is not a person but a principle, the infinite and immortal mind, the soul of man and of the universe. The only reality is this "infinite and immortal Mind." The soul of man is the reflection of God. The human body is the reflection of the mortal mind. The image an object casts in a mirror has no reality, so the soul of man has no reality apart from God. And neither the human body nor matter in any form has reality. "What we are wont to call the external world," says Marston, one of the recognized expounders of the system, "exists in the mind, and nowhere else. Beginning with the proposition that all substance is spirit, the mental healer plants himself on the assertion that there can be only one substance in the universe; therefore matter is not substance but reflection. Mortal mind has falsely endowed mind with attributes that belong only to spirit, *e. g.*, with wisdom and sensation; whereas, matter cannot think or feel; it is the mind that thinks and feels." The thought of substance, wisdom and sensation in matter is an "inverted thought." The human body cannot be sick, the mind simply has a thought of sickness. All disease is false, inverted thinking. The cure of disease must come by imparting right thoughts to the mind. We come to these right thoughts by thinking of ourselves as God thinks of us, *i. e.*, as perfect, body and soul. The center will move the circumference, and when man's idea of himself is conformed to God's idea of him, healing of mind and body will speedily follow. "What the healer," says Marston, "does for the person he is to treat is, to assist him to change his thought, for in every case, no matter what may seem to be the matter with the patient, it is the inverted thought, the belief in the reality of disease, that stands in the way of recovery. Once change the thought, and spirit power conquers his delusion and he becomes well.

But the healing of disease is only a part of Christian Science. Its

higher purpose is to heal sin. The method, however, is the same. Sin and death are only beliefs, not realities, and we are healed of sin just as we bring our thought of ourselves into agreement with God's thought of us. When God's idea of us is firmly held before the mind, doubt, sins, sickness and death are blotted out.

Mrs. Eddy maintains that her system is not only Scriptural, but that it is derived from the Scriptures and furnishes their true interpretation. If one is disposed to suggest that her exegesis is arbitrary and smacks of eisegesis, her reply, that her inspiration in the interpretation of the Bible is of the same kind that produced the Bible, cuts off further debate.

The method of treatment for the cure of disease is, briefly, as follows :

The healer must discard any reliance upon diet, exercise, bathing, rubbing, surgical appliances and the *materia medica*. Sitting by the side of his patient, without physical contact, the healer argues mentally that there is no such thing as disease. "Be firm," Mrs. Eddy says to the healer, "in your understanding that mind governs the body. Have no foolish fears that matter governs and can ache, swell, and be influenced from a law of its own, when it is self-evident that matter can have no pain or inflammation." She urges her pupils to argue against the reality of the disease "with such powerful eloquence as a Congressman would employ against the passage of an inhuman law."

"The sick know nothing of the mental processes by which they become sick, and next to nothing of the metaphysical method by which they can be healed. The thought latent in the unconscious stratum of the mortal mind produces the conscious thought or condition of the body that you call a material condition."

As to how the unspoken thought of the healer becomes the belief of the patient, or unclasps the clutch of the false belief upon his mind, none of the Christian scientists are very definite. It is probably here that the esoteric mystery of the scheme lies. But there are tokens that Mrs. Eddy means to teach in a dark way, that the thought of the healer pierces down to the substratum of all thought, running through all minds, and that by touching this common basis of all thought, he is able to communicate his thoughts to the patient.

The system is thoroughgoing. True Christian Scientists affect to admit the logical conclusions of their premises. They do not shrink from holding that food is unnecessary ; from denying that drugs, when taken into the human system, have any power, and from maintaining that death may be abolished and youth be made perpetual.

III.—But cannot the cures effected by the practitioners of Christian science be explained without recourse to the rather formidable apparatus which has been briefly reviewed? The present writer claims, that not only can this be done, but that cures, much more startling than any Christian scientists have demonstrated to have taken place, could be satisfactorily explained without resorting to Mrs. Eddy's theories.

Mrs. Eddy has discovered nothing new in announcing that the human mind has a real power over the human body. This has long been recognized. Her service has been to call attention to a natural method by which complaints of a certain class have been cured, and one feature of that method is to concentrate the attention of the patient upon health rather than disease, to inspire within him faith as to the possibility of a cure, to direct thought into new channels, to lift the patient out of himself by the aid of a new idea or confidence or purpose. Dr. J. M. Buckley, in "The Century" for June, 1886, has effectively disposed of the claim that the records of Christian Science afford instances of the cure of diseases which cannot be paralleled by cures which concentrated attention, with faith, sufficiently explain. He has shown that concentrated attention, with faith, "may operate powerfully in acute diseases, with instantaneous rapidity upon nervous disease, or upon any disease capable of being modified by direct action through the nervous circulatory system."

If the cures of the Christian Scientists seem to be more numerous than the cases that parallel them, we must not forget that the Christian Science cases have been collected. Public attention has been directed to them. When Mrs. Eddy tells us to cast physic to the dogs, and to believe in health, and to associate with some one who believes in health, her system has a basis in reason, and she will succeed in curing diseases of a certain class. Some of the limitations of Christian Science in curing disease not only point to the conclusion that the principle of concentrated attention, with faith, is the nib of truth upon which the Christian scientists have struck, but they suggest the operation of another power in mind-cure.

Other things being equal, he will be the most successful Christian scientist healer who has the most power of inspiring or imparting faith. It has often been noticed that the mere presence of certain persons in a company or audience diffuses a radiant, buoyant spirit. Others are constitutional wet blankets, not on account of what they say or do, but on account of what they are. Persons of the latter type would make poor mind-healers. Mrs. Eddy resents with some heat all attempts to associate Christian Science with animal magnet-

ism ; probably in her mind they have no conscious relation. But for all that, it is probably true that any one's success as a mental healer will not be found to be in proportion to the vigor of his conviction that there is no such reality as disease, but it will be found to be in exact proportion to that peculiarity of his nervous organization by which he is able to transmit to others that belief, or any other belief. It is dependent upon what, for want of a better term, we may call his "nervous magnetism." Christian Science is a singularly ingenious system for developing the positive nervous magnetism of the mind-healer, and the nervous recipiency of his patient. It enables the mind-doctor to develop his nervous magnetism through the agency of two strong and fascinating ideas. The idea of the insignificance of anything material as compared with mind, and the idea that he is co-operating with God, that he is bringing himself and his patient into conformity with the Divine idea. The very fact that the mind-healer does not of set purpose project his will upon his patient's will, but upon an idea, probably adds enormously to the nervous energy to be transmitted, and which is transmitted not by his will but by an inherent capacity of his nervous system for doing this very thing, to his patient. The ideas of Christian Science form a purchase for the nervous magnetism of the healer, a fulcrum for his lever.

The writer, therefore, believes that Christian Science so far from having discovered any new force or mastered any secret, has simply devised an ingenious metaphysical machine for concentrating attention, and for inspiring the faith of the patient, and at the same time for developing the nervous magnetism of the mind-healer, which is transmitted to his patient by the peculiar inherent power of his nervous structure. And the writer holds, that while what has thus far been accomplished by Christian Scientists in the cure of disease can, so far as he is aware, be paralleled by the operation of the forces which Christian Science utilizes, under the control of those who utterly discard the mind-healers' philosophy and theology, yet it would not be at all strange, if in the state of our present knowledge of the relations between mind and matter, Mrs. Eddy should be able to adduce cures that cannot be paralleled, because she has invented an exceedingly effective apparatus for concentrating attention, inspiring faith, and for the development of nervous magnetism on the part of the healer, and nervous recipiency on the part of the patient.

IV. The following conclusions have been reached by the writer as the result of his investigations:

1. First, Christian Science in its theory of disease and in its theo-

logical notions is eminently unscriptural. It is a revival of Gnosticism. It should be met as the Apostles and their successors met Gnosticism by an appeal to the written Word interpreted by reverent scholarship. Mrs. Eddy assumes that her own interpretations of the Scriptures are inspired and infallible. To meet this position we must go back to the doctrine of the Reformation and of universal Protestantism that the words of the Bible are to be interpreted according to their plain and obvious meaning, and that obscure passages are to be interpreted according to the analogy of the faith. In the Scriptures so interpreted, Christian Science can find no place for the sole of a foot. For example, the theory that sickness has no place in the divine economy utterly falls to the ground in the light of the explicit statement of the Scriptures that afflictions of the body may discipline the believer, as Paul was disciplined by "the thorn in the flesh," John 15: 2; Heb. 12: 7-11; 2 Cor. 12: 1-10; and that these afflictions may elicit and demonstrate the believer's faith as Job's faith was proved and made resplendent by his sufferings. Job. 2: 3; I. Peter, 1: 7.

The distinctive theology of this school, which starts with a denial of God, (though in perfect fairness it should be stated that of late, while Mrs. Eddy denies that God is "a person," perhaps because she imagines that personality implies limitation, she speaks of God as "an Individual Being," whatever that phrase may mean;) its doctrine of the Person of Christ, which is that of the most advanced Unitarians; its doctrine of man, which is that of Pantheism, and its doctrine of sin, which surely tends to annihilate the sense of moral accountability, will have to be met *seriatim* by those who are forced to contend with Christian Science as a divisive force in Christian Churches.

The crude philosophy of Christian Science, compounded of Berkeleyan idealism and Indian theosophy, which conditions the theological positions of this teaching, would not stand to be pressed to a thorough-going definition of a few key words like "Being," "Reality," "Thought," and the much abused metaphor derived from the image of an object in a mirror.

But unless we are prepared to admit the claim that the prophecy of St. John: "And there appeared a great wonder in Heaven, a woman clothed with the sun, and the moon under her feet, and on her head a crown of twelve stars," refers to Rev. Mary Baker Glover Eddy, of Boston, Mass., and that her interpretations of Scripture are final, the unscriptural characteristics of this system will condemn it in most Christian communities.

2. The truths of Christian Science, that a great many diseases

are imaginary, that there is a *vis medicatrix naturæ*, that the mind has a real power over the body, that the nervous magnetism of one person may be communicated to others by processes of which probably secular science knows a good deal more than this so-called "Christian Science" have no necessary relation whatever to the theories or theology of Mrs. Eddy and her followers.

Mind-healers have already developed a considerable divergence among themselves, as to their theology, and in no small degree the "odium theologicum." One school, however, seems to be about as successful as another in healing the sick. Mrs. Eddy has invented an ingenious machine for developing nervous magnetism, and has discovered some of the favorable conditions for communicating it. But nervous magnetism, and the therapeutic power of mind over the body are not dependent upon Mrs. Eddy's apparatus. A better one, certainly a less morally and physically risky one, may be devised.

The writer holds that no amount of success in healing disease by the practice of Christian Science possibly can prove the truth of its doctrines. Should Christian Scientists succeed in effecting cures which our present knowledge of causes cannot account for; should they succeed in curing organic diseases, knitting together broken bones, and rival the "miracles" of Bathshan and Lourdes, he would hold that such marvellous cures, instead of proving the doctrines of Christian Science, would simply demonstrate that we are as yet only upon the threshold of understanding the powers of Nature, and are yet in the dark as to many of the relations between mind and matter.

3. Thirdly, Christian Science threatens not only a vast amount of moral peril to those who embrace its doctrines, but it also threatens no small measure of physical danger to the communities in which Christian Scientists practice. It remains to be seen what physical effect the mind-cure will have upon the mind-healers themselves, but as a therapeutic agency, it has its limitations. A panacea, in this age of the world, is a self-condemned fraud. The evidence goes to show that the successes of the mind-cure are upon functional diseases of the nervous and circulatory systems. The prophecy that organic diseases will be healed, and broken bones set at the bidding of the mind-healer, or that even a cinder will leave the eye, is pure prophecy.

The danger is that many people will trust the prophecies of the mind-healers, rather than the evidence which points to the diseases they may possibly help, and those who might have been cured by a skillful physician or surgeon will in a blind faith submit themselves

to this mind-cure, until it is too late for help to reach them. I am informed that reputable physicians in Boston, where Christian Science most flourishes, could tell many sad stories of suffering, under this treatment, which could have been easily prevented by suitable remedies or surgical appliances.

Our Massachusetts laws as to medical practice are notoriously lax. And we need to follow in the footsteps of other States in requiring a competent knowledge of physiology, anatomy, pathology, chemistry and the *materia medica* in those who are licensed to prescribe for the sick.

One who has broken a leg, and acts upon the advice of the modern mind-healer, may push the bone through the skin and make a simple and curable fracture a compound and certainly dangerous and possibly fatal one. A case of strangulated hernia, which a skillful medical man can speedily relieve, is absolutely certain under the Christian Science practice to be speedily fatal.

The general conclusion reached by this paper is that Christian Science contains elements of truth associated with much poor philosophy and miserable religion. It probably will deceive its full quota of those who are "carried about with every wind of doctrine." But our Christian communities as a whole will reject its philosophy and religion. American common sense, to say nothing more, is too robust to take kindly to so shadowy a mental and spiritual alimant as Christian Science provides. It might do in a rice-eating nation. It will not do here. As a therapeutic agency, the mind-cure has a value, but far below what many would have us believe it to be. The record of its failures, if we had them, would probably be quite as imposing as the record of its successes. Its main value, perhaps, will be that it may lead to such a thorough investigation of the relations of the mind to the body, that the relation of psychical and physical forces may be much more perfectly understood, and by that clearer understanding we may fully utilize the curative power of the mind, and perhaps be in the future delivered from being imposed upon by such a tangle of Buddhism, Gnosticism, Theosophy, and all the rest as confronts us in the misnamed "Christian Science," which is neither Christian nor Scientific.

The appointed speaker on this subject was the REV. W. E. HATCHER, D. D., Pastor of Grace Street Baptist Church, Richmond, Va., who spoke as follows:

There are difficulties in dealing with the subject. The terms which the Christian Science people employ seem to be used in a sense different from the popular or the scientific sense of those same words as used among us. It is not strange that there is a disagreement among the Christian Scientists themselves. They have no postulates. Then it is metaphysical; it deals with the profound and the incomprehensible. Now that to a great many people is delightful. There are some people that can understand the incomprehensible (laughter), and have no difficulty in grasping the infinite. These minds are of that profound sort which, while it bothers them in seeing the top of things, enables them always to see the bottom. (Laughter.) And there is a fatal fascination about that that makes it difficult for an outsider to know what to say. And then you know of course, there is the inevitable condemnation that awaits the man that cannot understand all things. If he does not make a statement according to the way in which it ought to be made, the statement is ruled out because he does not understand how the statement ought to be made. With this difficulty, I beg to say as candidly and as courteously as I can, I desire briefly to review this matter of Christian Science. It is a metaphysical method of healing diseases. It proposes to heal them without the use of medicines or drugs, or manipulation. It cures not by physic, but by metaphysics, and therefore it takes us really into the realm of Idealism, and Idealism of a particular sort. It differs from the faith-cure in which, as I understand, the emphatic thing is prayer for divine help; from the miraculous in which there is direct divine interference; and from the cure of diseases imaginary, some cases of which occur, of course, in connection with every system of treatment. The system comes before us with immense pretensions. It has selected for itself the two most colossal and tremendous and overwhelming words in the world, in all the dictionaries to set itself up in. The one is "Christian" and the other is "Science," and when you get all that is Christian and all that is Scientific in the thing, of course there is nothing left on the outside (laughter), and those of us who are on the outside are badly left. I think it is proper we should look a little at the philosophical and theological basis of this belief, of this power of healing disease by metaphysical influence. What do they believe? As my friend who preceded me said, we have to be brief, and therefore necessarily exposed to the charge of imperfection and inadequacy in state-

ment. Take for example their idea of God. They believe in God, they say. They believe in God the All-powerful, the All-wise, the Omnipresent, but they believe in the all-power of God in the sense that where there is any power, or where there is any wisdom, that is God. So that the consciousness of the light in us is God. The pregnant idea seems to be that God is Spirit, and Spirit is life, and all life is God. Take the question of matter. They say that they don't believe in the reality of matter. It is true one of their writers says, that view ought not be carried to an absurd extreme (laughter), and I sympathize with that. Whereabouts the absurdity would break out on the thing, and where it would become extreme, is a question I am not sufficiently metaphysical to determine. In regard to disease, the definition, the favorite definition of disease, is that it is an inverted thought. It is a thought upside down. Disease exists not outwardly, because there is nothing outward for it to exist on, but subjectively. It is a mental perception that in some way has got twisted around in the mental organism. That is a disease in the sense of Christian Science. In regard to sin, they tell us that sin is a word that the theological gentlemen have invented, and that they tolerate the use of that word only to describe the physical and moral defects that arise from the motion of sense, from these popular delusions of the sense, but that strictly speaking, to use their own language, there is no sin. As I understand it, briefly told, these are some of the fundamental maxims they hold. With these explanations we may come very briefly to look at the subject of the healing. We will look at the healer, then at the disease, and then at the cure. The healer may be a self-healer, or an amateur healer, or a professional healer. If the disease—that is if I may use the word disease by way of accommodation—if those who have got them subjectively a little disordered in some way, if their metaphysical apparatus has become a little awry, and something is out of kelter in it; if the victim of this inward misfortune—pardon me if I don't state the thing exactly as it ought to be. (Renewed laughter.) I am doing the very best I can. I have studied this thing day and night. The method may be healing but the studying is a little bewildering. (Laughter.) I say, if those who are thus afflicted, get in the proper condition, that is altogether important and indispensable, though here my information entirely gives out (laughter), and I don't know what the proper condition is, but if they do get into the proper condition they can heal themselves. But if that fails they have to get somebody else. There are those who for the love of the cause, that is the cause of Christian Science, do practice, they do exercise, they do apply the metaphysical method for the relief of

their suffering neighbors, and do it freely, and without compensation. Then there comes in the professional. He gives his life to the business, and generally "he" is a woman; (laughter) not always, but in most cases. He does his practice with two ideas, one is the cure of which I will tell you presently, and the other is some little consideration that comes in afterwards, that is known out in the physical world as a fee. But inasmuch as matter is unreal, there is no matter, and it does not matter, and there being no matter, we would suppose they would make out their bills in etherial terms, and collect their revenue according to strict metaphysical principles; but I believe as a matter of fact, only there is no paper, because paper is matter and matter is unreal, there is no paper to write a cheque on and no ink to write with, because ink would be matter except that there is no matter, and no bank to which to carry the cheque, and no money in the bank, and if there were money in the bank it would be unreal—notwithstanding all this unreality of matter, it is really a practical matter with the professional healer to receive compensation for his services, and he generally receives it in materialistic coins. In regard to disease, as I told you, they believe that disease is not external. If a man says, for example, he has a boil on his wrist, pardon the painful suggestion of the thing, but there are two insurmountable overwhelming difficulties in the way of the intelligence and the propriety of such a claim. In the first place, and that is a fundamental difficulty, there is no wrist. (Laughter.) Now, I have heard that a good place to have a boil would be at the end of some other man's nose, but the other man has got no nose, and therefore there cannot possibly be any place on which to have a boil. (Laughter.) The only thing in the matter is that it is an invented thought, whatever that is. It is a perception, a thought turned upside down; that is the idea of disease. Now, what kind of diseases can be cured? Why, anything, of course. Because if you cannot have a disease but a body, and you have got no body, it is very easy to classify all disease out of existence. They will tell you, for example, about hereditary disease, that there can be no hereditary disease, that our fathers and mothers did not give us any diseases, for the indispensable reason they did not have any to give us. (Laughter.) About infectious and contagious diseases, they tell us these are infectious and contagious only because they are believed to be so. It is in the mind they are contagious and infectious, and if you could get them out of the mind they would not be. That is if you could persuade people that yellow fever, for example, was an unreality, and exists only in the mind, and inverted thought, there is no yellow fever, no black vomit, none of the external material

signs of yellow fever, it is the reflection of an inverted thought, why then you have gone very far toward ridding them of the trouble. Their view about it is there is no such disease, and you could not catch it if it had not gotten into the mind. They don't explain how it got into the mind, and therefore I don't know how.

REV. T. T. EATON, D. D., of Louisville, Kentucky, said :

Christian Science is a curious combination of idealism and mind-cure. The mind-cure, so far as it does affect real cures, no more proves the doctrine than if a Mohammedan should give me medicine that cured the headache, and say, there is some connection between the medicine and Mohammedanism, and therefore you must be a Mohammedan. There is no connection in the world. It is one of the few female heresies that have come into the world ; the apostles are women. The restored ones are women. I do not say it is the worse for that, but there is a curious femininity about it. There is a male folly and a female folly, but this is a sort of feminine folly. A good brother, a member of a church of which I had the honor of being pastor, had a wife who was very sick for a long time. She had the best medical skill, but was given up. She was thought to be dying and took leave of her children, of whom there were eight. Her husband was one of those plain, square, honest, open men. He never had a secret in his life, and would not know what to do with it if he had. He tenderly loved his wife, and she took leave of him last of all, and she said to him : " Ben, I can die contented, I have trusted my Saviour ; but there is only one thing troubles me—the thought that you will go and marry again, and bring another mother for these children. I cannot bear that idea. I never asked you to promise me not to marry again, but I believe if you promise me on my death-bed you will keep the promise." She then suggested certain domestic relations he could bring to pass, that would obviate the necessity of marrying again. He thought about it, and she repeated her request. " Now," said he, " Martha, I never told you a lie in my life, and I don't want to tell you a lie now. I just can't tell you I won't marry again." Well, she rallied and got better, is a stout living woman to-day, taking care of her grandchildren, while her husband has been dead twelve years (laughter). Her physician in charge of her case told me he had no doubt if her husband had promised her, she would have died that day. I defy the Christian scientists to produce one single case that will come within a thousand miles of that on the subject of mind-cure. That case is a fact, and

I hold myself responsible for the statements made. Some of the parties are living in Virginia. One of these parties came to Louisville. He had a cancer on his back, and tried many doctors. Finally he went to one of these people, and came back claiming to be cured. Said he : "I have not a pain ; it is all gone ; perfectly cured." That man kept getting worse, and kept insisting he was cured, and he was honest in thinking he was cured. The very day he died of cancer, he insisted he was cured. There was the faith, the "inverted thought" was set right, but the cancer was there still.

I was lecturing recently, and came across a woman who was morbidly sensitive on the idea of second marriage. It occurred to her that her husband might marry again if she should die, and her friends joked her upon the subject. She told me herself that some time before she was very sick and expected to die. The doctor had told her there was no hope of her getting well. Her little boy came in, and she began to talk to him as to what Johnny would do when his mamma was gone. Pretty soon Johnny said : "Mamma, papa will get me a new mamma, as Mr. Johnson did for his boys." She says she felt a change in her instantly, and she began to get well.

There is a case over in Missouri, where a woman said to her husband in the presence of her physician: "If you will marry again when I am gone, give my jewelry, &c., to my sisters ; don't bring another woman here in my place and use my things." "Of course, I will promise you that," he said ; "*we* would not want those old things at all" (laughter). She got well, and any woman would get well under such circumstances.

I have been at considerable trouble to run down every case that seemed worth hunting up. There was a case over in Jeffersonville, where a man had been cured in this way, it was said. I thought I would look into it. I found the man ; he did have consumption, and had been in bed sick, but he got up, and is now preaching the Truth. I found he had a sepulchral cough, and was very pale and thin, and had consumption when I saw him. The doctor said he had rallied once or twice before, but must finally die of consumption. This fact had preyed upon his mind, and the man has since died of consumption.

It is difficult for me to believe any sane man can believe in this science. It seems to me a mental disease with all who believe in it. I think a person is crazy who believes in Christian Science. I don't believe a healthy man could accept any such nonsense. It is creeping in and injuring a great many of our best women. There are some thoroughly good women in Louisville who have been seriously injured by it. The remedy is simply to expose it, and show them

what the ideas are. I think these two papers read this morning, would effectually cure the people of it. Let us strive to save those who are in danger of being injured by it. The thing must perish. Such a plant as that cannot flourish in a worldly atmosphere. But it will harm good people. Let us try and save them.

The President called on the Rev. Dr. T. G. JONES to pronounce the benediction.

Third Day.

Afternoon Session.

The Congress convened at 4 o'clock. The President occupied the chair. The proceedings commenced with spontaneous singing by the audience. The REV. L. A. CRANDALL offered prayer.

The subject assigned for this session was "The Purity of the Church."

The first paper was on

PURITY OF THE CHURCH : TERMS OF ADMISSION.

By REV. E. T. HISCOX, D. D., OF MT. VERNON, N. Y.

A Christian church is emphatically, and in a much better sense than Loyola meant, "the Society of Jesus." It is a Society; not a mere gratuitous aggregation or chance collection of individuals; but a company of persons associated by compact and covenant, agreed in holding peculiar, but like dogmas, as their common faith; and having certain definite ends to be accomplished, as the object and purpose of their association and covenant. It is a regularly constituted body, with its officers, order of work and service, and its laws and regulations, by which to guide and govern itself in the prosecution of its legitimate pursuits.

Moreover the church is of Divine institution; it is from Heaven,

and not of man ; and is the only form of human society which can be said specifically, to be of Divine origin. For though, both the *Family* and the *State* were divinely appointed, yet not in so specific a sense as was the *Church*. A Christian Church, therefore, among all the organic forms of human society, stands alone and peculiar, as bearing the mark and impress of Divine construction, and the Divine commission for the accomplishment of a specific end, for which He formed and fitted it, and whose *body* it is, endowing it with "the fulness of Him, who filleth all in all." And it may be added, not only is this "Society of Jesus" the best adapted to accomplish the purpose of its Divine institution, and perfect the will of its Founder, but it is the only society which can effect this grand achievement. The simplest in structure, the sublimest in aim, the most effective in action, when kept pure from the world, and true to its purposes, it receives the blessing of God, and commands more abundant honors from men than it receives.

Every association formed for an earnest purpose is composed, ostensibly, of persons who, however much they differ in all other respects, possess certain qualities and capabilities in common which fit them to appreciate and further the special object contemplated in their organization. This seems essential. Without this unity of interest and endeavor, the association would be powerless, and each such member added would add weakness and not strength to the body. And in no human organization is this so manifest, or so momentous, as in a Christian Church. The object contemplated by it is important, well defined and peculiar ; and the persons composing it must be a peculiar people, fitted to that situation, or the endeavor will be abortive. Otherwise they will not harmonize with the fraternity, nor will they strive earnestly for the work of their high calling, nor be submissive to the requirements and limitations under which the saintly brotherhood exists and acts.

The character and efficiency of any Society will be what the average character and efficiency of its individual members may be. This is as true of a Christian church as of any other organization. The standard of membership determines that of the body. The corporate life and power of the church is the aggregate of the lives of its individual members. Any change in the former must be effected through the latter ; the relation between them being a constant quantity.

How to increase the *morale* of the body—how to keep it true to its lofty aim—how best to fit it for its high calling—to keep the distinction between it and the world broad and marked, and its elevation above the world real and conspicuous—become questions of very

grave moment. For on these very largely depend its fitness for fulfilling its mission as the visible and organic representative of the kingdom of Christ on earth.

Do not overlook the fact that the Church is not simply a *voluntary* society. It is more than *that*. For while no authority, civil or ecclesiastical, can compel persons to associate in church relations, yet persons with certain experiences, and bearing certain marks, are under special obligation to "Him whose they are, and whom they serve," to unite together in covenant, faith and practice, for purposes contemplated. Moreover, the attractions of the new life which they have come to possess, and the constraining love of their common Lord, shed abroad in their hearts—without which they are unfitted for this sacred fellowship—draw them around the common centre of the Cross.

Also, while no compulsion is to be used in bringing persons into the churches, and while no one is to be admitted without his knowledge, his free consent, and his expressed desire, yet membership in the Church of Christ is something other, and something more than a merely voluntary act. It is an act obligatory on all who "have passed from death unto life," being "translated out of darkness into the kingdom of God's dear Son," "by the washing of regeneration, and the renewing of the Holy Ghost." Those who have become united to Christ's mystical body, "through the faith of the operation of God," are under moral obligation to be united to His visible body, the Church, in mutual covenant.

And further: while the Church is a free and independent body, it is nevertheless under the laws and limitations imposed by Him whose body it is; it cannot therefore properly receive to its fellowship any whom Christ has not first washed, and sanctified, and sent to them, nor—in ordinary circumstances—reject any whom he has; any who bear His image and are conformed to His life. He alone is Lord, Sovereign and Guide in all this; and His indwelling life manifest, and His counsels followed, alone can give the Church vitality and efficiency.

Now, if it be asked how shall we secure and guard the purity and vitality of the Church, and keep it true to its sacred purpose, to itself and to its Divine Founder, the question must be answered mainly in *two respects*. *First*, by wise discretion and prudent care in the *reception* of members. *Second*, by wise and faithful *training* after their reception. With the first of these only is this paper to be concerned. And though this limitation compels a somewhat narrow range of discussion, it is nevertheless a most important one.

We come now to inquire if each Church has discretion in the re-

ception of persons to its fellowship? And to what extent that discretion may, and should be exercised? It has already been assumed that such discretion, within certain limits, does exist; that no persons, except such as bear certain marks, and possess certain experiences, can properly be admitted, and that such duly qualified persons cannot ordinarily and properly be refused. So much is understood to be according to the Constitution and By-Laws provided for the *Ecclesia* by its Lord and Lawgiver. And these it can neither abrogate nor amend. The discretion of the Church, therefore, in the matter of receiving members, consists in ascertaining whether they conform to the pattern; whether they possess the moral and spiritual qualifications required of the constituent elements in this spiritual building, which "groweth up an holy temple in the Lord."

This watchful guardianship as to the incoming membership of the body should be exercised, both for the sake of the body itself, and for the sake of each individual member, whose Christian reputation and spiritual welfare are identified with and involved in those of the common brotherhood. Moreover, the Church's power for good in the world depends not on its wealth, or culture, or position, or members,—to any great extent;—but on its conformity to the divine standard; a faultless creed, and a pure life. This fact contradicts the fallacy of the Greek Bishop, who replied to his accusers: "My creed is faultless; with my life you have nothing to do." It is the life which commends the creed, convinces gainsayers, and honors Christ.

It is the more important to emphasize this fact, because the most of church members are so indifferent to the quality of those who are added to their company; they know so little about it, feel so little responsibility concerning it, and really care so little for it. And worse still, there are not wanting pastors who apparently care far less for the quality than for the *quantity* of materials added under their ministry. In not a few cases, it is enough for one to say he believes in Christ, and desires baptism. No inquisition is made for faith, or evidences, or experience; and it is claimed, in bar of all criticism, that the primitive Church demanded no other qualification for baptism and Church fellowship than a confessed faith in Christ; and why should we? We should not, if that simple confession meant all *now* it did *then*, and was made under similar conditions. The individual's declaration needs to be certified by evidence.

The amazing greed for *numbers*, rather than for graces and good works, which characterizes many of the Churches, and still more of the ministers, is not an omen of good to our Christian life. That greed which brings into the Churches anything and everything that

will consent to be baptized, is the precursor of evil and not of good to the cause. It is very much in the hands of the pastor to guide, or misguide, the Church in this as in most other respects. If he presents a candidate before them, as one in his judgment suitable to be admitted, even though they gain no evidence of his spiritual fitness for their fellowship, no one wishes to interpose objections in the presence of the candidate and the Church, or to antagonize the pastor's wishes in the matter. Nor does any one desire to catechise the candidate for his own, and the satisfaction of others. It might lead to unprofitable discussion, and moreover the pastor might interpose. So the motion is put; a few hands go languidly up, no negative is ventured, and another is added to the covenant band, but without the knowledge, sympathy, or fellowship of a real brotherhood.

It is not necessarily a beneficial dispensation, when you read in the papers, that "the baptismal waters have been stirred,"—in the current phrase of the Evangelistic Chronicles,—"every Sunday for thirteen weeks." Also, when you read that in a given Church, not a communion season has passed since the settlement of the present pastor, now a year and a half, without accessions to the Church, you are not obliged to infer that the Church is, morally, or spiritually, any stronger than when that pastor began his work. They will report more members to the next Association; and that is something. But the questionable ambition of reporting large accessions, and making a conspicuous show in statistical tables, is shared equally by pastors and people. The Church whose total membership is tabulated with the highest figures is not of necessity the strongest, the most devoted, or the most useful. It will be deemed a satisfaction, perhaps an honor, to be the pastor of, or a member in that Church; but may it not be true, that many a less conspicuous body, and many a less favored pastor may be doing even more for all the purposes for which a Church exists, than they? Let the small churches be encouraged, and their pastors hope unto the end. Let every company prove a Spartan band, and they shall be the hope of Zion on the battle field, however humble, few, or feeble.

Lest this should seem like a digression, it is proper to say, the greed for numbers which we deplore threatens the integrity of the Churches. It is indeed a becoming ambition to desire their upbuilding, adding to them daily "such as are saved." But, if the quantity of the material for the enlargement be coveted at the expense of the quality, large additions will entail large misfortunes; they will add weakness, and not strength, discord rather than concord. That conservatism, which is but another name for spiritual apathy and dead-

ness, is to be deplored. But many a Church has been weaker after a season of technical "*refreshing*" than before. "A refreshing from the presence of the Lord," is something most earnestly to be prayed for, most joyfully to be welcomed, and most gratefully to be acknowledged. All of which points this moral: "Be careful in the reception of members to the Churches." Wise and masterly training afterwards may avert some of the evils of unwise accessions. Still there are occasions when it is as much an act of grace to keep persons out of the Church, as to get them in.

We have the plan, a wise builder will follow it strictly. "Other foundations can no man lay than that which is laid." And never was an admonition more weighty than this: "Let every man take heed how he buildeth thereupon." To build with wood, hay, stubble, is much easier than with "gold, silver, precious stones." That material is readily obtained; is found in abundance on every hand; the pile grows the faster, shows the larger, and attracts the popular notice more. But it does not stand the fire well; wood, hay and stubble do not. And, mark you, "the fire shall try every man's work, of what sort it is." "For the day shall be revealed by fire." Wood, hay and stubble do not endure the flames; they feed it. But gold, silver and precious stones, if not so large, or so conspicuous, endure that crucial test unharmed. It is best to build, not for to-day, simply, but for "*that day*;" and its trial by fire. Is it not an impressive, not to say an astounding suggestion, that in "*that day*" a man's *work* may be burned and perish, he suffers loss thereby while *he* himself shall be saved "yet so as by fire?" I propose no exegesis, but propound the searching inquiry, for builders, and master-builders, in the City of God. It would be sad if the work of a lifetime in the noblest of causes should go for nothing in *that day*." In the visible Church, where all are imperfect, and many very much so, the clearest spiritual insight may not, at times, be able to detect those peculiar defects which unfit persons for the common fellowship, where all are "United together for a habitation of God, through the Spirit." Therefore, should every stone added to the rising walls be added with great carefulness and great prayerfulness, that it be a "living stone," built on the living foundation; because it is "for a habitation of God, through the Spirit."

All the more should the *quality* of the *personnel* in the Church of Christ be insisted on, when we give consideration to the *purpose* for which churches were instituted and are maintained. Much more thought is given to the *polity* than to the *purpose* of churches. Their structure, government, officers, ordinances, are discussed with polemic fervor; but for what use were they created, and what end

was designed to be subserved by them? Are they answering that end? And, if so, to what extent? And if not, why not? Questions which may be propounded, but cannot be discussed in this place.

The Church is called the Body of Christ, the embodiment of the Truth, the Spirit and the Life of Christ, in the practical realities of every day experience with His people. The world does not see Christ except as they see Him in His churches. And they judge of Him as they see Him there. *They* are "epistles read and known of all men." But few worldly people read their Bibles; but all read Christians. *They* are open books, plainly written and in the vernacular; commented on not a little. They may be misinterpreted, but on the whole, are not judged so unfairly as might be expected by the outside world.

If the world comes to ask, is there a higher standard of morals within the churches than there is outside; is there more integrity, more honest and fair dealing, a higher sense of honor, more purity more charity and kindness—in a word, is there more Christly living and more Christly acting by the members than by others? What shall the answer be? True, the judgment of man is not to be the standard of Christian conduct; but it is required that Christ should be commended in His disciples, and not dishonored by them. The Church is not to come down to the low level of the world for the sake of enticing people into it; but is to maintain a lofty moral elevation above the world, to draw men to a higher life. The churches are expected to preach the Gospel to every creature, to spread the knowledge of Salvation throughout the world, and win men to Christ and to heaven. But, to bring the souls of men to heaven, they must exemplify the Christian virtues on earth. "Finally, brethren, whatsoever things are *true*, whatsoever things are *honest*, whatsoever things are *just*, whatsoever things are *pure*, whatsoever things are *lovely*, whatsoever things are of *good report*—if there be any virtue, if there be any praise, think on these things." These are the things to be considered and to be done. And this code of morals is to be incumbent on the disciples of Christ.

In a two-fold respect are these results to be anticipated and prepared for; and to these the builders and the master builders are to give considerate heed, viz. : by due care in receiving to membership only such as are fitted by peculiar qualities, and then, by proper training subsequently, to meet the stern requirements. But once admitted, however unfit, brings them within the pale of ecclesiastical recognition, and makes the church responsible for their reputation. There are some defects which subsequent training cannot

correct. All the more need, therefore, if the church is to be kept pure in faith and morals, if it is to be "the light of the world and the salt of the earth," for that gateway to be guarded and not made so wide that many shall go in thereat merely to gratify a greed for numbers.

Now, let me come to speak more specifically of those marks and that experience which distinguish those who are suited to membership in the churches. And first and chiefest, and what to an extent includes all others, is *regeneration*; a new birth and a new life. Born of the Spirit, born from above; passed from death into life; Christ formed within you; made alive from the dead. These, and other similar forms of speech, indicate that radical change in the soul which impresses itself upon the life, and makes the entire being a new creature in moral and spiritual instincts and activities, tastes, and aims, and hopes. Persons added to the church should be such as *are saved*; not such as are to be saved. Within the church is the place for those who are converted, not the place for converting them. The Divine idea of a church is not that of a religious club, composed of persons of marked moral virtue, with reverential spirits and devout inclinations; but rather a company of persons who have passed through a definite inward experience of the convicting and converting power of the Spirit of God, by which, from a death in sin, they have been made alive to God through Jesus Christ.

By some it has been supposed that "baptism by immersion" was the alpha and the omega of the Baptists' faith and practice. They have held *that* tenaciously, and rightly, because it is the plain teaching of the Scriptures. But that is not all, nor is it the most important dogma of their creed. If there be anything that stands pre-eminent in their theory of church life, it is that of a *regenerated church membership*. In this, I insist, genuine Baptists are peculiar. Other communions hold to the necessity of conversion either before or after entering the church. Baptists are loyal to the Word of God, and hold and defend religious liberty, and personal right of faith and conscience. All evangelical Christendom holds the same to-day, at least in theory. All admit the validity of immersion as baptism; and some others, equally with ourselves, defend its exclusiveness. Our entire Protestant Christianity unites with us, in profession at least, in claiming that the Bible, and the Bible only, is their religion.

But none of them, so far as I know, insist on evidence of regeneration as an accomplished fact, as *essential* to church membership. I have no desire to make invidious comparisons, especially to the

disadvantage of Christian brethren whom I greatly esteem and honor ; but I do not know of a church of any other denomination except our own, that would be likely to refuse membership to any person of respectable life, and of upright moral character, simply because he had not experienced that moral change which we call conversion. But our Churches, if true to their standards and their traditions—and that means true to the New Testament teaching—would not receive any man, however respectable, moral, wealthy, or influential, unless he had an *experience* to give, and could satisfy them that he was regenerate by the power of God. That some of the builders and master-builders, in their eager haste for growth and rapid increase, may and do overlook, or hold in abeyance, this divinely imposed condition of membership is, as has been stated, quite likely. In so much haste to build they may be, as to be willing to build with wood, hay and stubble. I have myself heard this, as the statement of a candidate before a church : “ I believe that I am a Christian, and wish to be baptized.” Simply that, and nothing more. And the pastor, apparently afraid to ask any questions, or allow any one else to do it, lest the answers might not be satisfactory, immediately put the question to vote, that delay might not endanger the reception. But however faulty at any time the pastors or the churches may be, the principle is universally recognized through our churches, that regenerate persons only are to be admitted to their fellowship. This demand complied with alone can keep them pure in faith and in practice, and maintain a marked and wide distinction between the Church and the world ; a distinction which in our day, in many cases, seems fast fading out of sight.

It could not have been a sarcasm, nor a pleasantry, but must have meant a deep and important spiritual truth, when Peter, citing Jehovah's characterization of ancient Israel, with a new application and a broader significance, said to the New Testament saints, “ But ye are a chosen generation, a royal priesthood, a holy nation, a peculiar people ; that ye should show forth the praises of Him who hath called you out of darkness into marvellous light.” The whole tone of Apostolic instruction, as well as the terms of epistolary correspondence, not only recognizes, but emphasizes this fact. The Church was not regarded as a secular, or semi-secular institution, nor its members as carnal and worldly persons. They were those “ called to be saints,” “ sanctified in Christ Jesus,” “ predestinated unto the adoption of children,” “ having redemption through the blood, the forgiveness of sins, according to the riches of His grace.”

The calamity of infant baptism, that “ relict and pillar of popery,” fortunately we have not, which necessarily brings into those bodies

which practice it a carnal element to impair their purity and neutralize their spiritual power. For though the relation of infants to the Church on being baptized is peculiar, and one which even its advocates are not able to define, yet subsequently they become members in full standing, on affirmation, or confirmation, without profession, or pretense of change of heart, thus impairing the purity of the body. The influence of those who advise "*seekers*" to enter the Church as being the likeliest place in which to find salvation, if not so wide-spread, is quite as baleful to the spiritual life of the body. The easy indifference to essential qualifications in the reception of members, in our own churches, sometimes witnessed, has already been spoken of as an evil to be guarded against. Privileges too easily won are likely to be undervalued. To be a member of a Christian church ought to be esteemed an honor and a blessing. It is not wise to cheapen it too much. It would be unfortunate policy as well as unauthorized practice.

The order of our churches has uniformly been, in the reception of members, to have the candidates appear before the church, as a body, and relate an *experience* of the work of the Spirit wrought in them; on which relation of experience—with such other evidence as they may obtain—the Church, gaining the assurance of their conversion, by vote, welcome them into their fellowship, and enter into covenant with them—*on their being baptized*. It is understood that the clearest human insight, and the most careful human judgment may, at times, be at fault, and fail to detect the actual facts; some who ought to be rejected may be received, and some who ought to be received may be rejected. Pastors, deacons and others should become familiar with candidates before they are presented to the church, so as to give the body the benefit of their opinions in the case. This long established custom of each one appearing personally before the church and speaking for himself ought to be rigorously maintained. To receive members simply on the testimony of pastors, deacons, or a prudential committee, is impolitic; and, though no specific Scripture doctrine may teach precisely that, it seems contrary to the genius of New Testament church order.

It would be absurd to subject a candidate to an examination in theology, like that of a divinity student before an ordaining council. But those who have an experience can say something about it, however broken and imperfect; and the very effort, as a confession of Christ before His people, will prove a benediction to the most timid disciple. Aside from the timidity and mental confusion likely to affect candidates in this exercise, the fact that most persons are not accustomed to analyze their mental and spiritual exercises and

translate them into language in the presence of others, will naturally make the church considerate of those who may, perhaps, blunder and say but little. But the evidence which is here essential does not lie in the amount or the excellence of speech; Christ in them will easily make Himself manifest to those who are spiritually minded.

But it may be asked, is a church really under obligation to receive to its fellowship all, without exception, who apply, and give evidence of true conversion, as may have been implied? Not necessarily. Persons applying may be known to possess such unfortunate individualities of mind and temper, or habits of life, as to promise trouble rather than help, should they be received. The church should exercise its honest judgment and its admitted independence of action. These infelicities of life and character may be looked for more frequently in those received by letter from other churches, and in those who unite by experience after long indulgence of a Christian hope. No church is obligated to receive a person from a sister church. Occasions do occur where the letter is better than the one who bears it. In the case of those recently converted, it is to be presumed that former traits of character and habits of life inimical to the Gospel, have been obliterated, certainly corrected and conquered, if he be truly a new creature in Christ Jesus. His past life should not bar him from Christian fellowship, if the present be right and true.

Candidates before our churches are not required to sign any creed as a condition of their reception, nor to give their formal pledge to submit to any formulated statement of order or discipline. But it is essential that, so far as they can understand our faith and practice, they should profess themselves in substantial agreement with it. Otherwise, they would do better to unite elsewhere. For, even on the supposition that they be right and the church wrong where they differ, to receive them would add an inharmonious element to the body. It is better to be agreed than to be numerous; and concord in the body is essential to both its peace and its prosperity. It is not, of course, to be presumed that in a church of three or four hundred members—or half that number—every one can be expected to see every question, either of doctrine or of practice, in the same light. But serious differences, if they are to be proclaimed and defended, would produce discord and schism in the body. The individual had better go elsewhere, however desirable in other respects as a member he might be. *Uniformity* cannot be enforced, but *conformity* should be expected. And it seems to me that no one should be received until the leading facts of church life, especially on denominational peculiarities, be explained to them, and

their assent obtained to the same. If a man be a Presbyterian, a Methodist, an Episcopalian, a Unitarian, a Universalist, he had better unite with that church. A Baptist church is not the best place for him, and would not be benefited by having him, nor would he be happy in it. It is not expected that a young Christian should know all that pertains to life and godliness ; but what he does know or hold should be in harmony with the spiritual home and household he seeks to enter.

The necessity for the precautions of which I have been speaking is usually granted, but, practically, very often neglected. On the *pastor*, more than on any other one, does this responsibility devolve. For what more than for this is he appointed an "overseer" of the flock? It is the natural and legitimate duty of the pastor, with the deacons as his assistants. In some churches the work of examining all persons requesting membership before they go before the church, is devolved on a special committee. In others, an application for membership is laid over for one month before it is acted on, to give opportunity for becoming better acquainted with the applicants. In others, the names of all candidates are announced in a public meeting at least one week before action is taken, and some member or members requested by the pastor to act as special committee, to ascertain the facts in the case, and report favorably or otherwise as to his reception. These precautions are more needful in cities and large towns than in villages and rural neighborhoods, where people are better known. Whatever means the church may adopt, they cannot be too careful.

The ideal church may not be realized with our best endeavors to make and keep it pure within and glorious without until the perfected body of our adorable Redeemer shall fulfill the vision of Patmos, and become the spotless Bride, the Lamb's wife. It was certainly towards this consummation the Apostle looked when he declared to the Ephesians that "Christ also loved the Church, and gave Himself for it ; that He might sanctify and cleanse it, with the washing of water by the Word, that He might present it to Himself a glorious Church, not having spot, or wrinkle, or any such thing ; but that it should be holy and without blemish."

The second paper was on

PURITY OF THE CHURCH : NURTURE AND DISCIPLINE,

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Paul said of the Church at Corinth : "Ye are God's building." This metaphor is suggestive. The variety of materials composing a great building is often immense. When we think of the faultless foundation that underlies the Church, it is almost amazing that the Holy Spirit should select, for this superstructure, such materials as compose it.

He might have chosen the sinless angels. And in His choice from among men there were the talented, the learned and noble to be preferred.

And yet that election at Corinth forecasts God's gracious purpose everywhere else. "You see your calling, brethren, how that not many wise men after the flesh, not many mighty, not many noble are called ; but God chose the foolish things of the world, that he might put to shame them that are wise ; and God chose the weak things of the world, that he might put to shame the things that are strong ; and the base things of the world, and the things that are despised, did God choose, yea, and things that are not, that he might bring to naught the things that are, that no flesh should glory before God."

After His fearless portrayal of the social life of the Corinthians, the Apostle adds, "Such men were some of you." This divine plan of church building is magnified by such miracles of grace as that which transformed a cursing Peter into the pentecostal preacher, and the persecuting Saul into the Apostle of the Gentiles.

Human skill must often reject materials because unable to use them. But the Holy Spirit has a place for all the materials of grace. Not unfrequently what is, apparently, the worst and most unpromising, becomes the best, and fills most important places in the Church of Christ. As the materials were so fitted for the Temple that the building rose "without sound of ax or hammer," so

" With noiseless slide of stone to stone
The Temple of our God hath grown."

God's building requires more than mere materials ; these must be "fitly framed together," and rest upon "the chief corner-stone," for only thus can a church grow "into a holy temple in the Lord," and

believers be "built together for a habitation of God through the Spirit."

Christ's Church is not a mass of disjointed, raw materials, covering the site where a temple should stand. It is not a company of persons independent of each other, but dependent each upon the other, drawing from Christ a common life, but getting their strength and efficiency largely from each other. Just "as we have many members in one body, and all members have not the same office, so we who are many, are one body in Christ, and severally members one of another."

God is the builder; we "are his workmanship created in Christ Jesus unto good works." The Church of Christ is, therefore, more than a refuge for the sinner, or an asylum for a feeble saint.

Again: "the Church is God's husbandry." His tilled farm, which produces harvests as it is cultivated, or goes to weeds as it is neglected. So the busiest and best tilled church is the purest. If a life be devoted to service, there is little left for idleness, and the discontent that idleness breeds. Where the crop flourishes the weeds die. If a church is busy nourishing and developing that life begotten by the Holy Spirit, it will be kept pure. Christ's Church is a school for learners, a vineyard for laborers, a home for his children. It is not a hospital for cripples or a market-place for idlers. Let it be remembered that while the Church is a school, it is Christ's School, and hence it does not teach everything; that while the Church is a vineyard, it is Christ's vineyard; everything is not to be raised in it; that while it is an army, it is Christ's army, and all kinds of warfare is not waged by it; that while it is a home, it is Christ's home for his children, and not a hotel for strangers. It is not of the world, but for the world's evangelization.

"Home" is a precious word—but when we remember that "He loveth the gates of Zion more than the dwellings of Jacob," "Church" should be a more precious word. To belong to the Church of Christ requires more than joining it, and being called by its name. Outward forms are of use as they symbolize the spiritual facts of doctrine and character. The members of Christ's Church are regenerated, living members. As "living stones" they "are built up a spiritual house, to be a holy priesthood, to offer up spiritual sacrifices acceptable to God through Jesus Christ." Souls thus begotten through the Word of God, redeemed by the blood of Christ, indwelt by the Holy Spirit, moulded into the Divine image built into a habitation for God, become the type of that kingdom above.

This is the dispensation of preparation; and the church presents a state of things similar, in some respects, to that on Moriah, when

the Temple was building. Much quarrying, chopping, hewing and polishing was necessary before the materials were fitted for their places.

So also much is required to fit the member's of Christ's Church for their places.

As at Corinth, so here in Richmond, and elsewhere, the foundation has been laid, which is "Christ Jesus." We are building the super-structure, and no doubt now, as then, there is being built upon that foundation "Gold, silver, costly stones, wood, hay, stubble."

To judge of the structure while it is being built may be to "mistake the scaffold for the pile."

While it is true that our Lord left only a society of believers, and not as church organization, yet it is also true that the work He left to be done requires an organized church. A church, too, that requires a training for its membership as well as a training of its members. Membership in this church is the outgrowth of a two-fold relation, viz. : that of the believer to Christ and of believers to each other. Christ dwells in the world as He dwells in His Church. The Spiritual growth of the church is therefore a necessity, since, as it thus grows, it enlarges Christ's place among men—to stand still is to delay His coming. The church is a training as well as a recruiting camp. Training is as important as recruiting. We should recruit for training. The church advances by growth rather than by conquest.

How to nourish this new life into a well-rounded, robust Christian manhood and womanhood is the question before every living aggressive church, and since every real convert possesses the elements and possibilities of sainthood, to develop these into what is possible is the aim of the nurture and discipline of a Christian Church.

The power of Christ's Church is measured by its spirituality. Wealth, culture, social advantages and the like, are valuable, as they develop that power, otherwise they hinder more than they help. These agencies supplement piety, they are not substitutes for it. Just here the purity of the church is exposed as it is nowhere else. The need of work is so manifest and urgent, the necessities of agencies is so apparent, that a church may, without intending it, substitute its work for personal consecration, and its agencies for a spiritual equipment. The form of worship may easily supplant the spirit of worship. This is not saying a spiritual church is independent of plans and methods of work; on the contrary, such a church is effective or otherwise as the means it employs are effective or otherwise.

Divine influences may be limited as the channels are narrowed

through which they flow. Multiplied agencies and improved methods of work imply multiplied blessings and increased spiritual results.

The nurture and discipline of a church should have supreme reference to the spiritual growth of its members. The mission of Christ's Church is specific. It is the world's evangelization. Hence the work and worship of the church must be steadily held to that end.

A vigorous, robust Christian life is not the result of artificial processes. Rules for Christian living are helpful in so far as they illustrate or apply the principles underlying the Christian life. As these are understood and lived out, rules become of less importance. As food and exercise are the requisites of a vigorous health, so instruction and active Christian service are requisites of a vigorous spirituality.

"The milk of the Word" for "babes in Christ," and "strong meat" for "men and women in Christ," is Christ's bill of fare for the members of His family.

For its two-fold work of saving the unsaved and developing the saved, our Lord has left ample direction for His church. In both these lines of work the supreme law of every worker is, "to please Him in all things." The need of this arises from the nature of the case, for Christian growth is conformity to Christ.

It may be said, then, that the nurture of Christians has regard to two things: the culture of religion in the life, and the diffusion of religion in the world.

The multiplication of societies, apart from and independent of the churches, is the result of tendencies that may well cause anxiety to those who are jealous for the church as the institution of the Christ.

If the church be Christ's it should be first and foremost in all evangelical work and Christian culture. Any society that assumes the work and duties of the church will hinder the cause it seeks to advance. The McAll Mission, *e. g.*, has reached its limit as a work apart from the church. It is now necessary, if it secures the magnificent results it has won, to organize its converts into churches. Christ has fully equipped His Church for His service. "He gave some to be apostles, and some prophets, and some evangelists, and some pastors and teachers; for the perfecting" (literally for the out-rigging) "of the Saints unto the work of ministering, unto the building up the Body of Christ, until we all attain unto the unity of the faith and the knowledge of the Son of God, unto full-grown men, unto the measure of the stature of the fullness of Christ."

It is easy to have so much church machinery that its care and management becomes a serious burden, and to multiply treasuries to an extent that their supply will require a remarkable development of the grace of giving. It is possible to have more irons in our church fire than we can attend to. No doubt these agencies develop the activity of our churches, but they may not always increase their spirituality.

Revivals have often filled churches with an uneducated and untrained membership, many of whom because their Christian training was neglected by the church, have, after a time, gone back. This fact, doubtless, has occasioned the feeling so unfavorable, in some quarters, to revivals. Conversion is not sanctification. To unite with a church is not the putting on of a developed Christian character. Graces are not reached at a bound. The resolution to live a Christian life is not a Christian life. Sainthood is not attained by one act of repentance, no matter how sincere. We become saints as we cease to be sinners, and as we grow in grace and in the knowledge of our Lord and Saviour.

The neglect of nourishing and training young converts is imposing upon many churches responsibilities as great as the decline, and possibly as serious as the apostacy of these neglected members. No discipline can atone for this neglect. It may be that churches have disciplined members for wrong living, when the erring one may have a better ground for calling the church to account for its neglect. We have a painful illustration of this neglect to train incoming members in the large number of undeveloped members that may be found in all our churches—a force which, if utilized, would double the strength of many a church. One of the evils that encourages this unfortunate state of things is the too general desire for numbers rather than for quality.

It is natural to rejoice over large accessions and to regard them as evidences of success. Again, the desire to have a large membership leads some churches to retain members who are practically useless, because there is nothing for them to do, when, if set off in new churches, or encouraged to unite with weaker ones, might be far more useful. As it is they are undeveloped. Any church is too large that has more members than it has work for.

As the demands of Missions, Education, Reforms, and local interests, are daily increasing in importance, and the need of a corresponding training of the churches is required to meet these growing demands. A Christian to-day cannot fill his place, simply as a member of a church, he should be a spiritual force in his community and denomination. Since "every man hath his proper gift, one

after this manner, and another after that," and since God has need of every such gift, the church should see to it that every member shall so "occupy" his gifts as that he may make the largest returns of usefulness.

A church can no more live for itself and its denomination, than a Christian can for himself and his family. The sphere of Christian activity is constantly enlarging, and the demands for consecration and service are becoming correspondingly urgent. Compare the sphere of woman's work in our churches to-day with that of twenty-five years ago, her training for Christian service is scarcely second in its importance to that of man. The need of instructing candidates for church membership, and the continuance of this instruction after they become members, becomes intensified when we think of the "slight of men and cunning craftiness" with which they "lie in wait to deceive." If Christians become anything more than spiritual jelly-fish, the meaning and purpose of the Gospel and the facts of Christianity must be built up into their lives and characters. A Christian must have something to stand upon, and to stand for. He must know "the certainty of those things wherein he has been instructed," if he "be ready always to give answer to every man that asketh a reason concerning the hope" that is in him. The Bible is read under the focused light of centuries to-day, and Christians need a training not only to think, but to think correctly. It is more difficult to march at the front now than formerly, but unless a church has concluded to die, its place is at the front, to follow is to go to the rear. The church must lead or follow.

"The heavens declare the glory of God" no more conspicuously than the variety of gifts gathered into churches proclaim the wisdom of the Holy Spirit. All classes are there, because the church is to evangelize all classes; all sorts of gifts are found there, because "the Lord hath need" of them. Jesus observed this Law of Selection in choosing his disciples. A church all rich, or all poor, or representing but one social grade, would be an undesirable church. Churches for the upper, middle, or lower classes, exclusively, may be religious societies, but they are not churches of Christ. The mission of the Church of Christ is to all men, *i. e.*, all kinds of men. Hence the need of all kinds of workmen. Jesus evangelized vertically, not laterally. He worked from bottom to top. We too often reverse His plan, and work from top to bottom. Our plans of church nurture must have regard to each member as God's agent for some special work in His kingdom. Along His lines our planning must proceed. The necessity of a more practical, thorough, personal study of God's Word need not be argued.

There is much studying of the Bible, such as it is. It may be the best we can have, at least there appears to be a pretty general satisfaction with the results obtained. But if it can be improved, it should be.

If the pulpit holds the first place, as it ought, in this work of instruction, it must instruct. If it does this work, as it has been appointed to do, then, if the children must be absent from either the church service or the Sabbath-school, let it be from the school. If, however, the child is instructed in God's Word in the Sunday-school better than from the pulpit, it is sheer nonsense to expect the young to prefer the church service to the Sabbath-school. The pulpit is possibly quite as much to blame for the yawning, unbridged chasm between the school and the church as the school is. Churches may talk and sing so much about what they ought to do for the unconverted, that they neglect the converted in their own church and households. They may be so anxious to get members in, as not to notice those who are slipping out. There has recently appeared in some religious papers a strange parading of the fact that certain churches were attending to the excluding of members rather than to receiving them. Such a condition of things results either from a neglect in receiving members, or in the training of them.

If churches did their duty in these two particulars, exclusions would be of rare occurrence. Next to the Christian home, the infant class should be the training school for fitting our children for membership in our churches. The way from the infant class to the larger school should be through the baptistery.

It may gratify a feeling of pride to have the largest and most popular Sunday-school in town, but the kind of instruction given in the Sunday-school is far more important to the church and community. The confirmation class in liturgical churches and the class-meeting in Methodist churches are admirable means for instructing for church membership, and for training church members. The covenant meeting of our churches in the North and West supply, in part, the benefits of the class-meeting. As the pastor's training class in other churches does that of the confirmation class. But these agencies are not common. How far an uninstructed child is eligible to membership may not be a question with some churches, but it ought to be a serious one with all. Far better for the church and also for the child, that it be placed in a training-class under the pastor's eye until prepared for membership, before being hurried into the church. I see no objection to making this training a part of the Sunday-school work. No doubt many of the youth who drift out of the Sunday-school would not do so if some definite aim

was placed before them as the end of the Sunday-school teaching. If this aim from the beginning was to fit them for church membership, then, when this was secured, the youth would remain in the school for training as a Christian, or to train others.

Another and most important kind of training for the young convert, which the Sunday-school does not or cannot give, is the teaching of converts to publicly testify for Christ, and to pray. The youngest convert and the oldest saint are alike witnesses for the Christ. Next to having convictions of the truth and a personal experience of its power, it is important to be able to bear witness to this experience. It is not enough to have a Christian experience, it should be witnessed to for the honor of Christ and the good of others. Our neglect just here is filling the churches with silent and dumb members.

We can no more testify for such members than we can repent or believe for them. We may do much for them, but the best thing we can do for them is to train them to do for themselves. They must be trained if they become workers together with Christ. Neglect here makes many burdens to the church when they might have been made a blessing.

The place of the prayer-meeting in the nurture and discipline of a church is invaluable. But what is a prayer-meeting? The drill-room of the church, for old and young alike. A lecture is not a prayer-meeting. A meeting monopolized by two or three brethren and the pastor is not a prayer-meeting. It is not a meeting for the few talented brethren, but for all the church. So long as that so-called "prayer-meeting fetich-edification" is made the intention of the meeting, instead of training, brethren who can "edify," or who think they can, will "occupy the time," and they should do so. But the young people will drop out of that meeting in which they have no part.

Important as such instruction may be, the training of young converts is far more important.

Our preaching services on the Sabbath, the Sunday-school Bible classes, the missionary meetings, &c., are all for "edification." The prayer-meeting should be the Christian's training school; a spiritual exchange for the members. Its benefits are for those who take part rather than for those who listen. Make it a spiritual gymnasium, especially for those who need such help. Let it be as open to the child as to the aged saint, and let the object be to give rather than to get.

The kind of prayer meeting for a revival time is the best kind for all the time. Given such a meeting the year round, and we shall

have a year-round revival. No member should be silent in this meeting, and hence it should be leveled to the capacities of the youngest and weakest of the church flock.

Its atmosphere ought to be such that any member could participate without embarrassment. It may be difficult to make a prayer-meeting what it ought to be, but there are many difficult things to be done in the service of Christ, for which he holds us accountable.

We want more heartfelt, downright spiritual training in our churches, and we must have it, if we maintain a New Testament standard of discipline. The prayer-meeting is the place for this kind of training. Again: We need prayer-meetings for converts in which to prepare them for the church prayer-meeting. This meeting should be the pastor's as much as any other, for he is to "feed the lambs" as well as the "sheep." The same attention and sympathetic interest shown to those we seek to bring into the church, should be continued towards them after they are in. Too frequently we act as if our work was done when they are baptized and welcomed to the Christian fellowship—thus making the beginning of our responsibility for them the end. After birth the work of nourishing begins; after the planting care-taking begins. After joining the church comes the nurture and discipline of the church. The babe in Christ is to be developed into a man in Christ. With the pulpit brought into closer harmony with the simple methods of Christ's teaching, with the Sunday-school better adjusted to those needs of the young Christian's life it ought to meet, with better means for preparing the un-instructed for Christian membership, and with the prayer-meeting made the home meeting of the church, where old and young are trained to pray, and witness for Christ, our churches will have the necessary agencies for their nurture and discipline, and they will be kept pure by the activity thus awakened in Christ's service, as running water is kept pure by constant movement.

The appointed speaker on this subject was the REV. W. W. BOYD, D. D., Pastor of the First Baptist Church, Newark, N. J., who addressed the Congress as follows:

I find myself much embarrassed, for two reasons: It is a physiological fact that the brain and the stomach cannot well work together at the same time, and I have been surcharged by the over-abundant hospitality of our Richmond brethren, so that my brain has fallen into a state of innocuous desuetude, and I have not been able to gather really the force of the papers we have listened to. The other reason is, that this being my first visit at the Baptist Con-

gress, I supposed I had been appointed, not to present any formal or elaborate paper, but to listen carefully to the papers on this subject which were to be read, in the fear lest these brethren noted for their erratic and radical views (laughter), should depart in some respect from the tenets of the denomination (laughter), and that I was here to correct any latent heresy that might be in their papers.

Now, sir, I find these papers commending themselves to my judgment in almost every part, and my occupation is gone. And yet, as these papers have dealt more with the ideal nature of the church, a few practical suggestions in regard to the terms of admission, the nurture and the discipline of members, may not be out of place. What we have to deal with is a real church, and not the ideal. The ideal church will not be until the whole body of the elect is gathered out of every kindred, and people, and nation under the whole heaven, and presented unblameable and without spot or blemish by Him who loved them and gave Himself for them.

The church of to-day is not a museum for the exhibition of perfect Christians. If it were, we would not belong to it, or anybody else. It has its human limitations, its finiteness, its imperfections in a very true sense. It is a nursery in a very true sense, it is a hospital, an asylum for the care and nurture of the poor, the blind, the lame, the halt, the sick. This is the real church. Now, I know a great deal is said about the impurity of the church, because men bring the ideal into contrast with the real, and find a vast contrast. But, my dear friends, everything has been going to the dogs ever since I can remember. If a man were to go through the country or the church with his eyes shut and his ears open, he would think everything was now going to destruction, but if he should only reverse that process, and go with his eyes open and his ears shut, how delightful everything would be. The world is growing better. The grand forces of Christianity originating in the eternal decree and counsel of Almighty God, prophesied of in the Scripture, and realized in the person of the Incarnate Christ, will conquer, and they are conquering. Though there are eddies, and currents, and counter-streams, the great tendencies of moral progress in all the ages—and never more than in this 19th century, are toward God and right and truth. And the church is not behind. The church is the embodiment of these forces so far as they exist in the world.

But the real church you and I confront as pastors, the local church, the individual church, what are its terms of admission? Simple faith in Jesus Christ, for everywhere in the New Testament faith in Christ, that is to say, the hearty acceptance of the teachings, media-

tion and guidance of Jesus Christ—that is the condition, and the sole condition of church membership.

This faith in Christ, which is the result of regeneration ; which is the work of the Holy Spirit in the human heart, and which begets sincere love to God and Jesus Christ, results in two things, the self-surrender of the person to Christ, and the imitation of Jesus Christ in the life. Wherever these two marks are found, we may say that person is prepared for church membership.

But how are we to discover these marks, how recognize these qualities ? First, by the relation of what we term Christian experience. We, who have passed through this experience of faith and love, are to know the language of Canaan, to catch the heavenly accent. And yet, dear brethren, how true it is in all our ministry, that those who have been most fluent in relating Christian experience have been most remiss in life. While some poor trembling soul who could hardly say, "I believe in Jesus," has been the growing Christian in our church. And yet, fallible as this method is, it seems to be the only method we can adopt.

But, between the confession of faith in Jesus Christ, and the act of baptism which unites the person with the church, we ought to have a sufficient period to determine the faith by its fruit. I do not mean by this that people should be kept too long waiting at the door of the church for admission. I believe there is danger in delay sometimes, and especially in the case of children. I had rather baptize children into the church of which I am pastor, than adults. I have had frequently to administer discipline to those received in mature life, but never yet to one received out of proper Christian training as a child. What I mean, then, is simply this, that we ought not to delay too long, but long enough to satisfy ourselves that this person is truly a regenerate soul, having the true mark of faith in Jesus Christ.

And yet, after all, mistakes will be made. For the supreme test of a perfect Christian character is not that which can be uttered by the lips, or lived in an isolated life, but it is how this Christian life and Christian character fits into the brotherhood. You know in a modern watch factory, seventy or eighty parts of the watch are made in as many different parts of the great building, and it is said that defects which no skill could detect when the parts are examined one by one become very apparent when those parts are brought together, and set up in the watch. The supreme test of perfect workmanship in each and every part is the accurate performance of the watch as a whole. And so it seems to me the supreme test of

our Christian faith is whether we fit lovingly and well into the brotherhood.

Now, in regard to the question of nurture, I believe that applicants for church membership should be instructed concerning the nature of the Christian church. Every word that Dr. Hiscox uttered in regard to the nature of the church, I would have indelibly engraven in the heart of every person offering himself for church membership. The Church of Jesus Christ, the local church, is the noblest body in the universe. And I would have also impressed upon the mind this thought, that this relation of the church is an exclusive relation, that it supersedes all others. There are so many friends who think they owe no more to the organization called the church than to a lodge of Freemasons, or Knights of Honor, or an Odd Fellows' lodge, or some other organization. They regard their obligations to the church purely on the voluntary basis; whereas, the very fact of their conversion to God, if they are converted, binds them in indissoluble bonds to Jesus Christ, and therefore to His body, which is the church. And a person ought to be willing to surrender all other ties, and all other affections, and all other interests, when they come into collision with the interests of the Church of Jesus Christ. It is an exclusive relation. And I would make that point strong as the basis of all culture.

As regards the methods, first, of course, comes the sermon; and yet it amounts to nothing if not full of points, points to hang your hat on, not a mere theological essay. A mere discussion of abstract truth amounts to nothing in the nurture of the members of the church. I do not say such sermons ought not to be preached, but I do say no pastor ought ever to attempt in his own pulpit to preach a great sermon. He ought to feel there should be a local flavor in every utterance of his lips, a definite aim in the utterance of the truth, an aim which has been born of pastoral visiting, and of earnest desire for some individual soul.

Then comes the prayer-meeting, the worst place in all the world if it is a poor place; the best in all the world if God is there. The prayer-meeting for the nurture of the membership of the church, how shall it be carried on? Keep it out of the ruts. Sit down on the cranks. Send out postal cards to your brethren, young and old, suggesting a thought, an illustration, a chapter in a book, anything that shall enliven and beautify that service. And, above all, don't kill it yourself with a long exposition of Scripture at the beginning.

Then, again, the covenant-meeting for the nurture of the members of the church. Lay a sense of obligation on each member of

the church to be present at the monthly meeting preparatory to the communion. In the reception of members when they assent to the covenant of the church, let them understand they are expected to take part in that service every month, either by a passage of Scriptures, a word of remark, or some selection of a hymn; that every one in that meeting is to report to the body of the church his spiritual condition in some such way.

Again: The pastor's evening. Monday evening is a very good evening. After impressions have been made on the Sabbath, say from the pulpit that any member of the church wishing to see the pastor, or any member of the congregation wanting to see him, but especially members of the church, will find him at his home alone, and can come and talk with him if anything troubles them. Make it an inquiry meeting for the church, and hold to that service year in and year out.

Then there are children's services. I believe in taking the children and holding a service with them. I would take this opportunity, by a simple catechism of my own writing, to instil, one by one, the special doctrines of our Christian system, and our distinctive doctrines as Baptists. And with these I would have an interesting story, something with a moral to it, something I thought they needed. I would encourage them to pray. And oh, the simplicity of their prayers, as a little fellow said the other afternoon, "Oh, God, help me not to get mad when I play tip-cart with Jimmy." A real honest prayer, like a breath from heaven, full of innocence, and without any cant. And I would follow this course up year by year till those children grew up to be 16, 17, or 18 years old. If you will allow me simply to allude to one thing, that was my course in St. Louis. I could go into my prayer service in that church and say, how many are here to-night who found the Saviour and united with the church nine years ago? Some would respond. How many eight years ago? More. How many five years ago? A still larger number. And at any meeting a request for testimonies for Christ would be responded to by 70 or 80 of those children and young people who had grown up into this form of testimony through the moulding of that children's service. And therefore, during the year and a half they were without a pastor, until the settlement of Dr. Ford, that service kept that church straight to the mark; kept a spiritual interest in that church, so that there have been conversions, I am told, right along all through this interval, and when Dr. Ford came, there were those waiting for Baptism.

Then, again, I would make Sunday-school teachers assistant pastors. Whenever anybody was converted from a class in the Sunday-

school, say to the teacher, now I put this soul under your care specially ; if you need any help tell me, but you must take care of this soul ; you must be a pastor to this soul ; watch over it, see that this one comes to Communion, and does not absent himself at all from the services of the church. And right here I would adopt the plan and principle of the Young People's Society of Christian Endeavor, for the young membership of the church. Both in St. Louis and in Newark this plan has worked admirably. It is not an organization independent of the church. Its unique feature is that every member of it is pledged to be present, if possible, at the weekly service, and take some part, however simple, in the service. And on the last evening of each month I am present as the pastor of the church, to conduct the consecration meeting, at which the roll of active members is called, and each one responds in some form, to let me know how they have been getting on in their Christian life during the month. And, in addition to this plan, I would suggest a Palestine class, taking your young people over Palestine, for the first three months teaching them the topography and history of the land ; then make them residents in all the chief places, so that they may correspond with each other by letter, and, not the least part of that service, fix the New Testament history and events with the land.

Then, I would have occasionally a Bible-class or Bible-study, specially for the more intelligent part of the young people of the church, somewhat after the plan of Prof. Harper, but not as critical in its details.

Then, I would have at every communion, communion cards, so that the clerk of the church should know and record the name of every person present at the communion, and those who are absent for more than three communions would afford me an excellent excuse for a pastoral visit.

I would also utilize the deacons of the church by dividing its membership into regular sections, over each of which should be a deacon of the church, and they should serve the tables.

In these various divisions I would also have at times the use of committees for any special thing that might arise in the church. I would use the godly women of my church. I learnt that lesson at the first church of which I was pastor. There were only two male members, both deacons, one crazy, and it would have been charitable to suppose the other was also. But for the women that church would have gone to destruction.

Now, I would keep changing these methods, using every possible means to nurture the membership of the church into a true life.

A word about discipline and I am done. In discipline, keep in

mind that the first object in discipline is not to exclude but to restore. The true law of discipline is laid down in the 18th chapter of Matthew, and will apply to every case that arises. Never attempt to discipline when the church is in a low state of religious interest. The devil often comes in the door through which you have ejected a member.

Remember to have lenient judgments, also, of those who have preceded you in your pastoral work, as former pastors of the church. And above all, realize that the purity and power of a church consists not at all in any of the methods that I have suggested, but only in the personal presence of the Holy Spirit. Here is a pan of shot; try to unite them; it is an impossible undertaking; each is a separate unit. There can be no unity. Put them over the fire, and every little shot runs into the other, and the molten mass becomes a unity. Let the church of the living God in its membership be under the influences of the Holy Ghost, let the fire of the Holy Ghost come, and sameness of life will produce unity. Nothing else will; no creed, no assent to dogma, no ecclesiastical routine, nothing can give unity but God, and God manifested in His Spirit in the heart.

At the close of DR. BOYD'S address, the hymn "Oh, to Grace, how great a debtor," was sung by the audience.

REV. J. F. ELDER, D. D., of New York, said:

It is customary in closing the exercises of the Congress for the Chairman of the Executive Committee to say a few words of summing up. If you knew Henry M. Sanders as some of us know him, you would share the regret I personally feel, that we do not have to-day his commanding presence, his brilliant rhetoric, and his intellectual force brought to this duty, which devolves upon me as temporary chairman.

I come to you in the name of the Executive Committee, submitting to you the work which we have done for the past year, and which is now concluded. We have brought you, as it were, the five loaves and the two fishes, and have given them into the hands of these various brethren, who have broken and distributed them, and doubtless you will go away, many of you, with large baskets full of the fragments you have gathered up.

Some possibly have wondered what is the real scope and meaning of this Baptist Congress. Beecher used to say that Thanksgiving was like a old fashioned Dutch oven built outside of the house—a

day on which preachers could air their politics when they could not take them into the pulpit. And this Baptist Congress is a sort of *extra* church, a place where the brethren, pastors and laymen, can come and speak freely of those things which may have been interesting their own minds, even though their notions are a little shady and doubtful, possibly, in the estimation of some other people. Of course, as only members of Baptist Churches are permitted to take part, you may be quite sure you have a body which is orthodox. But it is a great comfort for brethren sometimes to free their minds. Possibly some have thought that we were going to make war on some favorite doctrine or political dogma; that we had set brethren to whetting their sword, and drawing their bow for deadly aim at precious truth; as the wicked Haman had secured a decree that all the Jews should be killed. But as, in the days of Mordecai, when it was found that the law of the Medes and Persians would not suffer the repeal of the cruel edict, another decree was issued permitting the Jews to stand on their defence; so, while we let the brethren take deadly aim, if they like, at those things which make for the peace of Zion, we give other brethren full liberty and encouragement to hold the fort. And so it amounts, practically, to that little game which Abner and Joab had, when twelve men started out from either band and caught each other by the head, drove their swords into one another's side, and fell down in one bloody Helkath-Hazzurim. We have had a good natured battle, and shall all go home feeling better for what we have heard, and what has been done. It has been a great mental stimulus to me, and no doubt to many others.

It is a great safety-valve to the denomination, and especially to certain brethren. Sometimes brethren get the notion into their heads that they stand right in the centre of things, that their idea is the very core of truth. But a man comes here and finds that possibly there is a better place to stand, where he can get a bigger horizon. His eyes are opened and his ideas are broadened. If he has something a little off color in the matter of orthodoxy, it does him good to get up here and tell it out, and let somebody cuff him on the right side and the left. He will find out there are two sides to a question, and often many sides, and he will go home a wiser, and possibly a sadder man.

The discussions have been well maintained, and eminently courteous. Some of the brethren wondered how their cards were sent to the Moderator without their knowledge. I would suggest in explanation of the marvel that we have here a partially developed case of Jekyll and Hyde. Perhaps Dr. Johns—I should say Dr. Jekyll

—was nodding a little over some of the more abstruse papers, and while he was unconscious, the villain Hyde came to the front and sent up his card; and when Jekyl came to, he had to answer for it. We are constantly playing this double personality. Some plausible agent sits down before us, and the good natured Hyde in us listens and pities, and promises, and when Jekyl is himself again, he has to make good, with many self-reproaches it may be, the promises of his soft-hearted double.

It seems to me the keynote of this whole matter was struck in the very genial response which Dr. Wilkinson made at the opening of this Congress, to the words of welcome spoken by Dr. Landrum. He used a singularly felicitous expression when he said this Congress was for the exercise of hospitality towards ideas. Of course we can carry this a little too far. It is as true of some ideas as of some people, that we are not to receive them into our house, neither bid them God-speed. But there will be small risk here in hurling a few startling notions into the community. I understand this one of the most orthodox cities on the face of the earth. Perhaps it will do good to explode a few heretical bombs in the midst of the camp. Sometimes it wakes people up tremendously and set them thinking, and to strengthening the old defences. I think there is something in the application of this Scripture to ideas as well as to persons: "Be not forgetful to entertain strangers, for thereby some have entertained angels unawares." Some of the most familiar ideas that we gather to our bosoms to-day, the idea of liberty of conscience for instance, were strangers to us once, and it was only after a while that we found out they were from heaven. And any idea that comes out of soul-labor, any child of a brain that is bursting with the agony of travail, has some features that favor the Divine.

We can afford to look in the face of any notion that is submitted to us, that has been born out of genuine struggle of soul, and may find therein some feature that we recognize as coming from God. And I think it is a good thing to meet here, and bring the children of our brains with us—to have a baby show of ideas. Let us see who can bring the fairest thought of a heart that is beating in sympathy with God. I trust we shall all go home broader men, more consecrated to our work, more loyal to the truth of God, for what we have done and heard and seen here in this goodly city of Richmond.

MR. HADDON WATKINS sang, "Some sweet day, by-and-by."

The Secretary then read the minute of the General Committee, expressing their thanks to the presiding officers of the Congress, the Richmond Committee, the Grace Street Baptist Church and the Richmond College, and to the brethren who had opened their houses to visitors from a distance.

The REV. GEO. COOPER, D. D., Chairman of the Richmond Local Committee, said :

I desire just a word as Chairman of the Committee of Arrangements. Let me say it has been a very great pleasure to us to meet any duty which has come to us in consequence of your being in our midst. Your coming was a new thing to our people. We hardly knew what to make of some of the topics which were announced as topics of discussion. What in the world we could learn from some of them we nervously surmised. We feared not, however. We did not anticipate any bombs or dynamite. We were not in terror either of being blown to pieces by explosives that might be thrown into our midst.

We have greatly enjoyed your being with us. The large audiences which have gathered night and day have shown, I think, the interest which our people have had in your coming. And I am sure, brethren, that the clearness and ability and the discrimination with which the papers have been read and the discussion conducted, have greatly interested our people. We shall always feel that we have learned something, that we have been profited as well as delighted by your coming to us. Of course, it is not possible for us, I suppose, to say that it will be a great pleasure to have you come again, because we know the Congress does not legitimately belong to one place. But I can only say this, and speak the hearts of my brethren in the ministry, and my brethren in the churches, when I say, should it ever be your pleasure or desire at all to come within our borders again, our doors are open, the latch string is out, and all you have to do is to pull it.

This is an age of discussion. Every truth that claims the allegiance of our people must be first thrown into the mill of discussion. Hence, it is an age peculiarly timely and favorable for Baptists, held together as we are by nothing but the truth, owing allegiance to none but to Him who is the Truth Himself. Baptists have nothing to fear from an open discussion of all truth. We have rejoiced in this. We have been glad to hear what has been said. Some of the things are somewhat new to us, if I may speak for

Southern people. We have hardly known what to make of some of them, but we are coming to think about these things, and we doubt not, when incorporated into our lives and hearts, will be fruitful in good works in the service of our Master.

It has been very agreeable to be, as Chairman of the Committee of Arrangements, your host. We have been delighted in entertaining you as we have in our homes. We reciprocate the great desire of your hearts for the abiding power of the Holy Spirit of God amongst us, so beautifully presented in that illustration of Dr. Boyd's, and our hearts were touched by it.

Brethren, pray for us, that in our city and throughout our State and land the God of grace may give to us abundantly and without measure His Holy Spirit, the true bond of our churches. And now, brethren, as you depart and as we shake hands, may peace abide with you.

May God bless you brethren. And may the Spirit of His grace bind us closer and closer together as one people, North and South, making us as a people in this land invincible in the armour that Christ has given to us.

REV. WM. E. HATCHER, D. D., pastor of the Grace Street Church, where the meetings were held, said :

I don't want Dr. Cooper to pronounce the benediction before I get in a word (laughter). First, I have never seen a man read out so often and evidently with so much gusto and delight the arrangements whereby people can get away from town (laughter). I think a way-faring man though a fool, need not make a mistake. I hope he will. But I wish to call attention to a matter in Baptist orthodoxy, which I hope visiting brethren will consider. It is a matter down here of contract, when people go to a place and enjoy the hospitalities of the people, as you say you have by your resolution, that you pay for them. And we expect to take up collection before you leave. And therefore, all these notices about the trains are entirely out of order, so far as most of you are concerned (laughter). It is clearly understood down here in this Southland—I have been here a long time, one of the first things I did was to be down here (laughter)—the understanding is, that when preachers go to a convention and partake of the hospitalities of the community, that they pay for it by staying over Sunday and preaching (applause). And therefore I stand here as the organ of the Richmond Baptists, and say we do expect of you, you first-class men, as we take it for granted all of you are,—and as many of you have

proved you are by your noble addresses and essays,—we expect enough of you to stay here on Sunday to supply our pulpits. The preachers always preach the very best sermons here in Richmond, and have to have full time to prepare them. But as you have interrupted us all this week, we will not be prepared for Sunday, and therefore expect you will attend to this duty for us. That is one thing.

Another thing : I have felt a little offended. My sectional feelings have been hurt during this meeting (laughter). There was a brother got up here from Boston, and said something that hurt me sorely. And then Dr. Elder has trampled upon my sensitive feelings. It is true, I laid them around as soon as you got here. I determined to have them hurt if anybody would do it, and two or three of you have. Brother Horr said he supposed it was a Boston notion about Christian Science, and that Richmond people did not know anything about it. I wish to state that this morning, right here in this conservative old town, right here in this blessed old church—she's not very good-looking—I think there were representatives of that amazing science. The very doctor that prescribed for that brother with the liver was here, and the man with the liver was here (laughter). I wouldn't have you think we don't know anything down here. I believe both these doctors came from Boston, or somewhere about there.

A word in regard to the discussion. I confess there was a little confusion now and then, I was a little doubtful at one time as to whether that man Johnson was a saloon keeper or not (laughter). I could not tell. And when that man, from New York, got up I had to whisper to a man and ask if he was a Mohammedan or a Christian. (Laughter.) I could not find out from his remarks, but I found he was a member of a Baptist Church, and was delighted to find it so. But what I wanted to say to you, brethren, is that the most inspiring and uplifting thing to me, connected with this meeting, was to see the freedom of Baptist principles. How they do grow, how they do stir up individual thought, how they do quicken us, how they do put us to thinking, and yet they restrain our passions and speech in a way (laughter) that makes it perfectly safe to have a meeting like this. I am inclined to think this is the best meeting we ever had. (laughter.) Dr. Cooper intimated you would never get here again this side of the judgment day. (laughter.) I am not much of a premillenarian, but I hope you will. I think probably there will be a good deal of time yet (laughter), but whether much or little, I hope you will come again.

I have heard a good many opinions expressed that were wrong, at least I didn't agree with them. (laughter.) But I have learned

to love a man a little better who differs with me about some things. I knew a man once who wanted his wife to be very godly and useful, but who said that he did not want all the spice and the devil taken out of her, for fear she would be dull. (laughter.) I feel somewhat like that; we need to have in us just the snap and freshness that will enable us to look at questions, living, moving, changing questions, and have our own shades of opinions in regard to them. I think this has been a wonderful shake up, a real revival. It has stirred me up wonderfully. I had the honor not long ago of attending a meeting of the Evangelical Alliance, and I could hardly get my breath for bishops, and presidents of colleges, and other things they had (laughter), but I do not hesitate to say that in point of intellectual vigor and force—although they picked out the very flower of our continent for the Evangelical Alliance, and the addresses were addresses of great ability,—I do not hesitate to express it is my conviction that the standard of discussion in this meeting has been fully equal to that. And I do rejoice that we have so many intellectual giants among us, and that our brethren from the North came down. We have giants down here, too; scores of them. (laughter.) But our brethren felt it was part of hospitality to hear those of you who have come, and you have entertained us most richly and most magnificently.

Just one more thing: I got caught up in Glasgow two or three weeks ago, and was carried to a Baptist meeting, I had been airing my obscurity for three or four months, and went in among those Scotch, the most solemn, dreadful looking people I ever saw in my life. By the way, Dr. Cooper is a Scotchman. (laughter.) This is an afterthought, however. (renewed laughter.) They called on me to make a speech, and I did the very best I could. I brought out one of my old sermons which had been resting for four or five months,—it was among the best I had—(laughter) and turned it loose upon them, and I greased it, and drove it with unusual energy and vigor, and the folks looked at me, and there was such stillness in the air that I was left in doubt as to where I stood in the public mind. And so, toward the close of the services, I arose and said: "Brethren, I've been wandering around here for about three months and never had anybody to shake hands with me since crossing the sea. One most important feature of Baptist religion in our country is to shake hands. I never go to an Association meeting, or Revival meeting, without shaking hands. My hand is suffering for somebody to shake it. I'm going to get on the sea to-morrow night, and I don't know whether I shall ever get off; I may get *in* (laughter) and I would like to shake hands with somebody. If there is any-

body that feels like shaking hands, and think they could shake hands on the strength of that sermon you have heard to-night"—I tell you I trembled when I got along there. And I said "if you could put out your feelings, and make a little demonstration I would be glad to see you at the close of the service." I decline to say what was the result. (renewed laughter and applause.) I fear it would not do me justice. (laughter.) I don't think I would feel right at all if we broke up this meeting and let you, who have done us the honor and kindness to come so far, go without a good old Virginia handshake, a loving, brotherly greeting, an old time Baptist grasp and grip. I don't know whether you know how to shake hands. I feel a little like I did during the Glasgow speech. I feel your coming here has been a blessing to us, and would desire with the grasp of my hand and the look of my loving eye, to say we bless you for coming. We pray God will bless you in your going, and as long as we live we are going to remember you and pray for you.

If the President will allow me, I'm going to propose the organ will strike up "The Sweet By and Bye," a sort of mother, if I may so express it, of the lovely solo we had just now, and we will exchange the hand shake before we break up.

The organ immediately began to play, and in a few moments the large audience were shaking hands in true Virginia style. Thus pleasantly terminated the Seventh Annual meeting of the Baptist Congress.

In the evening the members and friends of the Congress were entertained at a reception and banquet in Belvedere Hall, tendered by the Baptist Social Union of Richmond.

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APPENDIX.

LIST OF BAPTIST CONGRESSES.

DATE.	PLACE.	PRESIDENT.
1882.	BROOKLYN, - - - -	REV. GEORGE D. BOARDMAN, D. D.
1883.	BOSTON, - - - -	REV. ALVAH HOVEY, D. D.
1884.	PHILADELPHIA, - - - -	REV. HENRY G. WESTON, D. D.
1885.	NEW YORK, - - - -	REV. THOMAS ARMITAGE, D. D.
1886.	BALTIMORE, - - - -	REV. WILLIAM E. HATCHER, D. D.
1887.	INDIANAPOLIS, - - - -	HON. WILLIAM S. HOLMAN, JR.
1888.	RICHMOND, - - - -	HON. J. L. M. CURRY, LL. D.

Appointment for 1889, TORONTO.

ANNUAL PROGRAMMES,

GIVING PARTICIPANTS, SUBJECTS, PLACES AND YEARS OF
SESSIONS OF BAPTIST CONGRESS.

- ANDERSON, GALUSHA, D.D., LL. D. Religious Instruction in State Education, Baltimore, 1886.
- ANDREWS, Prof. E. B., D.D. The Greek Philosophy in Education, Philadelphia, 1884.
- ANDREWS, Hon. G. H. The Taxation of Church Property, Brooklyn, 1882.
- BACON, Hon. Alex. S. A National Divorce Law, Richmond, 1888.
- BALDWIN, Rev. C. J. Church Architecture, Boston, 1883.
- BAPTIST CHURCHES, Liturgy in, Edward Braislin, D.D., New York, 1885.
- BAPTIST CONGRESS, Historical Sketch of, A. G. Lawson, D.D., Boston, 1883.
- BARBOUR, Rev. T. S. The Meditative Element in Christian Life, Brooklyn, 1882.
- BIBLE, Right Use of in Public Worship, T. T. Eaton, D. D., Philadelphia, 1884.
- BIBLICAL CRITICISM, MODERN. (a.) Its History and Methods; Its Results and Practical Bearings, T. J. Conant, D.D. (b.) The Practical Bearings of, David J. Hill, LL. D. (c.) The Results of, Prof D. G. Lyon. (d.) Its History and Method, Howard Osgood, D.D. (e.) Its Practical Bearings, J. A. Smith, D.D., Boston, 1883.
- BOARDMAN, G. D., D.D. The Organic Union of Christendom, Indianapolis, 1887.
- BOYD, W. W., D.D. Purity of the Church, Richmond, 1888.
- BRAISLIN, EDWARD, D.D. Liturgy in Baptist Churches, New York, 1885.
- BROADUS, J. A., D.D., LL. D. The Value of the English Bible in Secular and Religious Education, Philadelphia, 1884.
- BROWN, T. EDWIN, D.D. Christianity and Worldliness, Boston, 1883.
- BUCHANAN, Hon. JAMES. Divorce in the State, Boston, 1883.
- “ “ “ The Labor Question, Baltimore, 1886.
- BULKLEY, JUSTUS, D.D. The Organic Union of Christendom, Indianapolis, 1887.
- BURDETTE, ROBERT J., Esq. The Secular Press, Indianapolis, 1887.
- BURRAGE, H. S., D. D. The Divorce Question in the State, Boston, 1883.
- BURROWS, Rev. J. L. Church Edification—Practical Methods, Philadelphia, 1884.
- CALDWELL, S. L., D.D. Christianity and the Body, Boston, 1883.
- CHARITIES. I. Paper by Rev. J. M. Gregory, LL. D. II. Paper by Hon. Francis Wayland, LL. D., Brooklyn, 1882.
- CHRISTIAN LIFE. The Meditative Element in. I. Paper by Rev. T. S. Barbour. II. Paper by F. H. Kerfoot, D.D. III. Paper by H. G. Weston, D.D., Brooklyn, 1882.
- CHRISTIAN ART IN RELATION TO BAPTISM. E. Dodge, D.D., LL.D., New York, 1885.

- CHRISTIAN SCIENCE. Paper, Rev. Geo. E. Horr, Jr., Richmond, 1888.
 " " Address, W. E. Hatcher, D.D., Richmond, 1888.
- CHRISTIANITY AND WORLDLINESS, T. Edwin Brown, D.D., Boston, 1883.
- CHRISTIANITY AND THE BODY, S. L. Caldwell, D.D., Boston, 1883.
- CHRISTIANITY IN BUSINESS, Prof. E. P. Gould, Boston, 1883.
- CHRISTIANITY, The Social Element in, as related to Church Work. Z. Grenell, D.D., Boston, 1883.
- CHRISTIANITY IN POLITICS. A. S. Woodworth, Esq., Boston, 1883.
- CHURCH ARCHITECTURE. Rev. C. J. Baldwin, Boston, 1883.
- CHURCH ARCHITECTURE. J. R. Thomas, Esq., Boston, 1883.
- CHURCH AND THE CHILDREN. I. Paper by Rev. John Humpstone. II. Paper by A. J. Sage, D.D. III. Paper by Prof. A. E. Waffle, Brooklyn, 1882.
- CHURCH. The Edification of, (a.) Practical Methods, Rev. J. L. Burrows.
 . (b.) Its Practical Achievement, Rev. O. P. Gifford, Philadelphia, 1884.
- CHURCH NURTURE AND DISCIPLINE. Frank M. Ellis, D.D., Richmond, 1888.
- CHURCH, Proper Attitude of the, towards Amusements. Papers by Rev. C. H. Watson, T. T. Eaton, D.D., E. A. Woods, D.D., Rev. Kerr B. Tupper, Indianapolis, 1887.
- CHURCH PROPERTY, Tenure of, Alfred Taylor, Esq., New York, 1885.
- CHURCH PROPERTY, The Taxation of, Hon. G. H. Andrews, Brooklyn, 1882.
- CHURCH, Purity of the, W. W. Boyd, D.D., Richmond, 1888.
- CHURCH, Terms of Admission to, E. T. Hiscox, D.D., Richmond, 1888.
- CHURCH, Tests of Admission to, T. Harwood Pattison, D.D., New York, 1885.
- CHURCH WORK, The Social Elements in, J. B. Simmons, D.D., Boston, 1883.
- CLARKE, W. N., D.D. Phases of Theological Thought as Influenced by Social Conditions, Philadelphia, 1884.
- COLBY, H. F., D.D. The Revised Version of the Scripture; Its Practical Use, New York, 1885.
- CONANT, T. J., D.D. Modern Biblical Criticism; Its History and Methods; Its Results and Practical Bearing, Boston, 1883.
- COVETOUSNESS, Sin of, (a.) Defined in Scriptures. Paper by J. M. Stifler, D.D.
 . (b.) Traced in the Life of To-day. Paper by C. R. Henderson, D.D. (c.) How Best Corrected? Address by P. S. Henson, D.D., Indianapolis, 1887.
- CRANE, C. B., D.D. Diversity of Opinion within Limits of Denominational Unity, Brooklyn, 1882.
- CURRENT EXPENSES AND BENEVOLENCE. H. H. Lamport, Esq., New York, 1885.
- DAVIS, Prof. N. K. Religious Instruction in State Education, Baltimore, 1886.
- DELANO, Rev. H. A. Prohibition, Richmond, 1888.
- DENOMINATIONAL UNITY, Diversity of Opinion within Limits of. I. Paper by C. B. Crane, D.D. II. Paper by W. C. Wilkinson, D.D., Brooklyn, 1882.
- DIVORCE QUESTION. (a.) In the Church. Paper by A. Owen, D.D. (b.) Divorce in the State. Paper by Hon. James Buchanan. (c.) Divorce in the State. Paper by H. J. Burrage, D.D., Boston, 1883.
- DIVORCE LAW, a National, Hon. Alex. S. Bacon, Richmond, 1888.
- DIXON, Rev. A. C. Remedy for Worldliness, Boston, 1883.
- DOBBINS, Rev. Frank S. Mohammedan Propagandism, Richmond, 1888.
- DODGE, E., D.D., LL. D. The Coming Ministry; its Chief Function, Boston, 1883.
 " " " " Christian Art in Relation to Baptism, New York, 1885.
- DOOLITTLE, Hon. J. R. The Land Question, Indianapolis, 1887.

- DOWLING, Rev. G. T. The Labor Question, Baltimore, 1886.
- EACHES, O. P., D.D. Inspiration of the Scriptures, Baltimore, 1886.
- EATON, T. T., D.D. Right Use of the Bible in Public Worship, Philadelphia, 1884.
- “ “ “ Proper Attitude of the Church Towards Amusements, Indianapolis, 1887.
- EDIFICATION ; The Spiritual Idea, D. W. Faunce, D.D., Philadelphia, 1884.
- EDUCATION. Rev. Walter Rauschenbusch, Richmond, 1888.
- EDUCATION, SECULAR AND RELIGIOUS. (a.) The Value of the English Bible in, J. A. Broadus, D.D., LL. D. (b.) The Value of the Roman Law in, Rev. P. A. Nordell. (c.) The Greek Philosophy in, Prof. E. B. Andrews, D.D., Philadelphia, 1884.
- EDUCATION, STATE, Religious Instruction in. I. Paper by Galusha Anderson, D.D., LL. D. II. Paper by Prof. N. K. Davis, Baltimore, 1886.
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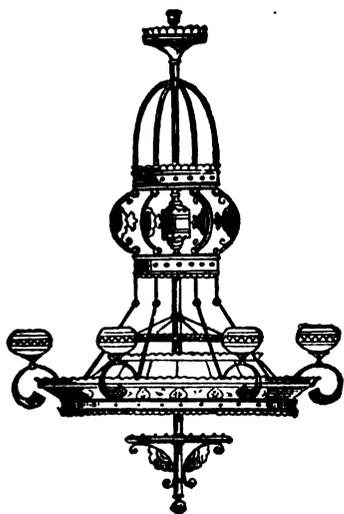
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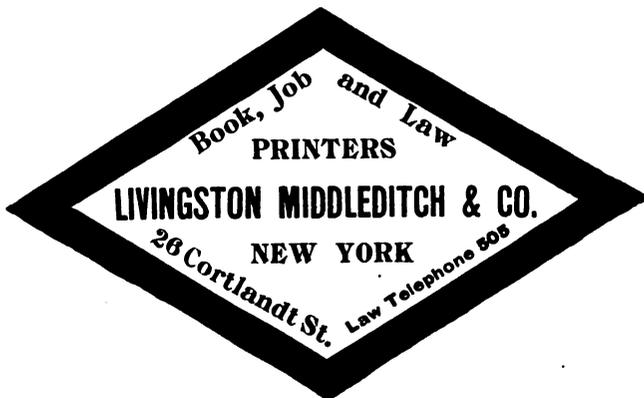
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W. Pope Yeaman, D. D., Columbia, Mo.

*Deceased.

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. This Committee shall be composed of persons who have consented to contribute five dollars or more annually towards 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 meeting 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 the 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-five minutes, and volunteer speakers ten minutes. The Secretary shall notify all participants by stroke of bell three minutes before, and also at the expiration of their time, beyond which no one shall be allowed to proceed.
6. NO resolution or motion shall be entertained at the public conferences.

PREFATORY NOTE.

The editor desires to apologize for the lateness of the issue of this report of the Eighth Annual Meeting of the Baptist Congress. It is due in part to delay in receiving the stenographer's minutes, and in part to the greater bulk of material to be prepared for the press. The papers and addresses included in this report have been submitted to the authors and speakers for revision, and in all but a very few instances have been corrected by them. It is hoped that they will be found generally accurate.

The postponement of the Congress from the date first fixed for holding to a later one caused some changes among the appointees, and several also who had accepted for the November meeting were kept away by unforeseen circumstances. Three of the appointed speakers were thus detained: President E. B. Andrews, LL.D., of Brown University. President David J. Hill, LL.D., of Rochester University, and the Rev. Green Clay Smith, of Mt. Sterling, Ky. The absence of these gentlemen was deeply regretted, but was wholly unavoidable on their part. The places thus left vacant gave greater opportunities for discussion, and were largely availed of. The debates were more animated and general than at any previous meeting; and throughout the sessions the interest was sustained undiminished to the end. Special mention should be made of the kindness of Prof. J. G. Schurman, of Cornell University, who though prevented from being present at the earlier sessions of the Congress and taking the part assigned him, yet made the journey to Toronto, and spoke with much acceptance on the last topic on the programme.

The Executive Committee desires to express its indebtedness to the presiding officers of the Congress at the several sessions for the very efficient discharge of their functions; to the Local Committee for their admirable arrangements for the conduct of the meeting and the entertainment of the large number from a distance who attended the sessions; to the pastor and trustees of the Jarvis Street Baptist Church for the use of their building; and to the many kind friends who opened their homes to receive the guests, and of whom want of space precludes more extended mention.

Copies of the three last reports of the Congress may be obtained from the Secretary or from the branch houses of the American Baptist Publication Society.

PROCEEDINGS
OF
THE BAPTIST CONGRESS.
1889.

First Day.

JARVIS STREET BAPTIST CHURCH, TORONTO, ONT., November
12th, 1889.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

The Eighth Annual Session of the Baptist Congress was called to order at 2 o'clock, P. M., by Mr. D. E. THOMSON, of Toronto, one of the Vice-Presidents.

After the singing of the hymn, "Before Jehovah's Awful Throne," the Chairman called upon Rev. IRA SMITH, of College Street Baptist Church, Toronto, who read a portion of the 15th Chapter of St. John's Gospel, after which prayer was offered by Rev. JOHN MCLAURIN, of Woodstock, Ont.

Mr. THOMSON said:

I am very sorry, Christian friends, that Hon. David Mills, the President of the Congress, is not able to be with us this afternoon, and that you will miss the address from the Chair which would appropriately be made at this time. I shall not attempt to make the remarks which ought to have fallen from the President's lips in opening this meeting, but I may, perhaps, be permitted to say that I have a deep sense of the importance of such a gathering as this is, and of the value that it ought to be to this community, and to the Baptist Brotherhood here represented. I

remember on one occasion a Board of Trustees having spent the whole day in discussion, and one good brother was very much exercised, feeling that we had lost our time, and he remarked, "Here we have actually been all day discussing, and have not passed a single resolution." Well, we have here a body met together expecting to spend three days in the discussion of important subjects, and purposely stipulating beforehand that not only shall no resolution be passed, but that none shall be offered. I have in mind also another remark I heard casually the other day. A good friend said, "After this Congress we shall be able to label our opinions and put them away on the shelf." Well, neither of these remarks should apply to such a meeting as this. In this age of intense living and strong practical action we do not appreciate quite so much as we ought the importance of times for deliberation and discussion, apart from any present action. There are always before the public mind subjects which, as the politicians say, are not ripe for action, but which are ripe for discussion and ought to be discussed. Instead of this being a meeting from which we are to accept opinions, we ought to look at it from an entirely different standpoint; that is, that we are too prone to have set opinions of our own, and to have put away on the shelf, duly labelled, opinions that we have never very carefully investigated, and the grounds for which we are not very sure of. Now, if this meeting means anything, it ought to mean to us an occasion for new thought, for taking down from the shelf our opinions, and having a look over them, and perhaps revising some of them; an occasion which though it may not result in our having opposite opinions from those we held before, may yet give us definite opinions where we had indefinite ones, or opinions of some sort, where before we had none. I have now to call upon Rev. Dr. Thomas to deliver the Address of Welcome to the Congress.

Dr. THOMAS spoke as follows:

Mr. Chairman and Brethren of the Baptist Congress:

I can assure you that it affords me very great satisfaction to perform the pleasing duty of welcoming you to Toronto. If it were in my power to put into fitting language all the kind sentiments entertained towards you, and those whom you represent, and to give adequate expression to our gratification in having you among us, I am sure you would come to the conclusion that you had not found your way into an ungenial clime. We only

regret that you are not here in much larger numbers. We would have been glad if all the distinguished brethren represented on your General Committee had favored us with their presence. There is abundant room in the homes and hearts of the Baptists of Toronto to take them all in, and, if I were permitted to speak for the whole country, I might say that there is abundant room in Canada to take the whole United States in [applause], and still have a few corners to spare. You see, therefore, Brethren, that you have come out into a large place; if not into a land "flowing with milk and honey," certainly into a land overflowing with genuine hospitality. If after your return—because we expect that you are going to have a very delightful time—you entertain any desire for annexation, I believe the friends in Canada will take the matter into favorable consideration.

Your presence with us is very sincerely appreciated. We do not regard you as strangers and foreigners, but as "fellow citizens with the Saints and of the Household of God." We are proud of our common brotherhood. Although we dwell under the British flag, and sing "God save the Queen," as Baptists we have a closer affinity with you in some of the distinctive principles of our denominational life than with our brethren in the old world. You have been an example and an inspiration to us in many ways. We rejoice in your missionary, educational and philanthropic enterprises. Your proximity has been a wonderful help to us in our activities here. We regard you very much as the small boy of the family regards his bigger brother who has distinguished himself. When some of the larger denominations in Canada are wont to reflect upon our comparative feebleness we instantly point across the line to our big brother. Whatever they may be disposed to say about ourselves, we are well assured that he is too big and grand not to inspire them with respect, if not, indeed, with awe. We gratefully appreciate the fact that you are so near; we feel the influence of your larger life as a perpetual inspiration; we glory in your noble institutions, your grand achievements, your royal men. We most sincerely rejoice that you are one of the leading denominations in the most progressive country beneath the sun. I want you to understand, however, that we in Canada think ourselves to be just as good as you are—as far as we go. [Laughter.] I cannot help speaking about our Canadian Baptists as a very appreciative husband did of his wife. "She is not very large nor pretentious, nor extraordinarily good looking, but oh, my!" I tell you, there is as much grit and grace to the square inch amongst the Baptists of

Canada as amongst any body of Christians of equal numbers on the face of the Globe. The progress we have made here in Toronto in recent years will, I think, compare favorably with that of any city of equal population, even in the United States. In 1840 we had only two small Baptist churches, with a membership of perhaps three or four hundred. In 1860 we had three churches, with a membership of seven or eight hundred; now we have thirteen, with a membership of over 4,000. In 1840 the property owned by Baptists in Toronto would not aggregate much more than \$3,000; in 1860 about \$20,000; to-day it cannot be valued at less than \$500,000. During the past five years there have been erected eleven new edifices, seven of which are handsome and commodious. I say these things with a view of maintaining our self respect in the presence of so many of you who come from a country where denominational achievements are frequently phenomenal, and in order that the largest possible emphasis may be given to the welcome which I am privileged to extend to you. We expect to be abundantly repaid for anything that we may do in ministering to your comfort and enjoyment, in the words of wisdom which shall fall from your lips, and the good fellowship which your very presence will insure to us. We have heard something about "entertaining angels unawares." I do not anticipate that such will be the case here at all, not because we could not imagine the possibility of any such celestial beings coming from the United States, but because our expectations are so exalted that they could not be exceeded by any development of excellence. It is our fervent hope that all the sessions of the Congress will be delightful and profitable; that the Spirit of Infinite Light and Wisdom shall descend upon you, irradiating your minds and enlarging your hearts, and that you will leave behind you a benediction that shall be as the breath of summer in our memory long after you are gone. I might say that the Mayor of Toronto has given me the privilege of conferring upon you the freedom of the City, which means that if you take a fancy for anything you see on the street you can take it away with you—by paying for it at the current price. [Applause.]

Rev. GEORGE DANA BOARDMAN, D. D., LL. D., of Philadelphia, Pa., responded to the Address of Welcome. He said:

Mr. Chairman and Brethren:

I deem it a special honor as well as a special pleasure to be asked to reply to this gracious welcome. It is very pleasant for

me to hear again the voice that was so dear to me years ago in the City of Brotherly Love. As I listened to it, it seemed to me that Philadelphia had taken on new dimensions, including within its fraternal limits the City of Toronto. Truly, we are all sons of Israel, and therefore all brothers. But as ancient Israel had his favorite Benjamin, so we have ours; our Benjamin's name is Thomas. (Applause.) Most pleasant it is for me to behold again, and to welcome to returning health and vigor this other dear brother of mine (Dr. Castle), also my associate in the same City of Brotherly Love. On whichever side of the St. Lawrence he lives, he is always the same noble and strong Castle. (Applause.)

Mr. Chairman, most heartily do I reciprocate in behalf of our goodly Brotherhood the generous words of welcome to which we have just listened. I know something of this town. And a model town it is; a model in the way of municipal enterprise, elegant architecture, noble colleges, prosperous churches, hospitable homes. Happy the country that has such a city as Toronto for its capital!

Our Chairman has truly said that we have come here to compare our views. Let me venture to add that we have also come to adjust ourselves, if needful and possible, to one another's views. I think that this power of adjustment is one of the strongest peculiarities of man as man. The animal has but a limited power of adjustment to new circumstances; man has an almost unlimited power, deftly re-adjusting himself to all changes of environment, whether of locality, climate, occupation, conditions or providences. For we live under the administration of a living God; one of whose great laws is the law of progress or moral unfolding. And one of the purposes of this Congress is to provide room for re-adjustment to divine unfoldings. We come here, not to alter the truth, but to alter, if need be, our statement of the truth, as Providence sheds new light on it. We cannot make the truth any truer than it is, but we can enshrine the truth in a worthier casket; or, as our Master himself has expressed it: "New wine must be put into new skins." In other words, we must recognize the principle of growth, and adjust statements accordingly. Do not stereotype your conception of truth. Do not confine it in any iron cylinder, however capacious or polished; don't expect it to grow along any inexorable groove. Christianity is as vital to-day as it was when its Founder proclaimed it amid the hills of Palestine. Give it then free chance to grow. Take care of it, water it, guard it; but

don't incarcerate it. Christ's promise of the Spirit that He will guide His people into all the truth, is as true to-day as on the night He uttered it. Hear, then, what the Spirit is still saying to the churches. As the perennial vine of Christ's truth yields new wine, let us put it into new skins. By thus adjusting creed to truth, letter to spirit, garment to body, form to life, skin to wine—both will be preserved together; we shall be progressive conservatives, and conservative progressives. And yet, at this very point, let us learn a lesson of tenderness from the Parable-speaker; for He immediately adds: "No one having drunk old wine desireth new; for he saith the old is good." Brethren, let us be considerate in our freedom, gentle in our reforms. Let us fraternally propose whatever improvements the Spirit of God seems to suggest to us; but let us be patient with those who cannot readily fall into line with the proposed advance. Time and grace work wonders.

But, Mr. Chairman, the Committee have arranged a most admirable programme, and we must hasten to it. I only wish to renew, as I do most enthusiastically, our grateful appreciation of the generous hospitality of our Toronto brethren. My dear Dr. Thomas, pardon me from differing from you slightly; it was not you who discovered angels in us; it was we, who on arriving, perceived that the angels were already here. (Applause and laughter.)

THE CHAIRMAN: The first paper to be read this afternoon is

ORGANIZATIONS FOR CHRISTIAN WORK OTHER THAN THE CHURCH.

BY REV. L. A. CRANDALL, D. D., PASTOR OF THE EUCLID AVENUE BAPTIST CHURCH, CLEVELAND, OHIO.

In his recent work on "Natural Religion," Max Muller devotes four chapters to definition. So determined is he to clarify the subject in the mind of the reader, that no inconsiderable space is devoted to the definition of a definition. We may not need at this time to define a definition, but we shall economize time and avoid difficulties if, at the beginning of this discussion, we seek to determine the meaning and scope of the topic under consideration.

"The Church" is a term of very uncertain signification. It is

sometimes made inclusive of all those—on earth and in heaven—who are accepted of God. Often it is limited to those followers of Christ who are now upon the earth. Not infrequently it is made to serve as a vent for ecclesiastical self-sufficiency, and is appropriated by a single sect. Probably as here used, the term applies both to the local organization known as a church, and to the aggregation of such local bodies termed sect or denomination. Perhaps if we were to write the subject, "Organizations for Christian Work other than Church Organizations," the thought in the mind of the committee would be expressed; the Church being used to qualify and limit the word "organization." In one sense, none of the organizations referred to as "other," are really "other than the church." They are composed of members of local church organizations. They would have no existence but for the church. Some of them are in and of the local church. All of them are bound by close ties to the churches. The number and importance of these organizations make it impossible that they should be treated in the time allotted to this paper. The Woman's Christian Temperance Union is a recognized power in the field of Christian temperance. The Evangelical Alliance is proving by increasing activity and efficiency that it is more than a name. The Salvation Army, with its unique methods and perfected organization, is a factor in the religious activity of to-day that no one can ignore. The King's Daughters, with their simple and elastic organization, abound in tender and helpful ministry. The McAll mission societies, scattered all through our land, are laboring, irrespective of denominational lines, for the regeneration of France. Then there are Sunday-School Associations, found in almost every state, and county and township. Add to all these the many societies engaged in Christian philanthropic enterprises. Evidently there must be some sharply defined limit to the topic as it appears upon the programme. The committee has suggested such a limit, which may be expressed in these words: "With special reference to Young Men's Christian Associations and Societies of Christian Endeavor." Our theme, as thus modified, will be: "Organizations for Christian work other than church organizations, with special reference to Young Men's Christian Associations and Societies of Christian Endeavor."

Christianity is a life, and that life includes faith God-ward and activities man-ward. It is neither a theory, a philosophy, nor a system of doctrine. These may be included but are not inclusive. That life, in its primary form, is individual. In its devel-

opment it comes to be collective because of natural tendency to co-operation, and from motives of expediency. The fact that the church has been from the apostolic age a form for the expression of christian life does not necessarily prove that christianity can express itself through no other organization. The organization, as well as the individual, draws authority not from the church but from Jesus Christ. Until it is found that the Master has limited organized labor for the salvation of men to the church, there will remain a presumption against such limitation. This presumption is strengthened into a certainty when we come to observe the outward and temporal forms through which the christian life has expressed itself during these nineteen centuries. The domination of one law is plainly seen in all the changes which have taken place in the visible life of christianity, and that law is, modification by environment. The history of the eighteen christian centuries is a record of formation and reformation ; of constant ebb and flow in systems of thought ; of ceaseless modification of the forms through which christian thought and purpose has found expression. Jesus commanded His followers to disciple, not to organize. That organization would come He no doubt foresaw ; but it was to be not the product of a direct creation, but of a slow process of natural development. The early christians sought to meet the demands made upon them by the time in which they lived and the communities in which they wrought. Succeeding generations have followed in their steps, and the history of christianity reveals at every visible point the shaping influence of surrounding conditions. The sway of this principle of adaptation to environment is illustrated by the changes that have taken place in church policy. To be sure, some of us are fond of asserting that the Baptist Church is a precise imitation of the apostolic church, and we speak with rash pride of the "First Baptist Church of Jerusalem." But I imagine that if that Church could be transferred unchanged into the midst of us, it would find hard work gaining admission into the fellowship of any Baptist Association in all this land.

The two organizations now under consideration owe their existence to the workings of this law of modification by environment. No organizations foisted upon the world, the demand for which was manufactured in order to excuse their presence, could ever have gained such a hold upon the hearts of christian men and women as they have to-day. They are the responses to real needs, and give as clear evidence of meeting the divine favor and accomplishing the divine purpose as does any organization

of all the christian centuries. They are the natural result of conditions peculiar to modern life. There is a real nexus between applied science and modern methods of christian work. The marvelous inventions of the age have shortened the miles and made co-operation among the christians possible, to an extent of which the fathers did not dream. Then, too, the tendency of the age in all secular affairs is toward consolidation. The children of light aiming to be as wise—in this respect at least—as the children of this world, have seen the advantages of co-operation, and have combined to carry on the work of Jesus Christ. Co-operative christianity is the watch-word of the day, and these societies are the highest expression of this sentiment. Another noticeable feature in modern life is the tendency to specialism. These two tendencies, toward co-operation and toward specialism, have made themselves felt among the disciples of our Lord, and the result is world-wide organizations for special christian work.

The history of the Young Men's Christian Association in its rise, growth, aims and methods, is so familiar to every christian worker that I need not devote any time to the consideration of that phase of the subject. The last decade has seen a rapid advancement, both in the numerical strength and the methods, of this world-wide organization. An increase of almost 200 per cent. in the last ten years shows how strong is the hold that this society has upon the young men of our country. Let us note in what respects this movement is proving serviceable to the cause of Christ.

It is very evident that the Y. M. C. A. is doing a work which the church had not done. Never mind now about saying that the church ought to do this work; that is not the question at issue. Granting for the moment that she ought, she did not. In only a few isolated cases has the church been awake to the importance of the work for young men and by young men. Out of the need the Association grew, and has shown by its work not only its right to existence, but to the hearty support of those who love the souls of men. In two important respects is the work of the Y. M. C. A. supplementing the work of the church. It is a feeder to the church. I know it is urged by some that the Association draws away workers from their legitimate sphere of labor and robs the church of the power which is rightly hers, and I am not disposed to deny that in exceptional cases this may be so. It would be a strange thing indeed if every Secretary was endued with perfect wisdom, and very likely anxiety for the

rapid growth of the Association has led some to forget that the church has the first claim upon her members. But an experience of some years as pastor of a church having most intimate relations with association work, convinces me that the church has no more helpful auxiliary than the Y. M. C. A. So far as my knowledge goes, it is the universal custom of those having this work in charge to advise young converts to unite at once with some evangelical church. That this advice is followed no one can doubt. Unfortunately, it is impossible to present statistics showing the number of those who have united with our churches in any given year, and who owe their conversion, under God, to the work of the association. But if you will pardon a personal reference, I will give a single illustration of the help which often comes to the local church as a result of the work of the Y. M. C. A. In a single year forty-five young men were received into the fellowship of the 23d Street Church, N. Y. City, and more than seventy-five per cent. of that number were brought to Christ through the instrumentality of the Association. During all the years of my connection with that church, the Association was constantly handing over to us young men who had been converted in its meetings. To be sure, many of our young men were active workers in the Association, and gave much time and toil to the interests thereof; but they loved their church home none the less dearly, and were among the most faithful and earnest workers in the special and distinctive work of the church.

The Association also cares for and nourishes the Christian young man at times when, and places where, the church in her helpfulness is not present. It is a sort of "day nursery" for the church. When the church doors are closed, as they generally are for at least four nights in the week, the Association takes the children and cares for them in the absence of the mother. Look at that young man in a hall bed-room, on the fourth floor back, of a city boarding house. He is a Christian, and does not desire to spend the evening at the theater or the saloon. His room is bare and cold and cheerless. Where shall he go on those evenings when the church-house stands with its doors closed to him? The Association says, "Come with us." "Come to our reading-room, our gymnasium, our lectures, our library, our musicales, our night schools, our prayer meetings." He goes, receives a hearty greeting, finds warmth, and light, and cheer, and friendship, and so is buttressed against the assaults of the adversary. This is no fancy picture. You can duplicate it a thousand times over. If still you are disposed to say, "all this ought to

be done by the local church," I reply, the local church does not do it, and what is more, the local church ought not to do it. It would be a wicked waste of God's money for each of the churches in a city to expend the money necessary to carry on this special work, when by banding together the work for the entire city can be done for just about what one church would expend. I am free to say also, that I believe this special work can be prosecuted more successfully by the Association than by the church, more young men brought under the influence of the Gospel, more good done for the cause of Christ.

The Society of Christian Endeavor is in the church. It is inter-denominational, not undenominational. It has no existence save in, and as a part of the local church organization. It began its life there, has always remained there, and, so long as it has an existence, will continue there. I am only saying what has been said many scores of times, when I call this one of the most noteworthy movements in modern Christianity. A growth in eight years from one hundred to five hundred thousand members, an influence that has been felt in every church of every denomination in America, results seen in the conversion of thousands of young people every year, are facts in connection with this work which can neither be denied nor explained away. But instead of attempting the impossible in the way of sketching the development of this Society, let me give what seem to be the distinctive features, if not, indeed, the reasons for its wonderful growth. First of all, it emphasizes duty. That Christian discipleship brings responsibility as well as privilege is no new truth; but it has not been given due prominence, and enforced by example and precept in any time as it is to-day by this Society. It is true that when we come into the local church we practically pledge ourselves to faithfulness and zeal in the work of evangelizing. But the idea of responsibility is so vague and shadowy, that in many cases it takes no form whatever. The Endeavor Society comes to the young Christian with a pledge to undertake certain specific duties. "You have a right to expect joy and peace," says this Society to the young Christian, "but you have duties to perform. You are not called into the kingdom simply to receive, but to give as well."

Strong stress is also laid upon loyalty to the local church. At the last annual convention of the Societies of Christian Endeavor, the following resolution was unanimously adopted: "That we pledge our loyalty to that particular church with which we are severally connected, and that we regard it as no

part of our work to break down denominational ideas, but that we go into that church with which we are allied, and there abide, doing its work in that place in the best way that may be disclosed to our united wisdom." Dr. Leach, Pastor of the First M. E. Church, of Albany, N. Y., in a recent address, declared, "I have vigilantly watched the practical operations of the Christian Endeavor movement, and can assure our Bishops, Editors and General Secretaries that it has not impaired the affection of the young people for Methodism." One influence emanating from this Society, and from the Y. M. C. A. as well, is to draw Christians of different denominations nearer together, and to strengthen fraternal ties. And it is just because of this that some of the elect feel called upon to protest against the existence of these organizations. They are not devoted to the building up of any special sect. They make Christians acquainted with each other, and emphasize the fact of unity of purpose and interests. It is not strange that some who claim to have a monopoly of divine sanction, who deem themselves God's aristocracy, who act as if they had grave doubts about the salvation of those outside the pale of a particular sect, should oppose any and all movements which tend to Christian unity. But no assailants of these organizations ought to be found among the Baptist host. We are not fitted, either by principle or practice, to flay our fellow Christians, even by word of mouth. We believe in liberty; in the right of private judgment; in freedom to do God's work according to the dictates of conscience. Friendly criticism is legitimate. No doubt times will come when we are called upon to point out certain defects in these as in all other organizations. But let us take care how we criticize. There is a vast difference between the knife of the surgeon and the dagger of the assassin. It sometimes seems as if those who publicly attack one or both of the bodies under consideration seek not their more healthy growth, but their certain death. Let us not be frightened by the silly twaddle sometimes uttered about the alienation of our young people from the denomination. In the conflict of principles, are ours so weak and puny that they must needs be kept in a glass case? Must we practically accept the theory of the mediaeval church, and find safety in isolation from our fellows? We do not need any Baptists whose loyalty is dependent upon freedom from contact with members of other communions. Shall we confess before the world that the Baptist faith cannot thrive, nor the Baptist denomination hold its own, when Christian men clasp hands in

brotherhood, and stand close together in the onward march of the Christian army? I for one, will never make a confession so humiliating. Let us, first of all, be Christians. This is not the age in which to insist that every movement for the regeneration of society and the winning of the world to God, shall bear a denominational stamp. Let us not seek, beloved, to put the Baptist tag upon every man and every measure, before we give to them our sympathy and help. We need not be the less loyal to our denomination, because we are loyal to Christ's cause in every phase of its development. God has issued to no body of men a patent upon methods of Christian work, and we do not well to lift our voices against any organization of Christian workers, crying, as some have done, "None genuine without the Baptist trade-mark."

I rejoice in these two magnificent organizations as indicative of the growing unity of the body of Christ. In an upper room, in the crowded city of Jerusalem, I see a little band of Jews. Standing upon the threshold of that room, we listen to words of indescribable solemnity. They are words of prayer, and he who prays is the Son of God. Listen: "That they all may be one; as thou Father art in me and I in thee, that they also may be one in us; that the world may believe that thou hast sent me." I am longing, and praying, and watching for the fulfillment of that prayer. "Unity of purpose," do you say? Forgive me; but such exegesis as that has cursed the cause of Christ for eighteen centuries. Some time, somewhere, I know not when or where, that prayer will be answered. And the Church of Christ will be one in very truth. If for no other reason, I should rejoice in the Y. M. C. A. and the S. C. E., because they promise to hasten the coming of that blessed day.

In the absence of the writer the next paper was read by the Rev. THOMAS TROTTER, Pastor of the Bloor Street Baptist Church, Toronto. It was entitled, as was that preceding it,

ORGANIZATIONS FOR CHRISTIAN WORK OTHER THAN THE CHURCH.

BY REV. JOSHUA DENOVAN, PASTOR OF THE IMMANUEL BAPTIST CHURCH, TORONTO.

It will economize words and bring us right to the centre of my argument, if you allow me to state that I am one of those antiquities still extant who honestly believe in the plenary and ver-

bal inspiration of the Old and New Testaments, who hold that the Word of God is composed of the words of God, expressing in definite terms His doctrines, His ways, His methods.

As to this specific definiteness I have only to remind you when Moses constructed the tabernacle and arranged its services, God enjoined upon him the observance of the divine thought, even in the smallest particulars. "See," said Jehovah, "See thou make all things according to the pattern showed to thee in the mount." The Levitical economy, so very carefully and scrupulously organized, was, we know, only the type and shadow of the christian economy—"the Church in the wilderness," only the shadow cast before of the coming event, the Church of Jesus Christ. If, under the Mosaic economy, these words of divine warning were appropriate: "My thoughts are not your thoughts, neither are your ways my ways, saith the Lord. For as the heavens are higher than the earth, so are my ways higher than your ways, and my thoughts than your thoughts. How much more appropriate in all things pertaining to this dispensation of spiritual reality, from which all typical shadows have passed away.

Moreover this Bible tells us that this God of order, whose thoughts and ways, elaborated and matured, are declared in the New Testament is a *God of foreknowledge*—not, as many say, foreknowledge consisting of a general, vague, broad, shrewd guess of the future, but a foreknowledge touching the finest details of those small events of private personal history, out of which every thoughtful person knows well all those great events which give prominent feature to national history grow—touching those social superficialities and those thoughtless early attachments (I mean early sexual affection and resultant marriage, for example), out of which have issued such marvellous mental and physical combination—such mighty executive forces as Alexander and Cesar, Charlemagne and Hildebrand, Cromwell and Napoleon.

Now, mark: This foreknowing, foreseeing God—this omniscient, omnipresent, infinite God, from everlasting saw all the future history of mankind, their Adamic fall, their depravity, sin and ignorance, their various and numerous religious devices, fancies and follies; their numerous and ingenious inventions to better their social condition; their efforts at moral readjustment and the reform of abuses; their scheme of government, conservative and liberal, autocratic and popular. And it was with all this intimate prescient acquaintance with the historical future of mankind in His possession, and with all the resources of

divine love, wisdom and power at His command, that the Almighty God deliberately devised and arranged a scheme for the restoration of the human race to His nature and His favor. That scheme was multiform and slowly progressive; through long centuries and through different dispensations it was elaborated until it culminated in Christianity. And be it observed, that in order to make this last dispensation of divine grace and truth divinely perfect, God adopted very special precautions. Not even to the wise heads and holy hands of angels, prophets and priests did God entrust this final dispensation of saving grace, but to His only-begotten Son. Think of that, gentlemen. The interests at stake were so vast and so valuable, the danger of man's best judgment and best management issuing in wrong and ruinous results was so great—so likely, indeed so inevitable, the tendency amongst mankind to change God's truth and modify God's methods was so deeply rooted and universal, human conceit and perversity in the department of religious contrivances were so habitual, that God Almighty, in the exercise of His infinite knowledge and infinite wisdom, saw it necessary to send His own Son to live down here on earth to tell us what we ought to believe and do, and to show us how to do it.

This divine Man Himself, by teaching and example, followed by the apostles whom He ordained and endowed with the Holy Ghost, organized and established the Christian Church for the express purpose of doing God's work in our world. The Christian Church is the invention, the device, the machine of the only wise God for the accomplishment of His purpose on earth. The Christian Church, as organized by Christ's inspired apostles; is the solitary scheme upon which the divine imprimatur has been impressed—to which the divine guarantee has been attached for the spiritual and moral regeneration of mankind, the solitary agency bearing Jehovah's sanction.

This church of the living God claims to be the pillar and the ground of the truth. She claims as her unalienable property to have and to use *all* the talent of *all* the redeemed and regenerated. She claims to direct all this talent and to utilize all the energies belonging to it within the definite lines of her own methods, and under the guidance of her own officers. She claims the personal agency of the Holy Ghost to lead her into *all truth* to the end of the age.

The inspired apostolic ideal of the Church is that all believers are members of a great body in vital union with a divine Head, working under the direction of that one Head, and in closely fit-

ting co-operation with each other. These members of the one Body of the one Christ are to work out the Christ-love and Christ-life in whatever sphere the transforming grace of God has found them—the royal or the aristocratic Christ-member in the aristocratic or royal spheres, the merchant and the mechanic, each in his sphere, the young man and the maiden, the old man and the child, each in the social relations and secular environments of that position where the call of God has arrested him. This is the apostolic ideal. This is also the natural and simple plan. The periodical means of grace which the Christian Church provides is designed to fit for this personal Christ-work out in the world—the weekly communion of saints, the instructions, admonitions, warnings and exhortation of the pastorate, the regularly recurring seasons for conference and prayer—all these are but means to an end, and that end the “shewing forth the virtues of Him who hath called us out of darkness into His marvellous light”—the sounding forth of the word of God.

To do all this (and this is all any Christian can possibly do), is the distinctive work of the organized church. No other organizations whatever, are needed. To promote the cause of Temperance what more is needed than this: “Whether ye eat or drink, or whatsoever, do all to the glory of God.” To stimulate christian young men to christian consecration, what, more than this: “Ye are not your own.” But, alas, this oriental antiquity—the apostolic church—lacks the stimulus the modern nations of our own restless age require. This does not provide local organizations with novel titles; it does not provide prominent offices for the ambitious young man and woman who like to be chairman or honorary secretary or treasurer; it does not supply the desirable number of decorative badges and banners, nor the attraction of committee meetings and musical entertainments, and conversations and annual demonstrations, and annual reports, and summer excursions and processions. Quiet, steady, daily, individual christianity—the christianity of the home, the workshop, the counting-house, lacks incident and spice, novelty and excitement. The daily practical godliness of common life under the direct control of the church is too tame, too common place and monotonous for this present enterprising, independent generation!

What do we really mean by “Organizations for *Christian* work other than the church”? Is not this proposition the expression of a strange notion? When critically examined does it not obviously involve the *argumentum ad absurdum*? THERE IS NO CHRISTIAN WORK POSSIBLE APART FROM CHRISTIANITY. Christi-

anity is CHRIST-LIFE in operation. THE CHURCH IS THE ONE ORGANIZED BODY OF THE CHRIST *in which alone this CHRIST-LIFE inheres*. Yet outside of this one body—outside of this corporation, of which Christ is the living Head and the throbbing Heart, we are to suppose there are organizations of human manufacture doing certain *Christ-work* better than the *Christ-body* can do it.

Do not misapprehend me. I am not now questioning the wisdom and the charity of intelligent and benevolent people combining in organizations for the promotion of everything that comes within the limits of public sanitation—for the suppression of vice and the removal of filth ; for the abolition of saloons and hotel-bars ; of theatres and gambling-hells ; of horse-races and harlotry. Nothing can be imagined wiser or worthier than for virtuous citizens to combine in securing the care of the lapsed masses, in securing clean lanes, thorough drainage, pure water, pure air and trusty police. But all this dirt-removing, all this moral and physical self-defense, is apart from the particular work of Christianity. The Lord Jesus and His apostles were, by divine inspiration, eminently qualified to discuss such schemes of public reformation and sanitation ; they could have inaugurated eminently useful societies of the type now so common, but they never did so. No society or association to counteract the peculiar debasements and rascalities and temptations of heathenism did they organize. With the narrow lanes and social villainies of Jerusalem ; with the dirt and squalor of Nazareth and Capernaum ; with the malaria of the Roman Campagna and the more pestiferous moral malaria festering round the temples and sacred groves, they were intimately and painfully acquainted ; but they never once proposed the formation of Associations or Leagues to deal with such evils specially. No ! They threw their whole heart and head, purpose and will into the divine corporation, the church. They had no time, they had no strength to spare for auxiliary contrivances ; they solemnly believed that *if the human heart were regenerated and the human mind spiritually enlightened*, the human life would inevitably become pure, and true, and unselfish. Beyond Christianity proper—beyond that sphere where the instrumentalities of the church could reach—apostolic christianity had no call and felt no responsibility. Upon a lower plane than the church they refused to stand. Members of the Christ, they recognized nothing but specific Christ-work as incumbent upon them. “ For me to live ”—not “ for me to worship or to preach ”—but “ for me *to live* IS CHRIST. I live, yet not I, but Christ liveth in me.” This was the fundamental princi-

ple of motive, aim and action. This done, they believed that everything else outside would necessarily fall into proper shape and healthful action.

“They continued steadfastly in the apostles’ doctrine and fellowship, and in breaking of bread, and in prayers, and fear came upon all men, and much people was added to the Lord.”

“All Scripture is given by inspiration of God, and is profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction and instruction in righteousness, that the man of God *may be perfect, thoroughly furnished unto all good works.*”

“How thou shouldst behave thyself in the house of God, which is the church of the living God, *the pillar and the ground of the truth.*”

As to this “church of the living God,” what does the divine Spirit declare concerning its membership, and the end attainable by their church work? Listen: “Unto every one of us is given grace according to the measure of the gift of Christ.” “And He gave some apostles, and some prophets, and some evangelists, and some pastors and teachers for the perfecting of the saints, for the work of the ministry, for the edifying of the body of Christ; till we all come to the unity of the faith and of the knowledge of the Son of God unto a perfect man, unto the measure of the stature of the fullness of Christ.”

All this the apostolic church herself can do. Can we even imagine anything further that can possibly be done in the regeneration of fallen humanity?

In the face of such statements as these (which might be multiplied indefinitely) and all that is necessarily implied in them, I am at a loss to know what room is left for “Organizations for Christian Work other than the Church”? As reasonable were it to propose a system of gas lighting to supplement the summer’s sunshine, or some skillful chemical condensation of oxygen, *et cetera*, to supplement the water supply offered by broad, blue Lake Ontario for the thirst and dirt of our city.

God’s ideal of *what man should be* is to be wrought out by the organization called the apostolic church. This is the one agency by which humanity is to attain “to the measure of the stature of a perfect man.” This is the one agency by which is to be unfolded “the mystery which from the beginning of the world hath been hid in God to the intent that unto the principalities and powers in heavenly places might be made known *by the Church* the manifold wisdom of God, according to the eternal purpose which He purposed in Christ Jesus our Lord.”

Modern semi-Christian organizations are an insinuation (are they not even an open assertion?) that the church proper has been a failure—is incompetent to overtake the work?

Denominationalism may be a failure. Modern Churchianity may be a failure. Perhaps such failure is no serious calamity. For my part I think it is not. The sooner modern Churchianity exhausts itself the better.

Modern "Churches," as they are called, organized and operated on denominational lines by the unholy zeal which denominationism inspired—organized on lines and operated by methods calculated to conciliate and allure the godless world, are not the Christian Church at all.

The true Church of Christ advertises and deals in "the offence of the cross." As the panacea, the catholicon for all "the ills that flesh is heir to," she deals in no other commodity whatever than that which is "to the Jews a stumbling-block and to the Greeks foolishness." And this alone was, and is the "power of God unto salvation."

Go back to the first three centuries of our era, and answer, What was the power and progress of simple apostolic Christianity then? Then, when there was none of that fawning to unconverted tastes; none of that toadying to secure the patronage of money and good clothes, which now disgrace us. From Jerusalem, by the agency of a few earnest, simple souls, the doctrine of Jesus crucified emanated, against the whole world sunk in superstition and debased by the grossest heathenism. This simple, unadorned Christianity touched Greek and Roman mythology enthroned in gigantic temples, entrenched in the home history of the people for a thousand years, interwoven into the entire texture of the State, defended by priests and patricians, by emperors and senates, and lo! all those ancient and deeply rooted institutions succumbed to its power like great icebergs melting in the warm waters of the Gulf Stream. Primitive Christianity touched the ancient civilizations of Northern Africa and the gods of Egypt were paralyzed into mummies; it touched the coarse, wild Goths, the Germans and the Franks, and it purified and transformed them; it invaded Britain and touched the strong-minded, self-willed votaries of ancient Druidism, and it subdued and vanquished them all.

Such is the glorious record of original Christianity. It was, indeed, "the power of God unto salvation" everywhere.

What are the historical facts of the case before us? After mankind had, through a long course of centuries, exhausted

their ingenuity, their energies, and their wits, along all imaginable lines of moral science and of religious investigation and effort, what was their condition? "The Jews seek after a sign, and the Greeks seek after wisdom." After 4,000 years, seeking, groping, doubting, erring still! In place of making improvement, both in things moral and spiritual, they only waxed worse and worse. From the dignified simplicity of monotheism, the Gentiles drifted away into polytheism, then into atheism, and the grossest vices of animal materialism. From the purity of the religion of Moses, the Jews had degenerated into the wretched puerilities of Rabbinism and into the grossest perversions of the moral law. It was in these circumstances, observe, when all mankind stood confounded, helpless, and hopeless, before the stupendous failure of all their own religious and philosophic efforts, that God, manifested in the flesh, suddenly appeared—not to take up man's lost and ravelled clue, nor to manipulate man's materials and methods, but to interject miraculously the one simple divine remedy for the ruin and disease and despair of humanity.

The Son of God having completed His own mission—having finished the work the Father had given Him to do, appointed and inspired His apostles, endowing them with the Holy Spirit, and telling the world, "He that heareth you, heareth me; and he that despiseth you, despiseth me." Those divinely led apostles instituted the Christian Church in doctrines and ordinances, in officers, and methods of work, and solemnly enjoined upon their followers scrupulous adherence to their apostolic institutions. This Church is now Almighty God's one organized agency for the enlightenment, regeneration and salvation of the whole world.

With these facts before us, what can we do? Are we not plainly limited to certain means? Dare we assume the awful responsibility of modifying and improving upon this God-appointed Church of Jesus Christ? Dare we presume that something else, with a new name and new rules, and new methods, is better fitted for the ruin and wretchedness of the modern world? Did the only wise God not foresee and provide for the exigencies of this age of steam? Did Jesus Christ very unfortunately not anticipate and provide for the peculiar wants of this age of newspapers and telephones?

This is the entire question with me and with you. Shall I work on God's definite lines, or my own? Shall I be content to sink or swim, succeed or fail in the loyal and persistent use of

Jehovah's one remedy, applied in that method Jehovah has specified ?

Facing the pity and even the sneers of many worthy people who believe in extra-church organizations for the salvation of the lost, shall I accept the fate of being as simple, and as narrow, and as uninteresting as the Gospel Church of the first century ? Far be it from me to question the sincerity of those who have devised and operated such organizations as aim at special Christian work—far be it from me to under-value the good which has been actually done by them ; but this I say, there is a more excellent way of rescuing the fallen and sinning. *There is God's way*, namely, THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH. If all that zeal, ingenuity, and self-sacrifice worthy men and women have devoted to work in connection with semi-religious societies and associations, guilds, orders and leagues of human invention, had been as generously given to prayerful Christian work in immediate connection with the Church of Christ, different would the standing and influence of the Church be to-day. But this, of course, would not gratify human vanity by furnishing all those chairmanships and committees, titles and badges, annual conventions, social meetings and excursions, which are so dear to this enterprising generation, and without which even the smile of God seems to have no charm.

Meantime the Church is certainly to be pitied. She is being persistently phlebotomized to death. Her young blood and fresh-nerve-force are taken from her, while she is expected to applaud the contrivances and subsidize the efforts of those who are thus unintentionally weakening and injuring her.

It is said, we know, with great confidence and plausibility, that while God has committed His work on earth to regenerated people only, those people are left to choose their own methods of combination and operation, such as Young Men's Christian Associations, Young Women's Christian Guilds, Knights of the Red Cross, and Knights of the White Cross, King's Daughter's, The Salvation Army, and the Christian League, with all their variety of Temperance lodges and orders.

No one who dispassionately thinks out this proposition but must see the absurdity of it. Substantially, it is equal to asserting that in the work of restoring a rebellious province to allegiance, a great general's wisest course, after selecting the quality and number of his soldiers, would be to leave the arrangement of the army, the number of the companies, and the method of the camping entirely to the judgment and taste of the individ-

ual soldier. Such a plan as this carried out (as indeed, it is, all around us in numberless extra-church organizations), is it any wonder that our world remains, notwithstanding all the beating of drums and printing of reports and pamphlets, still unevangelized and unsubdued?

Can it be reasonably expected that He whose name is Jealous will really bless and use institutions, the very existence of which throw a slur upon His own institution? Far be it from me to hold any ungenerous grudge against those excellent and earnest Christian men and women who have been and are laboring and sacrificing to bless mankind through extra-church societies. They are too busy, perhaps, to consider the attitude in which they stand to the God of the Christian Church. To my mind their attitude speaks thus: Thy doctrines, O, Christ, and Thy methods are not by any means *all* our lost world wants. Thy mode of applying the remedy for sin can be improved upon. Thy gospel agency needs new agencies. In this age of improved machinery, Thy apostolic church is not the best machine to regenerate lapsed humanity. We must isolate the young from the old; we must cut our societies free from the restraints and oversight of the church and her officers; we must separate the work of the sexes; we must impart the spice of novel names to Christian work; in short, the New Testament names and plans and methods are hopelessly behind the age!

History repeats itself. When the early christian church began her sad decline into the gathering gloom of the dark ages, separate religious societies sprang into existence and multiplied, monastic institutions, brotherhoods and sisterhoods bearing peculiar names, under special written constitutions and having special religious aims. Many such societies still survive the Reformation, the Jesuit Society, the Christian Brothers, Sisters of Mercy, Sisters of the Sacred Heart, Little Sisters of Jesus, Grey Nuns, Black Nuns, Preaching Friars, *et cetera*.

Such has been for ages the natural and unscriptural trend of religious disposition. In the ancient Church of Italy the effect of these societies has been to change utterly the constitution and character of the apostolic Church. This peculiar religious history of humanity is repeating itself. The separate societies of popery have been protestantized. We have now Young Men's Christian Associations, Young Women's Guilds, Christian Temperance Leagues, and societies of a similar kind with special names and aims and rules by the score (Little Maids' Club, Postal and Telegraph Christian Association), all separate from the

Christian Church, undertaking to perform important *christian* work which it is alleged the Church proper cannot do or won't do—yet all these forces drafted out of the church, and of necessity leaving the church by so much strength and money depleted and terribly weakened.

I, for one, believe such organizations to be a grave mistake and a sin. To my mind they appear to be successful, vigorous corporations working on misappropriated capital—capital lawfully belonging to the church and under the control of the church.

The convictions of the good people who organize and operate such societies are no doubt very sincere and their aims very noble, and much to be commended. But, alas, the effect of their well-meant innovations is the alteration of the radical constitution of Christianity and the weakening of the power of God's own organization for the salvation of our lost world, the Church of Jesus Christ.

It cannot be disputed that such organizations have done good; but had the millions of money and the vast stock of physical and intellectual vigor spent on the maintenance and prosecution of such organizations been spent in *God's own way* and under the auspices of *God's own organization*, and in the meek and unostentatious spirit of Jesus Christ, how very much more good should have been accomplished! God's truth by God's Holy Spirit brought to bear on mankind in God's own way by the agency of God's own children! Why, before such a force, what could stand! Loyal adherence on the part of every christian to the simple plan of the first century must have filled the earth with the knowledge of the Lord ages ago. It seems to me this entire problem resolves itself into an honest answer to this question:

Each believer in Jesus Christ has but one short life to live. Into what channel of well-doing is it wisest for me to throw all the forces at my command? By what agency shall I put forth the wishes of my heart and the energies of my life? Shall I accept the skillful invention of well-meaning, fallible men, or shall I stick to the institution of infallible, infinite God?

The appointed speaker on the same topic was the Rev. ALEXANDER BLACKBURN, B. D., Pastor of the First Baptist Church of Lowell, Mass. He spoke as follows:

One of the briefest, and yet most suggestive Parables of our Lord is that of the mustard seed. As given to us by Luke, it reads: "Then said he, Unto what is the Kingdom of God like?"

And where unto shall I resemble it? It is like a grain of mustard seed which a man took and cast into his garden; and it grew and waxed a great tree; and the fowls of the air lodged in the branches of it." (xiii: 18, 19.)

By common consent these words have been interpreted as prophetic of the coming Church,—which is the organized Kingdom of God in the world.

Two great thoughts in the parable seem of importance to our discussion at this hour.

1st. The organization of Christ's Kingdom, like the organization of a tree, is not mechanical, but vital; not a machine, but a life.

2d. This organization at the first was a germ or seed, not a completed, full-grown thing.

The first of these truths suggests to us (*a*) that organized life, while recognizing, and in some sense dependent on other organized life, must preserve its individual identity. Only a piece of living wood can be made a part of a living tree, and that only under the most favorable circumstances, and skillful treatment. You cannot make a piece of iron a part of a tree. It may be driven into it, or thrust through it, but it can never share the tree's life, or partake of the tree's nature, or perform the tree's function. A mechanical organization may take into itself substances foreign to itself, wood, iron, brass, silver, gold, all may be organized into a machine, never into a tree. Only that which partakes of the Christ's life can become a part of the Church life. (*b*.) While the living organization is thus exclusive, it is nevertheless true, that it accommodates itself to its environment, as mechanical organizations cannot do. The tree may be bent, and dwarfed and crippled, it may suffer from other organizations, and be wrenched and torn by them, yet perform the functions of a tree. So the Church may suffer, and yet, to some extent, perform the work of the Church, because, being an organized life, it adjusts itself to its environment.

The second truth of our parable suggests that as a seed, in its beginning is perfect, as a seed, and the whole future growth is fixed by the nature of that seed, so the Church is an evolution of what was involved in the original embryo, of which Christ is the living force. Whatever of branch, and limb, and leaf, and fruit, was in the germ may come forth, but nothing more.

With these two facts before us, viz: The Church, a living organism, and that organism a growth, we proceed to our discussion.

My first general proposition is : All organizations, the objects of which are distinct and separate from the objects of the church, should be kept outside, with no effort to unite them to the church.

The objects of the Gospel Church are unique and specific. As the body of Christ, the Church is to represent Him ; to be what He is, to do what He does. In His years on earth, Christ was separate from the world, He did the works of the Father. He came to seek and save the lost, and in order to do this He taught religious truth ; He illustrated the two great commands, *to love God*, and *to love man*. Every word, every act, was to bring men to salvation. He was not a judge or divider between men when asked thus to act. He had no system of politics. He established no school of art or literature. He gathered about Him no guilds for social or economic reform. His kingdom was not of this world, yet He recognized Cæsar and Cæsar's claims.

Every student of history knows that one of the most ruinous, if not *the* most destructive, of all movements in the church, was the attempt to organically unite Church and State. Constantine was a worse enemy to Christianity than Nero—for Nero scattered the blood of martyrs, and each drop became a seed to bring forth new life. Constantine wrapped the body about with the poisoned garments of the world, and the blood became stagnant. In front of my study windows are two New England elms. Beneath the granite pavement their roots go down to somewhere, and find the soil and moisture that they need. One of these trees is larger and healthier than the other, its leaves come out earlier in the spring and remain longer in the fall. The best tree stands untouched by any other organization. The weaker tree has been utilized as a telegraph pole. Bolted to two of its branches is a cross-bar, on which the wires are strung. Mechanically the connection is complete, but there is no vital union ; there cannot be, and, what is more, the tree is suffering, and in time will die—then only to be the form of a tree, and a poor telegraph pole. This is not an argument against telegraph wires or poles ; only this : Don't attempt to make our shade trees a part of the mechanism of the lines. In the Old World to-day we see the forms, the dead forms, of this once flourishing tree of life, holding up the mechanism of the State ; or the reverse, the wires of Statecraft holding up the leafless, fruitless forms of the church.

The State is ordained of God. So is the Church. But their purposes are so clearly distinct that any attempt to unite the two is wholly contrary to nature, and must result in disaster to both.

Let the State have its Kings and Queens, its Princes and Nobles, its Parliaments and Congresses, its Courts and Judges, its Presidents and Cabinets, and if needs be, its Generals and soldiers. And for these places, every one, men whose hearts are as loyal to Christ as to their colors, but let each man in the church render to God the things that are God's, and in the State render to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's.

What has been said of the State may be said of other organizations. It is not the province of the church to educate men in the business, and scientific and literary spheres of life.

The church has no organic relation to the school; that belongs to the individual, the family and the State. To teach the things of God is its province, and in order to do this it may be necessary to teach the teachers of religion. The church may legitimately open the school, the prophets, the Bible school, but not the secular school. So far as known to me, Baptist churches have not attempted education, even in theological seminaries. Individuals have put their influence and money together, and have formed corporations, choosing that these should be known as "Baptist Institutions." But I know of none that are organically parts of churches. They are not governed by delegates chosen by the churches, nor are they accountable to the churches. Even our flourishing young Educational Society is not of the churches, but of men who contribute to its work. The only possible exception to this general statement of fact being that of the Southern Theological Seminary, at Louisville, Ky. In general our educational work is done by organizations that have no organic relation to the churches. The relation is one of fellowship, in a common desire and aim.

What has been said of schools may be said of literary societies and guilds. These should stand on their own merits, and unless it be in the matter of securing a meeting place in some room belonging to a church, there should be no union between the two. The church is an evangelizing society, not a literary club.

A Fellowship in service for Christ, not a social coterie of kindred spirits for selfish enjoyment; a builder of character to adorn the world, not a constructor of architectural wonders to adorn the streets; the conservator of saving grace, not an industrial, charitable, double-acting employment agency, or life insurance enterprise.

So far, an attempt has been made to say that there are very many good and desirable things in the world, things true and honest,

and pure, and lovely, and of good repute ; things of virtue and praise that are in their aims wholly distinct from the church, and therefore should be wholly separate in their organization. There is a law in the animal world that has its analogy in the spiritual. It is, that so far as discovered, no mongrel is fruitful. You may make cross between the horse and the ass and procure a mule, but there the production ends. It is barren. This fact, which to simple-minded folk forms an insuperable barrier to the evolution theory, may also be a warning to those who hold that what the world needs is some hybrid begotten of the union of the church and every other conceivable organization. Let Church and State unite to give us government. Let Church and school unite to give us education. Let Church and society unite to give us culture and amusement, and so on to the end.

You may thus produce a sort of theological, political, educational, æsthetical mule, which will be neither horse nor ass, neither church nor state, but the thing will be both stubborn and barren.

The reproductive life current will be killed in the union.

But we now come to consider those organizations that are outside the church, and yet aim at the same objects for which the church exists ; that is, the conversion of souls and the training of converts, that these may convert more souls and train more converts, that they may convert more souls and train more converts.

We all agree that Christ instituted the church, and that the church in its simple form expanded under the inspired lead of the apostles into quite an organization.

As new needs arose, the church took on new forms. The diaconate grew out of the church as naturally as a new branch starts out from the trunk of a tree. The time had come for it and it grew. So there seem to have grown deaconesses, and other officers ; the pastor, the evangelist, the teacher.

There is no hint of a woman's society, or a young man's organization, or a young people's endeavor combination. The only organization was the church and possibly a combination of churches as a council or presbytery for certain purposes.

In our day there are organizations which do not claim to be churches, and most of whose members are members of churches, that in the ultimate aim are precisely at one with the church, viz : to save souls and build up christian character.

For the sake of convenience we may divide these societies into three classes :

- 1st. Those that have a legitimate claim to permanent existence.
- 2d. Those that have a legitimate claim to temporary existence.
- 3d. Those that have no legitimate claim to any existence.

In the first class I would place those organizations that have for their objects such work as the individual church cannot in the nature of the case accomplish.

Our great missionary and publishing organizations belong to this class. The great work of carrying the gospel to the heathen world can only be successfully done by such unity of action as comes from corporate or organic association. Vast sums of money are to be received and expended. An army of missionaries are to be directed in their work in order to make the most efficient movements. Such organizations have a reason for their existence in the very nature of things. Centralized organization is as necessary in an army as individual courage and consecration to the cause. For the thousands of Baptist churches in the United States to undertake to do the work of the Missionary Union and Foreign Board of the Southern Convention would be simply impossible. There might be a few stations here and there, but there could be no harmony of action. This state of affairs does not exist because of some temporary condition or some fault of the church, hence we say our great missionary organizations are permanent institutions, and as such ought to have the hearty support in sympathy, in prayers and in money, of the churches and church members. These societies are not usurping the realm of the church, nor are they attempting what the church can and ought to do. They seek what is beyond the power of the individual church, and so long as there are heathen to be reached abroad, and great masses of people destitute of the gospel at home, so long must we have these organizations. If the church were perfect we should need them.

In the second class, those that have a legitimate claim to temporary existence, I would place those organizations that have been formed to do a work which the church can do, and ought to do, but for some reason is not now ready to do.

The most prominent organization in this class is the Young Men's Christian Association. Organized in 1851, it has now in the United States 1251 associations with a membership of 176,000, and owns property to the amount of \$7,000,000. The last report shows 27,869 men on committees, and 800 men give their whole time to its work. The current expenses last year amounted to \$1,313,540. That this body has done and is doing great good no one can deny. Our notion is that the Christian work that it

does could be far better done by the churches. By christian work we mean prayer meetings, Bible classes, preaching services, and all that line of legitimate church work. The gymnasiums, baths, schools, entertainments, and libraries, belong to another sphere, and ought to be cared for. The association in my own city has issued a sort of annual, one page of which I copy, as follows :

RELIGIOUS SERVICES.

SATURDAY—PRAYER MEETING FOR MEN, from 7.30 to 8.30 P. M., in the Hall. Led by young men.

SUNDAY—CONSECRATION MEETING FOR MEN, from 9.15 to 10 A. M., in the Parlor. All men invited. In charge of a committee.

SUNDAY—SONG SERVICE FOR MEN, from 3 to 4 P. M., in the Hall. Good singing and interesting addresses.

WORKERS' BIBLE TRAINING CLASS, for Christian young men. Class limited to twelve members. All who would like to join will please leave their names with the Secretary, after which the time of holding will be fixed.

BIBLE CLASS FOR ALL YOUNG MEN, whether Christian or not, who may wish to meet to study systematically the Bible.

Visitation in Sickness.

We shall aim to befriend members when sick and visit them if circumstances will permit, and ANY YOUNG MAN who may be alone or in distress can receive attention from our

Committee on Visitation of the Sick,

if some one will call our attention to such cases. Call at or telephone to the office when any case needs our attention.

Not one of these but would be done better by a good live church—just what we ought to do, and some of us would do, but for the fact that the charge would be made that we were antagonizing this good work of the Y. M. C. A.

Let the church be alive for strangers, young men in the city, and all that class now reached by the Y. M. C. A. We are not prepared for it now, and far be it from me to cast any stone, or even a straw at the present work. Our church failure makes the work a necessity. But shall it be ever thus? Let the church arise, and pray, and study the word, and lay aside all prejudices until we become one, after the manner prayed for by Christ. With one Lord, one faith and one baptism, the church could present a solid front to the world, and go forth to conquer.

The jealousies of denominations have much to do with our ineffectiveness, but we trust these divisions are temporary.

Another cause of failure is christian, or unchristian laziness. "I go, sir, and went not," is the story of too many of our lives.

The preacher was too lazy to instruct and drill the young men he promised to care for, and the young men were too lazy to go out of their way to get their young men friends to the church, and the church was too lazy even to sing a song, or give a testimony so that it would get hold of a young man. That long-winded prayer that was the same old string of platitudes, from Adam to the generations yet unborn, is made to do duty night after night simply because the repeater of it is too lazy to think of a new one.

The church will not put on strength till she gets hold of young men, and she will not get hold of young men till she wakes up to new life and endeavor.

"Inasmuch as ye did it not" is a match sentence in sadness to that famous phrase which the poet has branded the saddest of all—"It might have been." The old story of the old man and his boys too well illustrates much of our church life. An old gentlemen had two sons who were not specially noted for energy. Calling them before him one evening the following conversation was held: "Zeke, what have you been doing all day?" The answer came in a drawling tone, "Nawthin'." Looking to his younger son, and with more of sharpness, he asked: "Well, Dan, what have you been doing?" "Helpin' Zeke." So long as our church Daniels spend their whole time vigorously helping our church Ezekiels "do nawthin'" so long will we need these outside organizations where the vigorous Nehemiahs and Ezras and Pauls and Barnabases can rebuild the waste places and save the lost. May we not hope this laziness is only a temporary malady?

Another condition that has almost compelled these outside organizations is the worldliness of the church. Many of our most godly and consecrated people feel that they cannot carry into their aggressive work for Christ the worldly spirit which exists in the church. By joining themselves to kindred spirits outside they become known, not as members of the church, but of the Y. M. C. A., and so when they plead with a comrade to be a Christian, they are not met with the almost unanswerable statement: "I am about as good as you people. I was at the theater with them last week, and at a dance with them this week, and played cards with them in the parlor of a leading member not long ago." Brethren, say what we will, the standard of Christian living is higher in the Y. M. C. A. than in the average church. You may fellowship with them and have less of this awfully deadening blight upon your effort to save souls. But may we not hope that this state of affairs is only for a time?

Another cause for this temporary need is the covetousness of the churches. Men of wealth are not willing to equip their workers as they ought to be. A few thousand dollars expended on the meeting-house would often open the way for work in the church that is now done out of it. I am not now speaking of what may be called the secular work of the Y. M. C. A., such as gymnasiums and libraries, but rooms for Bible classes and small prayer meetings and conferences—attractive and convenient places for our young men to do this much-needed work. Take away the curse of divisions, of laziness, of worldliness, of covetousness from the church, and the occupation of some societies would be gone.

Perhaps a word ought to be said of another organization that seems to have a legitimate reason for a temporary existence. I refer now to the Salvation Army. Crude in its methods, and oftentimes teaching erroneous doctrines, it came into existence because the church had allowed the great mass of the poor to separate from it. Not that the church wilfully withdrew itself, but it did not do the things necessary to hold the poor. The thousands saved by the army furnish a reason for its existence, but these could have been reached by the church. They would have been reached had the church sent out its missionaries with songs and the cry of salvation for the low and lost.

The trend to-day is toward this work attempted, but only poorly done, by the Salvation Army. Foreign missions and Western missions are to be none the less pushed, but the new cry is for city missions. The church is searching out for the destitute on the same street where her sons do business, and in the tenement houses where thousands hear the bell but do not heed its call. The Bride in her invitation, *Come*, not only speaks it into the ears of the cultured and well-to-do, but she lovingly and pleadingly and tenderly cries aloud in the places of ignorance and degradation and want. That is, she is beginning to do it. If this continues—and there are many encouragements that it will—the occupation of the Salvation Army will soon be gone.

But some one may ask : Why not consider these things permanent ? Our answer would be :

1st.—Because to do so would rob the church of its commission and invite it to decay. Nothing so demoralizes an army as long lying in camp ; but if some one else is to do the fighting, or the hardest of the fighting, then the camping will continue, and soon the men in camp will be utterly unfit for the conquest still left for them. If the Y. M. C. A. is to save the young men, and the

Salvation Army is to save the poor—the church will soon be too weak to save what is left.

2d.—The work done by these organizations is necessarily only an incomplete work. They cannot declare the whole counsel of God. They may preach the gospel, but they cannot baptize or teach all the things commanded. They cannot discipline and cultivate. The Y. M. C. A. is for men with a sort of annex for the boys and sisters. The church knows no such distinction and is natural, therefore perpetual. The Salvation Army cries a free salvation and appeals chiefly to the emotions through song and posture—it is for the poor. The church is for all—rich and poor meet together, and the whole being is appealed to by the preacher and people.

3d.—These organizations endanger sound doctrine ; they feed the vanity of the novice in Christ, but too often the veteran in crime. The converted drunkard, or gambler, or prostitute in the church will be heard and encouraged to witness for the truth. Under the loving guardianship of those older they can go to those with whom they can sympathize, and there preach Christ. but they are not exalted to leadership—they ought not to be, Neither ought the young man to be whose zeal leads him to devotion to Christian wants. He is, perhaps, ready to get ready, and that is what the church would have him do, but these organizations make him a General Secretary, or a Salvation Major, or Captain, and he is tempted to know more of Bible interpretation, and doctrine, and methods of work than all the wise men of earth.

4th.—These organizations tempt our very best young people away from the church, and the tendency is to cause them to lose that fine sense of loyalty to their covenant that is indispensable to the best service. What pastor has not felt this when some enthusiastic young man went down to the Y. M. C. A. to act on a committee, and soon to lead meetings, and soon after to collect money. That same young man begins to be irregular at Sabbath-school, at prayer meeting, at preaching service. You see him and inquire, and with a bland, broad Y. M. C. A. smile he tells you that the Lord had a work for him to do somewhere else ; and if you strike his coat between the shoulders you will find no dust in it, because of the patting he has received from the Rev. Mr. Gush. I think you know churches—and I know I do—that, with no fuss and flurry about the "*dear young men,*" actually do more for them than a dozen Y. M. C. A's. I know other clubs where the young who devote themselves to these organizations

might make their churches strong if they would only do the same work at home.

It seems to me that the thing to do is to give these societies support as the emergency requires, but most of all to so arouse our churches as to remove the emergency.

We come next to consider these organizations that have been classed as having no legitimate right to exist. Before mentioning and discussing some of them allow me to remind you of our position that the church is a growth, and as such it may take on new branches. The Sunday-school has grown out of the church, and is a part of the church; so there may be woman's societies for local charity or special lines of work. There may be, and there ought to be, and there have been, for many years young people's societies for Christian culture and aggressive enterprise. These may have their constitutions and officers, and yet they are not *other organizations*, any more than the Board of Deacons is *another organization*, because it has a chairman and a set of rules. With this idea of the possible church in all cases, and the actual church in many, we may proceed to define and classify under the division before us. In doing this we use the word Right in a moral, not a political sense.

Any organization that proposes to cover no other ground than that which the church is already covering is a usurper, and has no legitimate right to exist.

Any organization that has no other aim than the development of christian character has no legitimate right to exist. These may seem to be broad definitions of narrow liberty. But if we remember our germinal idea of the church, we easily see that no other definition is logically possible. To call in other organizations to do the work of the church, or to build up christian character, is to impeach the wisdom of Christ himself. It is true that the church is not doing all that ought to be done, but this does not call for imported branches or parasite growths. Dig about the tree and enrich it; prune it here, and straighten a limb there.

The tendency is to organization. Some one sees how good a thing it would be for every young and old person to read a chapter of the Bible every day, and we have the "National Organization of Bible Readers." Another discovers that it would be a blessed thing if women would do every thing in Jesus' name, and we have the International Society of the "King's Daughters." This reminds some brother how excellent a thing it would be for young men to do the same thing, and we have the "King's

Sons." These societies have mottoes and badges, and organs and conventions. Two women in a crowd meet, and bow and shake hands and say things you don't quite understand; they are "King's Daughters." They are advanced in the family of faith beyond their faithful mothers and God-fearing grandmothers. In the name of common sense, is not every christian to read his Bible, and are we not all the sons and daughters of the King? And where is this thing to end? It would be a good thing if all professed christians told the truth pure and simple. Suppose we organize the anti-Ananias Society among the men, with the motto N.L. (Not Liars), and an anti-Sapphira Society among the women, with a badge lettered N. G. (Not Gossips). The annual convention of such organizations would be exceedingly interesting, provided the brethren and sisters would truthfully relate their back-sliding experiences.

But lest I be accused of passing by the greatest of modern movements and organizations, it may be well to speak particularly of the Young People's Society of Christian Endeavor. After a most careful and to me honest effort to understand this organization, I have determined to classify it under my third head. An organization that has no legitimate right to exist. And in doing so I do not for a moment impugn the motives of my brethren who thoroughly believe in the society. Many of them are noble men, and doing service, in the presence of which I most humbly bow. But the best of men may be mistaken, and I may go away from this Congress to organize a Y. P. S. C. E.

Neither do I here raise the question whether the things the local societies undertake to do ought to be done. Most of their aims are proper and right, and I doubt not have been of benefit under the watchful care of some churches. My sole obligation to the society is that it is an organization. That it usurps the proper functions of the church by being a separate society.

Looking at the aims of this society as expressed in its constitution, we find: *A Model Constitution*, with the words at the head, "For Christ and the Church."

I do not find this motto before 1889. As a heading it is very well. Looking farther, we find in this declaration the object:

"ARTICLE II.—OBJECT.

Its object shall be to promote an earnest Christian life among its members, to increase their mutual acquaintance, and to make them more useful in the service of God."

In this there is nothing unique or that might not be in any church creed or covenant ; indeed, I think we generally will find it. Further on we find a pledge with all reference to the church strangely left out. It is as follows :

“ ASSOCIATE MEMBER’S PLEDGE.

As an Associate Member I promise to attend the prayer meetings of the Society habitually, and declare my willingness to do what I may be called upon to do as an Associate member to advance the interests of the society.

AS AN ACTIVE MEMBER, I PROMISE,

- 1st. To read the Bible every day.
- 2d. To pray every day.
- 3d. To be present at every regular prayer-meeting of the Society, unless detained by some absolute necessity, meaning, by this, some reason which, with a clear conscience, I can present to God. To take some part in every meeting. If absent from the monthly consecration meeting, to give or send an excuse to the Lookout Committee.
- 4th. Trusting in the Lord Jesus Christ for strength, I promise Him that I will strive to do whatever He would like to have me do ; and just so far as I know how, throughout my whole life, I will endeavor to lead a Christian life.”

Again we find this as to the church :

“ ARTICLE IX.—RELATION TO THE CHURCH.

This society being a part of the church, the pastor, deacons, elders or stewards and Sunday School superintendent shall be *ex-officiis* honorary members. Any difficult question may be laid before them for advice.”

Ex-officiis, honorary membership in the society with the privilege of giving advice, if asked, is not church control.

In a circular address issued by Mr. Clark, we find the following words :

“ SUMMARY.

“ The essential features, then, of the Young People’s Society of Christian Endeavor are : *pledged and constant attendance upon the weekly prayer-meetings ; pledged and constant participation therein by every Active Member ; pledged and constant work for others through the committees*, and in any way which may be suggested. A few living up to these pledges faithfully, will, with the blessing of God, soon become a powerful host in any church. *There is no danger that the rules will be too strictly enforced. There is great danger that they will be regarded too loosely. The society that looks to God for all blessings, and strictly observes its vows, voluntarily assumed by each young person, cannot fail.* More can be learned concerning the

society from a careful study of the Constitution printed herein, than in any other way."

Here, then, we have a society which, in its constitution, its pledge, and as expounded by its founder, almost ignores the church. A society which admits to full christian fellowship without church membership—a society which is absolutely silent as to the ordinances—a society which holds State and National Conventions in which no church has any voice or control, and this society not even claiming to do a single thing which any well organized church does do. This society asking for the interest, the work, the time, the money and the prayers of christian young people with no regard to their church obligations. Judged by its constitution it seems to have no claim for existence.

But you say look at the fruits. Surely, that convention at Philadelphia was wonderful. A few days ago I went to the headquarters of the United Society; also the office of the "Golden Rule," the organ of the Y. P. S. C. E., \$2.00 per year, and procured, BOUGHT AND PAID for a copy of the Minutes of the Eighth Annual Conference.

Here it is. No statistics. So great has been the growth, it cannot be told! There is a financial statement and treasurer's report showing receipts \$17,684.92, of which \$7,417.51 was contributed. Not a dollar reported to any missionary object.

I have written to our Baptist Foreign Missionary District Secretaries, and none of them felt any benefit, but rather harm from Christian Endeavor Societies. A very small amount of money, less than \$25.00 in all, was received from such societies.

We find resolutions pledging loyalty to the church and pastor; but why such resolutions? If my children should hold a convention and resolve that we pledge our loyalty to father and mother, I think we would inquire into the doings of our offspring; or if your Sunday School teachers, my brothers, should do such a thing, you would immediately consult your physician as to the necessity of a removal on account of your wife's health.

A further look into this report shows it to be composed chiefly of speeches, some of them very good ones. The lack of exact statistics is supplied by the changes rung on 15,000 brought into the churches by this society. There may have been that many brought into churches where such societies exist, but was there no preaching, or Sunday School, or evangelist? A look at last year's report shows that the claim was for that year 22,000. Surely there is a falling off, either in figures or estimates, proba-

bly the latter. Quite a portion of this report is made up of opinions of the press—religious and secular. Advertisements of “Christian Endeavor,” after the manner of money-making concerns.

To my mind there is no real evidence of fruitage in the annual report. The convention was certainly a most excellent and enthusiastic gathering, and the publishing department suffered no loss; but many of us felt sure that the same labor and zeal in the churches would accomplish far more.

Coming nearer home I find the churches with the societies show no better results than the churches beside them that have no societies. Not two weeks ago a business man said to a member of my own church, in substance, “Our Young People’s Society of Christian Endeavor is harming our young folks. They meet an hour before church and when their meeting is over from 50 to 75 of them file out and leave us.” I might say more but need not. The fault is not with the men and workers of the local societies, but with the system. The society has no mission except as it assumes the mission of the local church—and where two organizations undertake to do the same thing one or the other must suffer—and eventually one or the other must go down; in this case it will not be the church.

In conclusion: It ought to be ours to develop to the full this mustard tree—the church.

The organizations which do what the church cannot do should be permanently supported.

The organizations which are doing what we are not now ready to do, but ought to prepare ourselves to do, should be temporarily sustained; meantime push the preparation.

The organizations which are the outgrowth of unwise but well-intentioned zeal should be kindly, but firmly and persistently let alone.

The discussion of the topic of the session was opened by Rev. W. C. BITTING, Pastor of the Mount Morris Baptist Church, New York, who spoke as follows:

Mr. Chairman and Friends:

I did not expect to have a word to say upon this exceedingly important subject, nor would I have opened my lips but for the position taken in the second paper, and that to which you have just listened. I have the extreme pleasure of being a member of a Society of Christian Endeavor, and the members of the soci-

eties in the State of New York did me the honor to elect me Vice-President of the New York State Conference. I am here to champion the cause which our brother from Lowell did not have quite time to demolish. For the sake of the Society of Christian Endeavor, I could have wished that the rules of the Congress had been slightly more flexible, that he might have had somewhat more time to devote to his denunciations of an enterprise which has done so much for the cause of the Lord Jesus Christ in the past, and which is to do still more, notwithstanding the sneers of those who oppose it.

I believe in organizations other than the church, because I believe that the highest thing in this world is the soul of the individual man. For that Christ died ; for that the Bible contains the revealed will of God ; for that the Church of Christ is to live and move and have her being. Far above all church organizations ; above the Word of God—in a holy, reverent and true sense—far above everything else, is the human soul. To it all things are to minister. Now let us look at the organization in this light. Whatever tends to make a man more Christ-like, to build him up in the holy life which Jesus exhibited so perfectly, that, truly, has a place in this world. All organizations must be judged by that test, be they churches or others. If they do not develop the Christ life in the soul they are failures, and have no right to exist. Otherwise, they have a place.

I am somewhat dumbfounded by the position taken this afternoon in the paper of our good friend from Canada. Three years of my ministry were spent in a community where precisely the principles he advocates are in force. Perhaps some of you know that some Anti-Missionary Baptists have gone so far that because such things as our modern woven carpets were not put upon floors by the apostles, they will not have them in their churches now. I have seen ministers preaching in their shirt sleeves and without neck-wear, because the apostles did not wear such "new-fangled" things. One of the most glorious facts in connection with these brethren who do not believe in missionary societies or Sunday-schools is that that they are fast dying out. I hope to live long enough to preach a funeral sermon over some branches of our beloved Baptist Denomination.

There is no doubt that those organizations which the last writer considers have a right to temporary existence will live to accomplish the ends of their being. What is the use of an organization that has accomplished its work? The Society of Christian Endeavor should be placed, not where my brother puts

it, but with the Young Men's Christian Association, and others. It may be true that the word "church" does not occur in the first plank of the platform of the Society of Christian Endeavor but the motto, "For Christ and the Church" was not added last year, as the writer so mistakenly said, but was that of the first society organized. With that motto on its banner it has continued to be prosperous ever since its inception. You find no Societies of Christian Endeavor outside a Christian Church or denomination. The pledge, to which so much objection is made to-day, is for the benefit of the individual soul. Are those who have refused to take it better men and women than those who have taken and kept it? The need is not to abolish organizations which are doing such magnificent work, and bringing thousands to Christ every year. The need is their multiplication. Let us have all we can get of them, and let the Church of Christ receive the benefit of the impetus they are giving.

Let us consider the principal objection of the second and third papers. "Why go behind what God himself has commanded?" The kingdom of God commenced with the rites and sacrifices of the Jewish economy, and the same God that established those ceremonies swept them away. Apply the same principle of development to the church begun upon the basis of Jewish ordinances, and we must find these societies constantly springing up, as the first writer showed, as efforts of the church to adapt herself to, and mould changing civilizations. We cannot find anything in the Bible about missionary societies. If the churches were doing their duty to-day we would have no need of them. What society sent Paul to Asia Minor and Europe? The church at Antioch. What organization of the churches did Home Mission work in apostolic days? It was done by individual members of local churches. What education society educated a man in apostolic days, sending him to sit at the feet of Gamaliel or Paul? Who ever spoke a single word during the apostolic age about such organizations? But we do have the church delineated roughly like a sketch, or a painting in outline, not designed for any special age, which man, moved by the ever-guiding Spirit of God, should fill in with such features as were necessary for the advancement of Christ's cause. There are some men ever holding on to the past, who would like to go back and live in the meagreness of the first century. Only those who recognize that God is still living in His church, in the heart of the individual disciple, and in the congregation of believers; who realize that Jesus is still the Teacher, and know the living power of the Holy

Spirit still moving upon the church—only those who have this conception of a Christ for this century are not afraid to adopt new methods for the advancement of His kingdom, as His providence suggests them. God speed the day when we shall have not only the present organizations, but others yet unheard of, that shall minister to the strengthening and extension of the kingdom of Him whose Name is above all other names.

Rev. J. H. GRIFFITH, D.D., of Buffalo, said :

I wish to express my thanks to the brethren for stirring up my mind by way of remembrance. While listening to these papers my thoughts have been driven back upon the church, in its genesis, where I suppose we Baptists prefer to go, and where we are compelled to go, and where, brethren, I think we ought always to remain, but where I do not think we always do remain. Two or three characteristics of the church, as it is presented to us, impressed me forcibly while listening to these papers, and one was its extreme simplicity. And while it is extremely simple it is also extremely definite. I think, like the cartoon of a master artist drawing a portrait in a few strokes, the picture is there ; it is not all filled in and perfected, but it is there, and it is fixed, and very comprehensive. I sometimes fear we mistake ecclesiasticism for the church. Ecclesiasticism is narrow, a cast iron thing, like the bed of a railroad, whose rails are fixed so far apart and no farther. That is not my idea of the church as I find it in the New Testament. Its course is determined, but it is like the course of a ship on the ocean ; there is movement, there is freedom, there is breadth, there is comprehensiveness in it as an organization for the accomplishment of all God designed the church should accomplish. In the working out of that, two things, it seems to me, are requisite. In the first place, there has to be individuality. One of the papers read this afternoon remarked that the tendency of the age was to organization. I think one of the characteristics of the age is individualism, and yet it is an age at the same time which runs to organization. The great danger of the hour is that man's own personality, his individualism, shall be submerged and lost in organization. There ought to be freedom and full play. We ought, in a single word, to seek to make the church all it is possible for it to become, or, as I heard an individual express the thought, "We ought to work the church for all it is worth." That is a thing which we do not do. By the church I mean this New Testament idea of the

church, the local organization, a band of christian men and women united together. I do not mean any collection generally of christian people, as the word has been used here this afternoon, but I mean the church in the strict New Testament sense, any body of believers, like this church assembled for worship here. It should be developed in every direction. If that was done, many of the organizations to which reference has been made would never have been needed. I specify one as the Young Men's Christian Association. I believe that that Association became a necessity. Why? Because of our failure to make the local, individual church all it ought to be, and all it was possible for us to make it. For a few years I was pastor in a city where there was no Y. M. C. A. and where there were organizations in nearly every church in the city for young persons of that church to look after the young. While pastor there a representative of the Y. M. C. A. came to that city with a view of starting an organization. I said to him, "I do not need it in my church," and another pastor said he did not need it in his. Our young men were working for young men, and looking for them, and we reached them. I think this represents what is possible in more directions than one. We ought to develop the church—and, bear in mind, I mean the local, individual church—in every direction for usefulness that is possible. In charity, in philanthropy, in Sunday School teaching, in caring for young men, in looking after strangers. The single, sole organization that has any divine authority in this world is the local, individual church, and I believe in it as I believe in God, and as I believe in Jesus Christ and His great commission. I believe in its power because it is a divine institution, and the only divine religious organization we have. The nearer these great organizations of our churches in their work can be kept to the heart of the local, individual church, the better. There is great significance in the fact that the foreign missions sprang, not out of a combination of churches, but out of the bosom of the individual church, and that when Paul and Barnabas had made their missionary tour they came back and gave in their report of what God had done through them, to the church from which they went forth. The nearer we can keep all christian work to the heart of the local, individual church, and the more thoroughly it can be rooted in the church, the more vigorous and successful it will be. Why, sir, there is a complaint that the Foreign Missionary Enterprise is losing strength, that it is not growing with the growth of the denomination. I think I can see one reason for it, and that reason is that the foreign mission

work is being removed from the churches, it is prosecuted principally through organizations of the churches extra and beyond the church, and the appeal is made, "Our Missionary Board, the Board of our Missionary Union." I desire to see it brought closer, into the closest possible relation with the individual church, and that the work of converting the heathen be regarded not as the work of an organization, but as the work of the Church of Jesus Christ. (Applause.)

Rev. R. G. BOVILLE, of Hamilton, Ont., said ;

The Secretary of the local committee suggested to me that as I was to come here this afternoon, and as I had some connection in earlier life with the practical work of the Y. M. C. A., and close, intimate connection with it during my pastoral career, that perhaps if the supply of speakers ran short I might find time to make a few remarks bearing upon this most important topic brought before us this afternoon, and I would like to preface what I have to say by this further utterance : the fear of dogmatism will almost prevent my expressing all my convictions this afternoon, believing it the tendency of disciples sometimes to express themselves a little more dogmatically than the Master himself. About the only thing I feel perfectly sure of in the matter of the relation of organizations to the church, the larger church organization, is that, however humanity be handled, and through whatever instrumentality it may be handled, the only thing we must hold by, and must hold by consistently, is that it must be handled from the standpoint of Jesus Christ ; that it must be handled from the standpoint of redemption ; and whether it be the work of the Y. M. C. A. or the work of the Society for Christian Endeavor, any organization that departs from that standpoint departs from the true standpoint, and cannot be recognized by the Church of Christ. I could not help, while the papers were being read, recalling the first discussion that ever took place on the subject of church organization outside of the christian church. If my memory serves me right it was between the disciples and the Master himself, when the question arose between them as to the case of the man who was casting out devils, who did not follow the Master ; and the disciples entertained practically the same ideas as those expressed in at least two of the papers that we have listened to this afternoon. Who ought to be forbidden ? Who ought to be discouraged ? Let us remember the generous words of the Master, when he

said to his disciples, "He that is not against us is for us." With what charity he spoke of this man; with what charity he recognized him! And it occurred to me, as we are taking into account the Y. M. C. A. and the Society for Christian Endeavor, if we approached them in the spirit of the Master we could not but say with Him that these were friendly alliances, and societies of the utmost practical importance; that they were doing a grand, noble work for Christ, and that no true church member, no true follower of Christ, no well wisher of the cause of humanity should ever say a discouraging word about them. The opinion, then, which I have to express about this point will range itself under the following heads: I believe in organizations for christian work other than the church, for the following reasons: First of all, because of the multiplicity of objects to which the idea of redemption must be applied. In leaving Hamilton this afternoon I had put in my hand the new prospectus of the Y. M. C. A., which is doing magnificent work, and developing in a rapid degree, and I find that they are touching in their work the physical side of human nature by the gymnasium, by baths, by athletic clubs, and by health talks. They are touching the mental side and the social side of human nature, and in every department they are seeking to apply practically the idea of the redemption to the life and welfare of humanity. Now, it would be impossible for me to undertake all these different departments of work in connection with my church—to start an athletic club, for instance—although I should very likely have been an active member of that personally. It would not be possible, and yet this is a practical question for me, for only yesterday evening in my talk with a young man I found that his whole history turned on his connection with an athletic club not under christian influence. Now, I cannot have that in my church, and yet I must have my young men enjoy themselves with sports of a proper character, and I am thankful as a Canadian pastor—profoundly thankful—to differ from the other esteemed Canadian pastor whose opinion has been read here this afternoon, and thankful that we have an organization where the young men of my congregation can enjoy these athletic sports under christian influences. In the second place, sir, I believe in organizations for christian work other than the church for this reason, touched upon very briefly, but well, by the reader of the first paper, namely, that there is a class of work that can only be done by undenominational movements or organizations. Now, one society that has been omitted, except by one

speaker, is the Evangelical Alliance, which has recently, in the United States, and is at the present moment in Canada, playing an important part in dealing with various social problems, and suggesting to the rulers of Canada a solution for troubles we are suffering from. How could this be done by individual churches? We are not arrogant enough to say that the Baptist Church is the only church; I do not believe that James Street Baptist Church is the only christian church in Hamilton. We do not take that ground. How, then, are these questions to be dealt with, except by undenominational alliances, unless the churches come together in their struggles for religious liberty? No practical enterprise ever reached the masses of the people of our great cities without undenominational alliances, without organizations other than the christian church. I believe in these alliances, in the third place, because I believe they are practically controlled by the Church of Christ. Take the Y. M. C. A. Its active, ruling membership must be members of the christian church. The Society of Christian Endeavor, which I believe in though I have not adopted it, is composed of members of the christian church. I believe it is a poor view to take, that these organizations cannot be controlled unless we have the whole thing corporately and legally connected with the Church of Jesus Christ.. Do not the great missionary enterprises of America go on with this kind of organization? Was not the moral force of America exercised in the evangelization of the South without any corporate or legal alliance between the associations and the Baptist Churches of America? I believe, therefore, in the third place, in these organizations because they are practically controlled by the church, and I believe in them, in the fourth place, because they are doing splendid work in teaching the church how it ought to do in the future, and ought to modify its work in reaching the great masses of the people. The Y. M. C. A. idea is permeating our modern church building. The practical wisdom of this may be seen in observing the progress of churches that have departed from the old lines of leaving out the social, human element and appealing only to the mind, the transcendental being. These organizations and societies have done a grand work in leading us to a solution of many of the problems of the present day, and I believe the Society of Christian Endeavor will lead to a new idea in church membership. I believe personally that these societies have been raised up of God to lead the church on and forward in its grand work of giving the gospel to the world. (Applause.)

Professor E. H. JOHNSON, D. D., of Crozer Seminary, said :

It would be wise, Mr. President, not to stay to listen to me, because it is never my fortune at a Baptist Congress to say anything that anybody likes to hear ; in fact, what I am about to say I do not like myself ; I am in the position of the German Philosopher who said that his head was Pagan and his heart was Christian ; my head compels me to say what I am about to say, and my heart rebels at it. I think we are under the necessity of accepting organizations outside of the church to do the work of the church, and for two reasons : one that our ecclesiastical polity, our independency, and our scheme of the government of independent churches by the vote of the churches themselves makes no provision for a large part of the church work, and for a part of the church work that must somehow be done: For instance, every foreign missionary is a Bishop ; he is more a Bishop than any Diocesan of the English church, more a Bishop than any Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church. He has as much control over his evangelists as an Apostle, simply for the reason that he knows, and they know that he knows ; and that was the ground of the Apostolic authority. But there is nothing of congregationalism in that. I do not know how your missionary organization is adjusted in Canada, but the foreign Secretary and the Executive Committee of the American Baptist Missionary Union in the States is not like anything in any Christian denomination except the Pope and the Consistory ; and there is nothing congregational in that, but we cannot dispense with it any more than we can strip our missionaries of the authority which they possess. One of the speakers has said that the Sunday-school is adopted into the church. Hardly. Hardly. Hardly, when the teachers are not members of the church. Hardly, when the teachers, whether members of the church or not, elect their own officers, and quarrel over the election. Hardly, when the proceedings of the Sunday-school are in many instances beyond the control of the church and the pastor, and in opposition to the judgment of the pastor in many particulars, as many churches and pastors can testify. The control of our theological seminaries is not in the hands of the church. It is not in the one in which I happen to be a teacher ; and, as one of the speakers this afternoon has remarked, there is no provision in our polity for denominational control. At least the greater number of our theological seminaries are under the control of close corporations—that is, corporations which provide for the filling of their own vacancies—because we think by leaving that

function in the hands of these boards of trustees, the theological seminary has made a safer provision for the teaching of our future ministers than if the election of the trustees was thrown upon the members or representatives of the churches.

Another reason why we must have extra ecclesiastical organizations to do the work is this : the church is in a false position. It has departed from the plan of Our Saviour and the Apostle Paul, and it stands to-day divided in christendom. Christendom is not one ; and it is because of sectarianism that organizations other than the church must undertake to do the work of the church. It is simply impossible for the church to do it. If we adopted the suggestion of one of the brethren and left it to the church to undertake the work of the Y. M. C. A., we should have at once the most unlovely spectacle of sectarianism christendom has ever beheld. It would be sectarian interest ; and the increase in the membership of each church, and gathering in of these young men from the community would be effected in such a way as to scandalize our churches and the young men we sought to influence. Further, the Evangelical Alliance is doing a service just now which it would be utterly impossible for the church to do, and which for the church to attempt to do would lead to the most provoking, annoying and disgraceful things. In Philadelphia the Alliance is mapping out that city and showing every church its portion to visit. Suppose every church sent out its visitors in the same district, what an annoyance it would be to the people ; each visitor saying, "Come to my church !" "Come to my church !" "Come to mine !" It is plain enough that until we are one ecclesiastically, some organization which does not belong to any one church must undertake work that is legitimately church work. We should be at once in the same predicament we would be in if we discountenanced charity organizations. Suppose any individual should undertake to give according to his own judgment what he could give to the poor ; he would soon become the victim of the undeserving poor. And suppose the church should undertake to do it, that every church should undertake to do it, then the least worthy of the whole community would be the ones to get the most. Whether we have church organizations or other organizations for the relief of the poor, we are obliged to have charity organizations, something to supervise the churches ; and our charity organizations in New York do supervise the gifts of the churches. It is because of these hateful facts, that congregationalism does not make provision for things that must be done,

and that other fact that we are not one as Christ and the Father were one ; and I see not how we can be.

After the hymn, " Oh, for a thousand tongues to sing," had been sung, the benediction was pronounced by Rev. J. H. CASTLE, D. D.

First Day.

EVENING SESSION.

Mr. D. E. THOMSON presided. The proceedings commenced at 8 P. M., with the singing of the hymn, " Grace 'tis a charming sound." Rev. Dr. MURDOCH, of St. Catharines' offered prayer.

THE CHAIRMAN: I feel regret in having to announce that at the last moment President Andrews, of Brown University, is prevented from being present at this meeting. We understood from him that his paper had been forwarded, but up to the present time it has not reached the hands of the Secretary, but I hope it may come before the close of this session. This obliges me to call on the Speaker first, which is unfortunate for him, and perhaps unfair to him, but I am quite sure you will find him equal to the occasion. I have to call upon the Hon. DAVID MILLS, M. P., of London, Ont., President of this Congress, who will address you upon

NATURAL AND ARTIFICIAL MONOPOLIES.

Mr. MILLS said :

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen :

I confess that I feel somewhat embarrassed in coming before you this evening to say anything upon the subject that has been announced ; in truth I had no expectation of being here at all. Some of you at least are aware that my duties at the present time, occupy my attention pretty closely, and when one is obliged to lecture twice a day, it is not the very best prepara-

tion for a speech in the evening. Besides, not feeling that it would be possible for me to be here, I made no preparation to speak upon the subject announced, and it was my hope that I would hear something in the paper that would be read by Prof. Andrews of Brown University, which would enable me to speak for the allotted time, which I think is twenty minutes ; and it would indeed, be a rare thing, if an old parliamentarian could not manage to talk twenty minutes upon a theme when presented to him in an elaborate paper, as one by Prof. Andrews would no doubt have been. The subject, too, that of "Artificial and Natural Monopolies," seemed to me novel in a denominational gathering, and I did not know exactly what was in the minds of the gentlemen who suggested this topic for discussion, so I feared that I might take a line in speaking upon the subject altogether different from that which was in the minds of those who suggested it. In the early days of christianity there were no doubt many abuses existing in the Roman Empire of a social character, quite as great as any that exist at the present day. They were not discussed, so far as I know, by the Apostles and their immediate successors. What they depended upon was the transformation of the character of man by the religion which they taught ; they sought to implant in his mind that divine germ which was the essential feature of the Christian System, and to transform the character of the individual man ; and they trusted by that transformation of character, to work out its necessary results in all the various pursuits of human life, and they trusted also to this transformation and reform of character, for those political changes and those social reforms, which they may have considered necessary to the well being of the human family. So, Mr. Chairman, whatever I may say here to-night will not be as a Baptist Political Economist, nor as a Baptist Sociologist ; I do not know that our denominational differences have extended into these scientific spheres. I shall make a few observations from the point of view which is presented to a public man. There are a number of questions which may be embraced within the sphere marked out by this subject, "Artificial and Natural Monopolies." I suppose artificial monopolies would embrace that class of monopolies which are produced mainly by legislation, and natural monopolies those that exist in the condition of the world as we have it about us.

There are very few natural monopolies, except in a new country, where the means of intercourse are few. If a colony settles a thousand miles away from another community, and

there are no rivers to be navigated and no railways constructed, if the means of intercourse are limited and the cost of transportation high, those engaged in the various pursuits of the one locality may have monopolies in the products of their industry in consequence of this difficulty of transportation. We build railways and canals sometimes to diminish this, and to improve and facilitate intercourse, and by these means we diminish the cost of interchange, and to that extent abate, or, possibly, do away altogether with the monopolies that exist. Sometimes when we have made these channels of communication which we believe to be necessary, we think that after all we have not done a very wise thing, and so, by a policy of taxation, we undertake to bring about pretty much the condition of things that existed before these means were provided. If the cost of transporting a particular article which we may call A was B dollars, and the building of the railway or canal has done away with that cost, we impose a tax which puts the producer or the purchaser pretty much in the condition in which he was before. The notion has gone abroad and has taken a pretty strong hold upon not merely this community, but a great many others, that it is all right to improve the channels of communication for what you have to dispose of, but not a good thing to improve them for what you have to purchase ; and so customs, duties and taxes are imposed against the introduction of products of industry from abroad, while those produced at home are left free to enjoy the improved channels of communication. Many years ago M. Bastiat, a distinguished French Economist, in undertaking to point out the absurdity of this policy—this attempt to establish artificial monopolies—gives a copy of a petition which he assumes to have been presented to the Minister of Finance in Paris, which asks that the government may pass a law that no house shall be built with windows, so as to exclude the light of the sun during the day, and that no natural or artificial means of illumination shall be introduced from abroad. This was in the days before gas was much in use, and when candles were the common means of illumination, and it was proposed that this tax should be imposed in favor of the chandlers, in order that the candle industry might flourish, that all the people in France might be compelled to burn candles in daylight ; so that this class of the community might be more prosperous than they were before. Now, all artificial attempts at the improvement of the condition of one class of the community by the creation of monopolies have this effect, they are all at the expense

of the rest of the community ; if you were to make them general, and extend them to every form of industry, you would simply burden every form of industry without in the slightest degree producing any benefit, to any. It is quite true that you confer benefits by artificial legislation of this sort in favor of particular industries, but you do so at the expense of the rest of the community, or more accurately at the expense of those who are the consumers of the particular article, by the additional price ; just as you take from one portion of the community by the creation of these artificial monopolies, you confer the additional price upon the producer ; by the imposition of a tax upon the consumer, you have made many a little poorer than they were before, in order that you might make one a great deal richer. Now, the effect of the gain you see very distinctly. One of the mischiefs that flows from an attempt to create monopolies is, that the advantages are seen, because conferred upon only a few individuals, while the disadvantages are not seen, because they are distributed among so large a portion of the population.

There are other artificial difficulties or monopolies that may be created of an even more objectionable character. Take, for instance, the granting of bonuses in aid of various kinds of industrial enterprises. A man says, "I will come to your city and establish a manufacturing industry if you will give me so much, and if you will exempt me from the municipal burdens that fall upon the rest of the population." Now, it was well observed by Mr. Justice Cooley that a tax is a burden imposed upon the community for the public benefit, an expenditure for the public, the application of moneys raised for a public purpose ; but if you grant a bonus, you take property from one man and give it to another without any compensation. If you give a man fifty thousand dollars to start a factory, you simply take that by a process of taxation from all the inhabitants of the municipality, and confer it upon one particular individual. That is not taxation at all, it is spoliation—the taking of money which belongs to a great number of persons, and making a present of it to one individual, because you believe, that, in some way or other, the public are to derive, indirectly, a very considerable advantage. Now, the effect of that may be, that no one else engaged in that particular industry can go into that community and undertake to engage in the same business. If you give A, for carrying on business at B, a large bonus, and C comes, unless you give him a similar bonus he is placed

at a disadvantage ; he furnishes his own capital, while the other has not furnished his own capital, but it has been violently taken by Act of Parliament from the public at large. That is another form of creating an artificial monopoly, which Mr. Justice Cooley says is not taxation, but robbery. Then you have other schemes which have been presented. There are those relating to what is known as the nationalization of land, advanced by Proudhon, Considerant and Henry George, which I know have taken a great hold upon the community ; I know how far they have—if I may use the expression—demoralized the poorer classes of the population by making them look to some other source than economy, sobriety and industry in the production of wealth. Henry George says land is not like anything else, it is not produced by human industry, it is the product of the Creator, and so he says it differs from everything else we call property. But iron is a product of the Creator, wood is a product of the Creator, every form of mineral is a product of the Creator. If you build me a house of stone it is out of material that the Creator furnished. I no more create the material than I create the soil. I expend labor in clearing and under-draining the soil ; I can point you to some districts in this country where the clearing of the forest from the soil costs more than the land is worth, so the forest covers the soil still. Now, there is no difference, if you analyze the proposition, between land and any other form of property ; the carriage in which I ride, the wood, the paint, the iron, are all the product of the Creator as much as the soil. The labor that is expended upon them is my own industry, but it is not the only thing that has given value to the property. Let me take another case, that of mining for gold. Mines, according to this theory, are the product of the Creator, and are held in trust by the nation for the good of the community. But suppose the miner who goes either by license or in any other way to dig in the mine to-day digs up a nugget worth \$100. Are \$98 of those to be taken by the State and \$2 to be given to him as the value of his labor? is the State to appropriate all that day's produce over and above what his labor is worth? But he works twenty days in succession, and does not produce any one of those days half a day's wage ; is the State to interfere and compensate him for his loss of labor? How is the account to be adjusted, how are these inequalities to be corrected, in order that justice may be done? I will take another case. I will take what is called the increment in

real estate. In this city, lands have enormously increased in value. I am inclined to think they will not be of as great value ten years hence. People have taken the risk and purchased them, and it is said this increased value over and above what they cost is not the product of the labor of the man who has sold the land, but that all this increase by the growth of the city ought to belong to the city, or to the public at large. Well, supposing we grant that proposition, how far are you going to carry it into effect? Here is a railway built from this section of country into a new district, seemingly barren; to-day its stock is not worth more than forty cents on the dollar; the railway is not much more than paying expenses, and does not pay anything upon the original cost. Well, what do you do? The stock is sold, and by and by a large mining district is discovered at the other end of the railway, and thousands flock there and enter upon mining operations, and the road at once becomes profitable and finds something to do. Large amounts of ore are transported from one end to the other of the road, and the stock to-day only worth forty cents on the dollar, in two years sells for one hundred cents. Here is an increment just as large as in real estate. What is to be done with it? Is it to be given to the men who bought the stock, or is it to be confiscated by the State? Then let me take another case, one which I remember very well. An individual living in Wyoming Territory told me that he went into the territory with very little. Mining operations were carried on for a time, but failing in success, people left the territory, and the mines were deserted. This man had on hand an immense stock of mining tools, and when the mines were deserted, was bankrupted. But other mines were discovered, and soon the population came back again, thousands came flocking into the country, and he sold his mining tools for ten times what they cost him; there was no competition, he had a monopoly, and became a wealthy man by selling those tools to the miners. Now, I would like to know whether in that case the increment belonged to him or to the State? And why should the increment be taken from the man who buys real estate, and not taken from him? Where is the distinction? Then if you undertake to apply the doctrine to new settlements, how are you going to carry it out? Suppose this continent was without population, that there were no people here, and that the settlers were just coming into the country now, where defences were required against savages or rival civilized nations who claimed the

sovereignty of the country, who is to defend it, and how are the moneys to be provided? Mr. George says: "I will not confiscate the real estate, I will confiscate the rent; I will make every man pay the value of the real estate he possesses in the form of rents." I have not Mr. Henry George's works here, but I will venture to say I can produce his statement to that effect, which is all I can say for the present. I believe that a man is as much attached to real property as to any other; I believe that the security in the ownership of real property is as necessary to the prosperity of countries as any other; I believe that if you were to adopt Mr. Henry George's view it would not differ very widely in some respects from the village community of India, or to that policy which was adopted in the early settlement of Virginia, when they flogged men to make them do their portion of the work, and which was found, even among so good and pious a people as the early Plymouth settlers, to be a very great source of discontent. But I pass that by for the present. I do not wish to trespass upon your indulgence; but let me suppose this continent without population and about being settled, and that defensive works are required, at whose expense are they to be built? Are they to be built at the expense of the parent State? Upon this theory, they could not be built by the parent State. **Herr Most** has just as much interest in the country as the descendants of John Adams. If you take this view, you would require from some source or other to get the means of building defensive works; you would require ships to defend you against foreign attacks, you would require all the appliances needful to modern society. Where are the revenues to come from, how are they to be provided? No man's property ought to be taken, the Government ought to depend upon a rental.

Then, again, in the matter of taxation, who is to bear the taxation? You have courts to establish; are contracts to be enforced? At whose expense are they to be enforced? Is the merchant who finds it necessary to go into court to collect his debts from his debtors, to pay these taxes? Because he holds no real estate is he to bear no proportion of this public burden, and are the burdens to fall upon the real estate of the country, the holders of which have hardly any interest in the enforcement of the law of contract? How are the burdens of the Government to be met? Now, if I understand M. Considerant's view, and I think Mr. George's is the same, he would do away with the enforcement of contract altogether. He would say, if you trust a man it is no business of the State, and he would not interfere

to enforce him to fulfill his obligations with you. Whether that would be a better or a worse system than we have at the present time, it is not necessary that I should consider. I have mentioned to you now some of the things that are called natural monopolies, and two of the artificial monopolies. That there are inequalities in the production of wealth, that the speculator to-day may double the value of his property, whether he speculate in lands, or something else, there can be no doubt. But should the State interfere with a view of producing equality, or should the Law abstain from interference and leave these matters to regulate themselves? In my opinion the latter is the only safe course. Human society is imperfect; what is there that is not? What condition is there that is not attended with evils and drawbacks of various kinds? We have poor men whose poverty may be due to their misfortunes, or to their faults, to a defective character, to want of proper training—to moral defects, it may be, oftener than anything else. But we might just as well argue that the world ought to be without disease, as to argue that it should be without poverty, and without social evils or misfortunes. They exist, and it is our business to ameliorate them so far as we can, and one of the functions of man in a christian community is to exercise his benevolence and beneficence in giving relief where relief is required. If we had equality produced by the violent interference of the State, if we had a re-division of property so as to put all portions of the community upon exactly the same footing, I do not think society would make very much progress, and I do not believe men would be as good as they are. The inequalities, misfortunes, and evils, to which men are subject, are a part of the education process provided by Providence to draw men up to a higher level. If we had no suffering or no disease, if we had no misfortune amongst us, to call forth our pity, our sympathy, and our benevolence, I do not believe society would be as good as it is at the present time. Whatever may be the view of others, it is my opinion, that the world is best as it is, and that all the evils of which we complain as natural monopolies, are those which are inevitable from physical causes, or from the condition of society. Unless every man could be made a wise man, a prudent man, an industrious man, and a healthy man, inequalities must continue to exist. (Applause.)

The CHAIRMAN: Owing to the disappointment arising from the absence of President Andrews, I am authorized to say that it has been arranged that Rev. WALTER RAUSCHENBUSCH, of

New York, and Rev. LEIGHTON WILLIAMS, Secretary of the Congress, shall take part in this discussion, and shall be allowed the time allotted to principal speakers, so that this subject may be fairly placed before you before being opened for general discussion.

Rev. WALTER RAUSCHENBUSCH, of New York, said :

I must crave the indulgence of this audience in undertaking to occupy the time which ought to have been taken up by a master in the subject of which we are speaking this evening. It is not a subject about which I have had as many years of thought as the gentleman who has preceded me. For the last three years I have been working in New York City, and by reason of the pity and sympathy which the Lord Jesus Christ has implanted in my heart, I have not been able to look on the things I see about me there unmoved, or without thinking on the causes of those sad appearances. I have done some reading and some thinking upon the matter, but very little speaking. I am glad to say, for the information of the gentlemen who questioned the accuracy of the preceding speaker's statement of the principles laid down by Henry George, that I have read Mr. George's book, that I revere and honor him as my teacher to some extent in these things.

I would like to take issue, from the very beginning, with some of the preliminary statements of the last speaker, who claimed that it is the purpose of christianity to change the individual character of man, and then to leave it to that individual character to work out gradually the transformation of society. It is certainly true that it is one of the main objects of christianity to change the individual life, and to implant in the heart of man the truth and love of the Lord Jesus Christ. But I claim that that is only one-half of the object of christianity, that the other half is to bring in the Kingdom of God, and that the efforts of the Christian Church ought to be directed in a like measure to the accomplishment of that last object, and that not only indirectly, by changing the individual and gradually having the influence emanate from him, but directly, and then having the influence of society re-act upon the individual. I will use a few illustrations to make clear my meaning. There was a time when slavery was established in this country. There were at that time many christian men living in the South whose hearts beat warm for Jesus Christ; yet very few found it in their hearts, or

thought they saw the way clear, to free their slaves, to take upon themselves the immense loss which that entailed. But when society stepped in and emancipated the slave, public opinion immediately began to veer around, and there are now a very few men in the South who desire to bring about the old condition of things. There, you see that not only did individual character work upon society, but society worked upon the individual character. Not only does individual opinion, in regard to anything, gradually bring about a transformation of society, but when society is transformed, individual opinion is very rapidly transformed also. To take another example. We know what a long and costly struggle it has been to achieve the independence of the people in the history of mankind; how every step has been wrestled for and wrung out of the hands of royalty and aristocracy. It has been so in our own country and Great Britain, and all over Europe. But since the great doctrine of personal liberty has once been affirmed in the French Revolution, there is no longer any question in regard to it among civilized men. Even the Czar of Russia in making his proclamations puts himself, ostensibly at least, on the ground that he is acting for the welfare of his people, that he is the chief servant of the State, not that the people exist for him, but that he exists for the people. That great theorem is now an axiom; it has been granted; it can no longer be denied; and that which was formerly the doctrine of the few only, is now fast becoming the doctrine of all. (Applause.) Therefore, I hold that it is the duty of all christian men, and of the Christian Church also, to work in the first place towards the amelioration of personal character, and to have the influence from that emanate into society. Certainly, that is true.

But we must not be blind to the other half of the truth. We must also attack the wrongs of human society and the unjust laws of the community, to bring about righteousness through the Kingdom of God in the world, and then we shall also have an influence radiating from society and centering upon the individual. Starting with these assertions I now turn to the subject we have in hand.

The chief school of political economy is the school of freedom, holding the doctrine of *Laissez faire*, in the higher sense of that word. It holds that if natural forces are allowed their free play, the individual will be able to develop his full individuality, and society will be made comparatively happy—as happy as it is possible to be here below. That is an old assumption—a most noble idea—and it has worked out many beneficent changes.

But I assert that *Laissez faire*, this complete freedom of the natural and social forces, does not exist in society as it is at present constituted. Men are not free to-day to do that which they would do. They are compelled and hindered on all sides. We cannot buy our goods from wherever we want to. If I send for books I should like to read from Germany, I have to pay a fine for doing so. I am not free to get my information where I please. I am not free to buy clothes in Toronto and take them back to New York. I should be punished by a custom-house officer on the way back. Nor are we free to utilize the natural forces about us freely and fully. In New York City the thing which is, perhaps, the most valuable and the most desired of all things, is land, the place to stand on, to breathe on, the place to be happy in. But the natural forces which would reduce or raise the price of land, the price which I would have to pay for standing on any piece of ground, is not left free to the natural forces to determine. In the upper part of New York City, as all those who are conversant with the condition of the city know, there are vast tracts of land which would give beautiful houses to many of those who are crowded into the lower part of the city, which are absolutely held and cannot be got at at any price, because those who hold them are able to hold them, and intend to hold them until they are still more valuable than they are to-day. That monopoly, that keeping out of play the natural forces, influences the price of land, and thereby influences the health and happiness and right to live, of human society. I use this simply as an example, to point out to you that in our present condition of society we have not the full, fair, free play of the natural forces of economic or social life. They are being interfered with on all hands. We are speaking of monopolies this evening. A complete monopoly is only the highest development of something which exists from the very basis of society up. It is the capstone of the pyramid that lies below. That same tendency exists everywhere. For instance, even in England there is not a complete monopoly of land; that would mean that all the land would be in a single hand. It has not come to that yet. Still, the land is to a very large extent monopolized, because it is in the hands of a comparatively few people, and that influences the price of the land. I say, when we are speaking of monopolies, we are speaking really of a wider social and economic phenomenon, of every interference with freedom—with the freedom of natural forces. These interferences are of two kinds; the first is the artificial, which is created by law. For instance, take one

subject which is very fresh in all your minds, as I can tell from your reception of some of my remarks—the tariff creates an artificial monopoly. Suppose, for instance, there was only a single saltpetre mine in this Dominion of Canada. Suppose there were others in the United States, but that a tariff would be constructed to keep the saltpetre of the United States over there. That would really create a monopoly for the man who owned the saltpetre mine in Canada; and that monopoly would be an artificial monopoly, for, if that law had not been passed, the saltpetre from the United States could be brought over here, and that man could not raise the price of his saltpetre as high as he pleased; he would have to come down to that price of the people in the States, for which they would be willing to bring it over here. Now, such an artificial monopoly can be repealed or done away with by repealing the law which created it, and I think I shall appeal to the sense of justice in all your hearts when I say that any monopolies which are artificial are not right. (Applause.) Any person who is in the enjoyment of benefits which inure to him alone, and which are given to him by the sufferings of others, has rights which he ought not to have. Therefore, I say it seems to me to be a very fundamental and simple proposition of equity that artificial monopolies ought not to exist, and any law that has created them ought to be abrogated and repealed.

Now, in regard to natural monopolies, so called. There are some things, as explained to you by the previous speaker, which can be done only by one party. Suppose, for instance, that a street car track were to be run through Jarvis street here. It would be impossible for two companies to compete in that, because there is only so much width of street, and if a double street car track is laid along there, that is all you want on that street. Therefore, if the public grants the right of laying tracks on that street to any one party that party has a complete monopoly of the privilege of running street cars on it, has it not? Therefore that is a monopoly, and it is a natural monopoly, because it is in the nature of it a monopoly. Such monopolies have been granted very extensively. The city grants the right to lay street car tracks, and thereby creates a monopoly. The city grants to private companies the right to lay water and gas mains. That, too, is a monopoly, because, naturally, the city will object to having its streets torn up by a number of rival companies, having a large number of mains laid parallel to each other. The country grants a monopoly to almost any railway, because when there is a railway, the New York Central, for instance, running along a

certain line of territory, it almost excludes any other line from competing with it by the great cost of entering into an enterprise of that kind. You remember the West Shore Road was built almost parallel to that road a few years ago, but is it now in the hands of the same Company which owns the New York Central, which proves that the latter had a natural monopoly. Now, it is the State that grants that right to the railway company, because, unless the State grants the right to buy the land continuously, to condemn the property and buy it at a certain valuation, the Company could never build that road. It has to be granted by the power of the whole community, and therefore that privilege really belongs to the community which grants it. It is granted by the community to the Company in return for certain undertakings on the part of the Company. Now, I question whether it is wise on the part of the community any longer to give away its natural monopolies. I question whether it is right any longer for the City of Toronto to give away its rights of way through its public streets, or for the State to give away its right of way for railways, because in some cases these monopolies break down, and in others they get very rich, either of which is undesirable for the community. If the State itself should undertake the construction of these things it would alike bear the loss and the profit, and the whole thing would tend in a wonderful way to the development of the whole country. I have no time now to enter into this idea, but I would lay it down as my personal position that not only should artificial monopolies be abrogated by the repeal of the law which created them, but also that natural monopolies ought to be held and managed by that power to which they really belong, namely, the community. Mr. George has taught this proposition in his book. He is often called a socialist, but it is very incorrect to call him so; he is not a socialist, but the strongest opponent of socialism in the United States. He is a strong advocate of *laissez faire* in the highest sense of that term. Therefore he insists that artificial monopolies, such as the tariff, should be swept away, and that freedom should be given to the natural forces of society, and that natural monopolies should be owned and managed by the community to which they naturally belong. These are his propositions in regard to monopoly. Am I right? (Applause.)

Now, granting that that would be a good thing—that artificial monopoly should be done away with and natural monopolies held by the State—the question still remains whether there are not other lines of business which would still be monopolized, for

instance, the manufacture of starch, the catching of fish, the curing of salt, or anything at all. Is there not a natural tendency in human society towards the aggregation of forces, toward grasping natural forces, and uniting to crush out opposition? This afternoon, in a way very interesting to me, the point was made that there is a universal tendency to co-operation, to the uniting of forces, and that is the case because united forces are immensely stronger than scattered forces. I have noticed sometimes the working of a pile-driver. A great block of iron is hoisted up, bit by bit, to the top of a great beam, and then finally it is let loose and slides down with a tremendous impetus on the pile below and drives it into the earth. Now, imagine that great mass of iron broken up into small hammers, each weighing half a pound; imagine that these were placed in the hands of a great number of men, each one wanting to get the first chance to pound on the pile and drive it in. Do you think they would get it in as fast as by having the force repose in that great pile-driver, which comes down with one great blow at once? It is the same with all things and all affairs; there is so much more strength in co-operation than in individual work. Therefore it seems to me very likely that even after free play has been secured for natural forces those who have already a large amount of force, or those who, by moral excellence or intellectual keenness, see the advantages of combination, will get together, and after all have a monopoly. There is where the socialists and Mr. George disagree. He says that after *laissez faire* has been secured, social ills would stop and go no further. The socialists say that even after that, we should still have many of the phenomena of social life that at present distress us, and I, for my part, cannot but think that they are right. Even after that, there would still be a power of the stronger over the weaker. Therefore I would put to you the question whether, besides natural and artificial monopolies, there is not also a *necessary* monopoly. Is it not, with the tendencies of our age, in the nature of the thing, inevitable that forces will finally be monopolized? If so, who has the right to hold that monopoly? Has any individual the right to hold it to the detriment of all? Has any combination of individuals the right to hold it to the detriment of all others? Or is that a privilege which belongs to all to hold? If a monopoly draws from all should not its benefits go to all? There is the whole thing in a nut-shell. Mazzini, the great Italian martyr and liberator, points out that the French Revolution was not, as many have supposed, the beginning of a new

era. He says it was merely the closing of the old era, and an affirmation on the civil and political side of life of what the Protestant Reformation affirmed on the religious side of life, viz., personal liberty. That has now been accepted; there is no doubt about that any more; it is only working its way slowly into human institutions, but it is there now in human thought; you can never take it away again. Now, he says, the new era is beginning. We have come now to the era of co-operation and association, and all these attempts at combining and associating which we see about us in every sphere of life are only humanity's blind gropings and its feeling through the dark towards the goal which Christ Himself has pointed out to us. (Applause.)

Rev. LEIGHTON WILLIAMS, of New York, said:

I shall have to commence, as did my friend and dear brother in his remarks, by asking your kind excuse for any lack of clearness or want of condensation which may be apparent in what I have to say, or any want of care in the preparation of the subject. I had expected to speak on the subject this evening, but in doing so I expected simply to have brought out a point or two that might have occurred to me as I listened to the papers of Mr. Mills and Dr. Andrews. In what I shall have to say I shall be under the necessity of traversing a good deal of the ground covered by Mr. Rauschenbusch, and shall endeavor, where he has touched upon the subject more at length, to be brief. I start with this thought of Mr. Mills, that the world, take it all in all, is perhaps best as the Creator has made it. I think it is best for educational purposes as the Creator has made it; I understand that He made it in the way He did for educational purposes. That is not, that the saltpetre was put in one place, coal in another, iron in another, and gold in another, because the Creator thought that the diamonds would be best in the Kimberley Mines, or the gold in California or Australia, but because He was about to place upon this globe a creature whose occupation it would be, as Mr. John Stuart Mill has said, to move these things, whose education would thus be brought out. He intended that the persons whom He put upon the world should move these things from the store-houses where He had stored them, and place them wherever they would be most useful. Therefore He intended that this world should be made better than He had made it in a certain sense. The Garden of Eden is the beginning of the history of the world, but the end

of the world is the City of God, and the means by which the Garden of Eden was once lost, and that City builded is by the intervention of man. This subject, as I understand it, has a Christian bearing ; it is not simply an economic question by any manner of means, and therefore it is a subject entirely within the scope and purpose of a Christian Congress, not to call it a Baptist one. I understand that the Saviour has summed up the basis of what he intended to do in the world, what he thought the duty of mankind, in two tables, one, commanding man to love God with heart, soul and mind, and the other to love his neighbour as himself. I take it, as has been said by Prof. Ely of Johns Hopkins University, that the first table is amplified in all theological preaching and instruction, but that the second table is not touched in that at all, but that sociology is the dissemination of the laws of that second table, and that Christian churches are remarkably behind the times in their knowledge of what is conveyed in the second principle of the Saviour's table, so that those who are not professed disciples of the Prophet of Nazareth are actually going back to that Prophet's own words to support their conclusions against the so-called followers of that Nazarene. Again and again have they quoted the sayings of the Master himself to prove the truth of their position ; they have found what we have not ; they have thrown new light upon His words and new force into His meanings. Now, not to enlarge upon that, I simply say this, that, as Mr. Rauschenbusch has said, we find that man is a social being ; we find that he had a great struggle by which he should achieve for himself the possibility of using the capacities that God had given him ; that that has been a struggle not a century long, but many centuries long ; that at length the great principle of individual liberty has been instilled into the human mind, and that now the doctrine of individualism, like all doctrines that are only one side of a question, has been pressed so far that the struggle to succeed is like running amuck, and it is the fellow that has the greatest strength, that, regardless of all rights, is pushing on to the front, and it is "Devil take the hindmost." So we find in this great race it is no longer a question of duties, but a question of rights, each man for himself, and in that struggle the weaker go to the wall. We find in this way that there are such things as monopolies growing up ; not simply monopolies that have their foundation in nature, but artificial monopolies and barriers to freedom of action.

It is an old idea, but a very true one, that there must be a

nether millstone by which the force of the upper millstone makes itself felt, otherwise there would be no grinding; we want to find out what that nether millstone is, that enables the strong man after he has got the advantage to prevent another man of equal capacity from making use of his capacity, and we find in one way or another that it is because he can place some barrier in the way of his progress. There are some things, as Mr. Mills has correctly said, that are in their nature capable of monopoly; there is only a certain quantity of them in the universe, and if anybody can get hold of them they have a monopoly. If the Standard Oil Company can control all the great oil fields it certainly has a monopoly, it does not matter what the industry of anybody else is, they cannot manufacture oil if they cannot get at the wells. But on the other hand there are many monopolies that have grown artificial, as the result of legislation. I think Mr. Rauschenbusch is quite willing to leave the tariff with the presentation Mr. Mills has given of it, and when we come to street railroads the position Mr. Rauschenbusch and I would assume has been stated quite to my satisfaction by him. Then when you come to land we place ourselves not on the doctrine of the older political economists, but on the doctrine of John Stuart Mill. It was no less keen an intellect than his that discovered the increment in land. Henry George is a man of wonderful power to present thoughts with clearness, but he is not the originator of everything that passes as Georgeism; he does not claim it himself; he has simply taken what Mr. Mill has given him and presented it to the world. Where he has differed from Mill and Spencer is in this, that while these clear thinkers felt as he did, that there was an increment of land value that came from no exertion on the part of the man who owned it, or those whose title he had bought, but from the community itself, they said this thing had gone on so long that it was impossible to change it, whereas, George says, "No, it is not impossible to change; it ought to be and can be changed." We therefore feel that this natural monopoly of land, because a certain portion of the community own it against the rest of the world, is a fundamental question, and we find it also appearing, as Mr. Rauschenbusch has pointed out, in such things as railroads, street car tracks and other forms of transportation, that it is after all the hold on land that carries with it the monopoly of traffic which they enjoy. This consideration, therefore, leads such men as Henry George, who still holds to the doctrine of individual progress and individual freedom, to say that he will

not resort to legislation with the idea of imposing new laws, but will simply take off those laws by which an advantage has been given to one man which was exclusive, or as in the use of land where it was necessary that there should be exclusive possession, he will ask the people who enjoy that exclusive possession to make therefor some return to the community. Suppose, for instance, that in a theatre we should just at a certain hour announce that the doors would be open, and that the people who could make the most use of their elbows should have the front seats, what would be the result? Disorder and riot, and decent people would be kept away. But if we say that we are all agreed that the front seats are the most desirable, and that therefore the people that desire those must pay an additional consideration, we should find people taking an orderly position in the house according to what they are willing to pay for the seats, and everybody is satisfied and people come when they like. In the same way, we say that there is a natural tendency through the whole of society towards pressure at certain points. In the opera house or in this church that pressure is naturally towards the platform where the speaker or singer is. In the structure of society it is towards certain centres which we call cities, and it is at the centre of these cities that the greatest pressure exists. We say, therefore, that the man who enjoys a spot nearest that centre should make society, which has made that centre valuable, some return in the form of rent. We cannot, to-night, go into all that question, but we point to the actual holding of land in various parts of the world. I believe that here in Toronto, the ground rent system has been largely adopted, and found perfectly workable; the only thing being that the ground rents are going into the hands of private parties who make no return, instead of going to the community which would use it for public purposes. In England, Lord Hobhouse is at the head of a Commission, which, while they do not call themselves Georgites at all, are pressing for the taxation of ground rents, so that they shall go to the community instead of to the owner of the land. There is a great deal in the way we look at this; we have been trained up in certain ideas, and think they must necessarily be the laws of God. By no means are they, they are our own. Now, land being a natural monopoly is at the basis of other monopolies. Let me point out, that historically our present system of land-holding is an abuse of the old system, and not a natural growth, that the natural condition under the feudal system was that he who enjoyed the lordship of a piece of land,

always made to the community some return for it. The King as Sovereign Lord required from every great lord a certain number of retainers or men at arms, and that lord claimed from everyone under him that he should bring a certain number of men at arms for the support and defence of the community. But gradually, especially in the reign of Charles the Second, land holding parliaments threw off the burden of that taxation on the commercial community, much to the burden of that community, and to their own relief. And so it is found, I learn by recent speeches I have read, that in England, one-third of the net product of the income of that country goes into the pockets of those who make no return to the community for it in any form. I am not responsible for the figures ; I cite them as I found them.

It has been found, also, that this may be reduced largely by taxation, so that a large number of people who would not at all accept the position of Mr. George in his fundamental idea are quite at one with him in thinking it is best to place taxes on land, because they say if you place them on the land value there is no such thing as avoiding them. Therefore, in the City of New York many of the most wealthy owners of property of all kinds agree that such a scandal as our personal tax system should be abolished, and all taxes placed on land ; the remainder of the question would be, should it be on the value of the land with improvements, or without, and we can only say that as an improvement is the conversion of other personal property into buildings on the land, and that improvement has been a benefit to the community, we should not add to the taxes on the land value itself, and so, as it were, put a penalty or punishment upon the man for building a house in which people can live, and so benefiting them. If he keeps chickens on the land he is allowed to keep it for a nominal rent, but when he puts it to a useful purpose his taxes are immediately put up, which discourages building on land in a great city. Now, from all that Mr. Mills has said tonight, if I have been able to follow him correctly, he represents an old school of political economy, which is now rapidly—within the last ten years, as far as my observation goes—giving place to a new school of political economy, of which Mr. George is one, and Professor Ely, of Johns Hopkins, is another, and of which Professor Andrews, of Brown University, is another. These men are not socialists either, but they are men who have felt that there is something more in political economy than the question of how much wealth shall be produced in the community ; they

have come to feel that that science, as we realize, is something more than a question of how much money certain people shall carry in their pockets ; they have come to feel that the political doctrine is right, that it is the best community in which there is a general average of property, pretty evenly distributed, and that the question of money or the wealth of the community is but one of many questions, so that the new political school is broader than the old. I have recently had before me a pamphlet published by the American Economic Association, in which it is pointed out what an enormous change has passed over England in this respect in the last eight or ten years. And now, in drawing to a conclusion, this word : As Mr. Rauschenbusch has pointed out, Georgeism is far removed from Socialism. Mr. George still adheres to the doctrine of *laissez faire*. The great difference between that and the Socialists' doctrine is this, that the doctrine of *laissez faire* would leave the individual to work out his own social regeneration, while the doctrine of the Socialists would make everyone combine in a great social machine. Personally, I am much opposed to most of the socialistic views.

As to legislation it is thus: George, and all men who hold the *laissez faire* doctrine, and yet are progressive in their thought, would repeal such laws as they think tend to inequality ; their legislation would be of a negative sort, while, on the other hand, the legislation of the Socialists would be of a positive sort, exemplified in a book which many have of late been reading, Mr. Bellamy's "Looking Backwards," a book so entrancing that it has drawn many men into the doctrine of Christian Socialism. It has not drawn me into that doctrine. I do hold, however, that individual liberty carries with it individual responsibility ; that for what an individual has accumulated by the liberty granted him from society, he owes in return an obligation to society, and we have allowed this obligation to be forgotten. I think the social misfortunes of our day are due to that fact. We have allowed society at large to do what the land-holding parliament of Charles the Second did, to retain land and power, and to throw off the burden of rent with which it was formerly accompanied, and we have allowed men to throw the burden of responsibility which properly attached to a privilege granted them by the community back upon that community. We see it plainly in railroads. Whenever it becomes necessary for them to take land they hold out that they represent the community, but, on the other hand, if the road does not pay they say, "We are not to be compelled to run this road, because we do not represent the community's in-

terest, we represent the stockholder's interest." A learned judge in one of our Western States has taken the ground that whether or not the railway paid was not the question for him to consider; he held that having accepted a public franchise for the benefit of the people they should be compelled to run it, whether it paid or not. (Applause.) That view has at least been taken. Louis Blanc, the great philosopher of France, formulated his view in something like these words, that the ideal State was one in which from each should be required according to his ability, and to each should be given according to his need, a beautiful statement, as I understand it, of the Golden Rule.

We feel that if anybody enjoys greater advantages than others it has been the intention of God simply that he might become the educator of others. Christ, who enjoyed the greatest of spiritual advantages, did not deem that they should be used for His own purposes whatever, but that it was, therefore, his duty, to sacrifice all that, to lay it down for others, and, therefore, the doctrine of self-sacrifice is at the basis of all social regeneration. God did not make this world that it might remain a desert, that gold might stay in the mines, or that the special privileges of a certain person might stay with that person, but that the universal brotherhood of the race should be worked out by the voluntary reaching down of those who had the higher places to lift up those who occupied the lower. Bishop Nulty, one of the Catholic Bishops of Ireland, wrote a pamphlet, in which he argued as follows: "The heavens are the Lord's, but the earth hath He given to the children of men." The reasoning of the simple-minded Bishop was very simple. He said the Lord in this text not only did not give the world to some men; he did not say the earth has He given to some men, but to all men. The next question, then, will be, how shall all men enjoy it? Not only by enjoying it in common, but if it is necessary that some men shall take exclusive possession of a piece of land, as, for instance, this church lot, then it is evidently necessary that those men who thus enjoy an exclusive privilege should render to the community at large, who are the real owners of it, some return for that—some equivalent. This we feel is just; this we feel is carrying out the second table of the law, that we should love our neighbors as ourselves; that what I enjoy another should also enjoy. In fact, it is the application, as I understand it, as far as I can think out the subject, of the legal doctrine of trusts; that it is quite possible that a few should be the trustees for the benefit of the whole, but it is a great breach of trust when the

trustee uses upon and for himself that which was intended for the benefit of the whole of mankind. When the great day of judgment comes it will not be a question of how much did I give in charity, but whether the whole trust that came into my hands was used for the benefit of the *cestui que* trust or the beneficiary; the poor are the beneficiaries, as I understand, of this world-wide trust. It is not, have I murdered or stolen, but have I done those things which it is my duty as a trustee to do. I am not one of those who think the root of all social evil is intemperance or immorality; the root of all social evil is nothing else but that one thing, injustice. I find that in all literature there are no such expressions of my thought as I find in the Hebrew Prophets, where they cry over injustice; they say, "O, Lord, how long?" and complain, "There is none that calleth for justice." The word is forgotten. I had occasion last winter to preach a sermon on the word oppression, and this thought came to me: How often is the word oppression now used? It has almost disappeared from the language. The difference between robbery and oppression is this: Robbery is the violent taking of a purse from a person; oppression is forcing him in to the wall until, finding he has no outlet, he voluntarily hands over his purse. (Applause.)

The Chairman, D. E. THOMSON, Esq., of Toronto, said;

There are so many angels in this audience, apparently, who are very careful not to rush into this discussion, that regardless of the unenviable position in which the old adage places me, I propose to rush in myself. There is one thought in my mind to which I would like to give expression. First, however, let me say that the point at which I failed to follow the first speaker was where he came to the question of the nationalization of land. I understood him after combatting all other monopolies to refer to this as another monopoly against which he proposed to do battle. It did seem to me that if it were a case of monopoly on one side as against the other, the monopoly must be conceded to exist in the present state of things. Without expressing any opinion in this connection on the question of whether the monopoly is right or not, it does seem to me that the land is now monopolized by a few. What is proposed by this theory is that the monopoly shall be entirely abolished. I am not prepared to express matured views on this subject, but as applied, for instance, to such a city as this, I see no difficulty

in the application of the doctrine to the ownerships of the land by the municipality, its occupants paying rent for its use. In fact, it is at present largely done in Toronto, and with marked advantage to the community. I am perfectly satisfied that if all our municipal taxation in Toronto were levied on land it would be a much more fair and equitable taxation than we have now. (Applause.) It would be much more equitable in its bearing on the community generally than it is ever possible the present system can be. And while I am willing to confess that everything human is imperfect, and that any theory put to the test must encounter practical difficulties, it does seem to me that the tax we now impose on industry and enterprise is a barbarism, and that the time is surely coming when the community will look back upon it as such. It is surely not fair or right that you, having one lot of land upon which you choose to erect a productive building, a building that is to benefit the community, while I keep another parcel alongside it and make no use of it, should be taxed by the municipality upon the value of your improvements, and compelled to contribute to the public treasury a much larger amount than I am compelled to contribute. It would be fairer to apply the contrary rule, and if I am waiting, as I would be in that case, for the joint efforts of the community to give value to my land, I am the man who ought to be punished, and not the man whose enterprise is benefiting the community.

There may be some question as to how far Baptist or other churches ought to go in the endeavor to influence public opinion on this question; upon that I express no opinion, but there is a sense in which this and similar questions require our most earnest consideration. The matter of determining our attitude towards the struggles of humanity can never be unimportant to those who desire to be followers of the meek and lowly Jesus. One of the greatest reproaches of the Church of Christ in all ages has been that too often its leading men, its men of position and influence, have been willing in popular struggles to take the side of the high and rich and great. It has not kept near enough to the struggling heart of the great human race. (Applause.) Let us look for a moment at the present state of things. I am not able to lay down any system that would satisfy my own mind, much less yours, as to what ought to be done, but I hold that any man who, apart from questions of inheritance or gift—which I do not propose here to discuss—has obtained possession of money or property for which he has not given a full and fair

return to the community, is in God's sight a robber. You may think that strong language, but I believe I am not guiltless in God's sight if I am in possession of a single dollar that I have not earned. If the command to love our neighbors as ourselves, if all the similar injunctions that are given us mean anything, they must at least mean that no honest man can afford to regard himself as guiltless who is in the possession, by any process whatever, of that for which he has not rendered a fair return to the community. Of course, we do not care to apply such doctrine to our individual selves. We would rather apply it to our wealthy neighbors. The latter will answer my purpose just now. Do you not believe things are in such a shape to day that a great many men are in possession of money that they have not come by honestly or fairly if you apply this rule? Do you not believe that things are so contrived now that thousands of men are possessed of wealth for which they have given the community no adequate return? You will all admit that this state of things exists to a large extent, and that it is an evil. I care not by what name you call the struggles of the people against that evil. I care not how mistaken they may be in their conceptions of the remedy that is to be applied. I hold that the Church of Christ is derelict in its first and most important duty, if it fails to have a warm heart for the wrongs of those who are oppressed, and injured and kept down by this state of things. (Applause.) So long as there is human suffering; so long as there are imperfections, if you like, in human laws and human ways of doing business, causing wrong and suffering, the place of the Church of God is down beside the sufferer. Our primary mission is to them, and the peril of the church to-day is what has been its peril often, and never more clearly than now; the peril of becoming fashionable and worldly, and catering to the great and the powerful, and forgetting the struggling mass that lies below; forgetting that they, too, are our brothers. (Applause.) I take the ground the last speaker has taken; the difference between our way and God's way is the difference between selfishness and self denial. Christianity is self-denial personified. Christ came into the world to give Himself for us, teaching us that our lives are not our own, that we should live for others. Selfishness is man's way, self-denial is God's way. Whatever may be our opinions with regard to particular laws and particular anomalies existing to-day, we are all compelled to admit that there never was an age of more intense selfishness than this age. The duty of the Church of Christ is to combat this selfishness at every point, and unless

we are so doing we are not doing our duty. Let us keep our hearts warm towards the struggles of humanity. Let us keep our eyes wide open to discover, and our hearts stout to help them in securing their rights. Let us not excuse ourselves by pointing out that they labor under misconceptions with reference to the relief they require, and the mode of securing that relief. If they have wrong conceptions our duty is to sympathize with them and help them to right conceptions. (Applause.) It may be that the transformation of society that shall take place within the next hundred years will be entirely different from that which Bellamy in his vision has seen, but if the Church of Christ is loyal to her Master, and equal to her opportunity in this age, that transformation will be more wonderful than Bellamy or any other man has ever conceived of. (Applause.)

Mr. A. BLUE said :

I have listened with a great deal of interest to the several speakers this evening. They have presented the subject to you from various points of view, and from differing points of view. I regret that I do not feel competent to discuss the subject exhaustively. I was asked some time ago to take part in the discussion of one or two of the questions to come before this convention, but it was only the other day that I became aware of the present subject, and it was only this evening I was able to give a few minutes to the consideration of it before coming here. I am not a practiced speaker, and I fear I shall not be able to interest you for any length of time ; at all events, I shall not undertake to occupy your attention a very long time. I want to call attention to one of the statements made by Mr. Rauschenbusch in discussing the subject of artificial monopolies. He stated, if I did not misunderstand him, that all artificial monopolies are wrong, and ought to be abolished. I would ask the gentleman if he would abolish the laws of copyright and patent right, which are monopolies quite as much as anything can be? I am not acquainted with any political economist, be he of the old school or the new school, who advocates that these monopolies should be abolished. Such certainly is not the teaching of Adam Smith, Malthus, Stuart Mill, Thorold Rogers, Simon Newcomb, or even Henry George himself ; indeed, the latter, in his book on Progress and Poverty, distinctly argues in favor of such monopolies. His own books are copyrighted, and I am not sure but the New York "Standard" itself is also. Now,

I think that this is eminently proper. I think patent right and copyright are based on correct principles of political economy; there is no other way which occurs to me in which we could compensate or reward those who give us the benefit of their thought, whether in books, machines or any other kind of human invention. Now, as to the subject of the nationalization of land; it has been correctly stated, I believe, that Mill was one of the first advocates of that system. He was the author of the phrase, "the unearned increment of land." Some twenty years ago he undertook to discuss that subject publicly in England. I know that in Prof. Thorold Rogers' last book, the Economic Interpretations of History, Mr. Rogers tells us that Mr. Mill invited himself to the discussion of the subject. Mr. Rogers was opposed to the theory, and for that reason Mr. Mill wished that he should engage in a discussion with him. Now, it seems to me upon reading Thorold Rogers that he has completely disposed of the views of Mr. Mill on the subject of the nationalization of land. (Hear, hear.) Suppose the land was nationalized, what would the effect be? Suppose it had been nationalized twenty years ago what would be the condition of England to-day? We know very well that if any attempt had been made to nationalize the land, to take it from private individuals and put it in the hands of the nation, very extravagant values would have been put upon it. But apart from that, the depreciation which has taken place has been so enormous as to impose a very heavy burden upon the state were it to undertake to pay even the interest upon the land value. Why, what has taken place in our own Province of Ontario? A comparison of the values of farm land in this Province this year with the values of 1883, shows that there has been a depreciation to the extent of \$22,000,000, and we have no reason to believe that the extreme point of depression has been reached yet. The cause of it is manifest. During the last ten years enormous tracts of land have been brought under cultivation in our own Northwest and in the Western States, in the heart of India, in Russia and many other places, tracts of land equal in extent to whole empires have been brought under cultivation and made productive, and have yielded crops of barley, wheat, rye and oats, and grazed cattle by tens of thousands. The effect has been to lower the values of farm produce, of grain, of live stock, of everything that is produced upon a farm, and the values of products having been reduced the price of land itself has fallen, and we cannot say how far this is to go on. The American gentlemen here have probably a very inadequate con-

ception of the extent of waste land that we have in the Dominion of Canada ; it is almost equal in extent to the whole of the United States, and I may say a very large portion of it is admirably adapted for agricultural purposes. Now, if that land is settled within twenty years, or within fifty years, the process of the depreciation of values in farm lands is almost certain to go on. In that event what would be the effect of the proposed nationalization of land ? I have said that if this plan of nationalization of land was adopted, the values of the land, would be increased very largely to the Government. An effective illustration of that was given in England when the telegraph system was taken over by the Government there. A valuator was appointed by the Government, who placed certain values on the plant of the telegraph companies. That valuation was as high as the original cost, equal to the price of British consols in fact, although at the outside it was only worth fifteen years purchase, for the reason that the plant of telegraph companies requires to be replaced about every fifteen years. Yet with better facilities than any other country, with short lines and a large population. telegraphic messages are dearer in England than elsewhere, and the receipts of the service hardly pay interest on the purchase money. Now, if that was the case in taking over the telegraph companies, how much more would it be the case in taking over land ? But that would not be the only evil ; we would place the control of the land not in the hands of landlords, who stand in some relation to their tenants, and have some consideration for them, but in the hands of a squad of Government officials, an army of Government officers, men whose only interest in far too many cases is simply to draw their pay and ask for more. (Laughter.) I think I may venture to make that remark freely, because I am a Government officer myself. These men would have no consideration for a tenant in a bad year. We might have a complete failure of crops in the country, as we have had over and over again ; two or three times within the past fifteen years we have in this Province failed to grow enough for bread. Nearly all our crops failed, the farmers suffered sore disaster, and many who were tenants were not able to pay their rent. Their landlords might have some consideration for them, they undoubtedly did, but what consideration, I ask you, would a Government officer have ? I think that our present system is very much better as a practical measure than the system of Mr. Mill or Henry George. (Applause.)

Now, the post office has been taken over by the State ; it was

taken over by the Government of Great Britain in the time of Cromwell. For many years the rate of postage was very high, and it yielded a large revenue to the government, but, although that was the case, the government positively and absolutely refused to be responsible for the carriage of the mails. Two or three cases, I believe, were tried in the courts, and English Judges declared that it would be very unwise and very unsafe to adopt the system of insuring the carriage of letters. Yet a common carrier is obliged to give a guarantee of safe carriage for the goods he takes. I think, Mr. Chairman, you will agree with me in that.

THE CHAIRMAN : And very qualified indeed it is.

Mr. BLUE : I think the law, at all events, requires it.

THE CHAIRMAN : It did at one time.

Mr. BLUE : In that case there is a great difference between what is required of the State and what is required of private individuals or corporations. Now, as regards the nationalization of railways, if the railways became the property of and were managed by the State, how difficult it would be for an individual to secure compensation for injury. The state would not, in that case, any more than in the carriage of letters, undertake to give safe carriage, and the loss might be a very serious one to the community. With regard to one other feature of landed property in cities, I agree, to a very large extent, with the opinions stated by the Chairman and one or two of the speakers. The policy of the corporation of a city or town holding lands and renting them to occupants, has been tried in many cities and towns ; it has been tried here, and I believe the result has been satisfactory. We have, I understand, some seventeen hundred acres held by the city—much the greater part of it unimproved land yet—and the amount of rental derived from that property has been very constantly on the increase. From a statement I obtained from the City Treasurer I learned that in 1869 the amount of the rentals was \$27,000 ; in 1879, \$37,000 ; in 1889, \$60,000. In the case of particular properties I find that one lot, the rental of which in 1879 was one dollar per foot, is now rented for \$6.50 per foot ; another, the rental of which in 1879 was one dollar, is now rented for \$12 ; another, which rented for fifty cents, now brings \$4.50 ; another, which rented at one dollar, is now \$4.50 ; another, which rented for \$4, now rents for \$10.50, and another, worth \$2 in 1879, now brings \$5 per foot. The same system has also been adopted in the management of our University lands ; these lands as they fall in are revalued, and in

that way there is a prospect of an excellent revenue being obtained for the University. The University of Columbia College in New York has also adopted that plan, and its present revenue is something enormous. There is another property in New York, known, I believe, as the Sailors' Snug Harbor, the rental of which has increased so rapidly that, although the obligations are growing every year, the managers are unable to use the whole of the revenue, and, according to report, they are not a very saving board of managers either. There is one other natural monopoly in this city that we have taken possession of. I refer to the water supply. In 1875 our water works were entrusted to a commission, and were managed by that commission some four or five years. I was not then a citizen of Toronto, but I understand that it was not very wisely managed; it was not a source of much revenue to the city; in fact I believe it was carried on at a loss. It was taken over by the city in 1878, and that year, for the first time, a discount of $33\frac{1}{3}$ per cent. was allowed on prompt payment of water rates. Under the management of the city the revenue continued to increase from year to year, until, in 1883, the discount was increased to 50 per cent. From 1885 until the present time the revenue of our waterworks has been increasing very gradually. In 1885 our net revenue was \$30,000; in 1886, \$40,000; in 1887, \$62,000; and in 1888, \$79,000. In 1885 we had 143 miles of mains in the city; in 1886, 156 miles; in 1887, 166 miles; and in 1888, 182 miles. We had in 1885, 20,707 house services; in 1886, 23,643; in 1887, 26,893; in 1888, 29,883. So that, under the management of the city, the waterworks have yielded a very excellent source of revenue; so much so that at the present time the city proposes to make the discount 60 per cent. This is one instance of a natural monopoly being used as a source of the public revenues. I had some others to present, but I am warned that the allotted time is up.

The audience sang, "Onward, Christian Soldiers," after which Rev. Dr. WELTON pronounced the Benediction.

Second Day.

WEDNESDAY MORNING.

Rev. J. F. ELDER, D. D., of New York, occupied the Chair. The hymn, "O could I speak the matchless worth," was sung, after which Rev. H. H. PEABODY, D. D., of Rome, N. Y., read the 123d Psalm, and followed with prayer.

The subject for discussion was introduced by a paper on

THE AUTHORITY OF CHRISTIAN CONSCIOUSNESS,

BY PROF. ALBERT H. NEWMAN, D. D., OF TORONTO.

"Reason, Conscience, Revelation—these words are regarded by some as an invincible dissonance, the keynote of which is wrong; by others as a dissonance which, though it may be and ought to be overcome, requires for this end a diminution of the intervals; while we unhesitatingly affirm that we discover here a harmony such as no earthly music can offer, such as the masters of sacred art have believed they heard when attempting to imitate in their creations celestial choruses, in whose manifold complications there is still a prevailing harmony, comprehending and uniting the world of sounds."

These eloquent words of Hermann Cremer express my own conviction as to the essential harmony of consciousness that is Christian in reality and not merely in name with revelation.

The subject I am called upon to discuss is the *Authority of Christian Consciousness*. By "authority" we understand "legal or rightful power," a "right to command." The correlative idea is that of obligation to obey. The king has authority over his subjects, the general over his soldiers, the parent over his child. Such authority, however, is purely derivative in its nature and hence is not absolute. The king's authority does not extend to the thoughts or the conscience of his subject. At the utmost he can command only external obedience; he cannot command internal accord.

In the topic before us the question is not one of authority

derived and limited, but of authority absolute; not of a right of Christian Consciousness to control one department of man's being, but of a right to control man's entire being—body, soul and spirit.

The only authority that pertains to man's entire being, and that is absolute and final, is *the will of God*. The question for discussion, therefore, is whether or not Christian Consciousness is a trustworthy and infallible expression of the will of God, or, if not absolutely trustworthy and infallible, whether it is the most trustworthy expression of God's will.

The *a priori* probability that God would reveal His will in a way that should be readily apprehended by His children is generally admitted. Has He left man to the gropings of reason? The utter failure of reason throughout the ages to gain any sufficient idea of what it concerns us, as immortal, spiritual beings to know, seems decisive against this method. Is conscience a sufficient revealer of God's will? The immorality of mankind, on the one hand, and the utter despair, resulting in asceticism, on the other, point to a negative answer. Reason demands truth, but cannot find it. Conscience demands righteousness, but cannot realize it. Revelation—above all, God's perfect revelation of Himself in the incarnate Christ—fulfils the demands of reason and of conscience.

What, now, is Christian Consciousness? Consciousness, I take it, is essentially man's immediate knowledge of his own acts and states, the latter term including the impressions made upon him by God and His creatures. Christian Consciousness is the consciousness of a man who is a christian, as a christian. The Christian Consciousness differs from ordinary human consciousness in so far as a regenerate man differs from an unregenerate. I have attempted to define consciousness as a faculty; the term is likewise used to denote the deliverances of this faculty. The term Christian Consciousness is capable of a like employment. By a still further extension the term comes to designate the common christian sentiment with reference to the matters of which Christian Consciousness takes cognizance. In this general sense the Christian Consciousness of the present generation would be the combined result of the christian life and thought of the past eighteen centuries, and the christian life and thought of the present.

Let us suppose a man combining in his own person all the good and bad qualities of humanity, converted to Christ in the apostolic time, subjected to the Judaizing and paganizing pro-

cesses of the early centuries, plunged at last into the depths of mediæval bigotry and superstition, emancipated from bigotry and superstition through the study of the Bible and the influence of Greek and Arabic philosophy, subjected to the various influences of Lutheran and Calvinistic Protestantism, precipitated in turn into Socinian rationalism and indifferentism, and into hyper-Calvinistic fatalism, aroused thence into a state of frantic evangelistic enthusiasm—in a word, let us suppose him to have passed through every imaginable phase of christian life and thought, to be still alive and resting at present in some one of the multitudinous religious parties. The experiences of the past would remain and would form a part of the contents of his Christian Consciousness; but the experience of the present and his present environments would exert a still more marked influence.

The Divine element is permanent and unvarying. The impression made by the Divine element in consciousness will depend very largely upon the character of the individual. The character of the individual depends upon inherited and acquired capabilities and tendencies, and upon environment. Each christian individual has a Christian Consciousness different from that of every other individual. Each age has a collective Christian Consciousness different from that of any other age. So far as there is agreement it depends upon the invariableness of the Divine element, likeness of natural and acquired dispositions, a common using of the experience of the past. There are points in which christians of all religious parties agree, and in which universal Christian Consciousness may be said to speak with one voice, but I am doubtful whether the contents of such a consensus would be very rich. There might be a considerable show of agreement in words, but the same form of words may express widely different conceptions in the minds of a number of individuals using it. We should expect that in those who are truly regenerate there would be agreement at least in the understanding of the fundamental truths of Divine revelation; but even here remarkable differences would appear.

For practical purposes, however, we are precluded from making use of the deliverances of the universal regenerate consciousness by the following considerations: 1. We cannot infallibly discriminate between the regenerate and the unregenerate. 2. Even in regenerate consciousness we cannot determine infallibly how much of consciousness is due to the regenerate principle, and how much is due to the natural man. 3. If these two difficulties were out of the way, it would be a practical impossibility to

collect all these deliverances in such a way as to compare them.

4. Even if we had them collected and expressed in words, we could by no possibility determine the signification that any given form of words bore to the consciousness of each individual employing it. The use of the term Christian Consciousness in this sense must therefore needs be exceedingly vague. Practically, it is likely to mean, in the mouth of any individual user, the views that he and his set have come to entertain with reference to the great questions of theology, morals and religion. If the results of all past christian experiences could be brought together in intelligible form, they would constitute, no doubt, an invaluable help to current christian life and thought. Herein lies the great value of church history, rightly studied and taught. The church historian can divide the eighteen christian centuries into great epochs, and can characterize each epoch by a few general statements. Such divisions into epochs are not wholly arbitrary; and general characterizations, while they can only partially cover the ground, are based upon real conditions of the Christian Consciousness of the time, that differentiate the epoch from every other. If the middle ages are rightly characterized by intolerance, superstition and fanaticism, finding general expression in crusades, inquisition, and idolatry, the nineteenth century is no less characterized by tolerance, freedom from superstition and fanaticism, philanthropy, scientific investigation, etc. Underlying the Christian life and thought of the middle ages, there must have been a general Christian Consciousness differing widely from that which underlies the Christian life and thought of the present. Philosophical views and scientific theories, while they are in part a product of the age in which they appear, exert in turn a vast influence upon the Christian Consciousness of the age.

Let us now address ourselves to the question. How far and in what sense Christian Consciousness may be accepted as a trustworthy expression of the will of God? Here our best instructor will be the Word of God. To reach a satisfactory view of the relation between Christian Consciousness and the teaching of Scripture as to the believer's special qualification for apprehending spiritual things, we should have a clear understanding of the Scriptural representation of man in his unfallen, fallen and regenerate states. I am inclined to accept the division of man's nature into body, soul and spirit (*soma*, *psuche* and *pneuma*) as most in accord with Scripture, and as best explaining the facts of man's unfallen, fallen and regenerate states. *Psuche*

is the seat of personality, the immortal principle, and embraces intellect, emotions and will. *Pneuma* is the Divine principle in man, manifesting itself chiefly in conscience, in aspirations after God, in communion with God, and in apprehension of spiritual things. In the unfallen man *soma* and *psuche* were under the control of *pneuma*. The subjection of *soma* and *psuche* to *pneuma* constituted man holy, and gave him blessed communion with God. The fall consisted in the fact that *psuche* emancipated itself from the control of *pneuma*, seeking for itself a higher good apart from God, and in opposition to the promptings of the *pneuma*, through which chiefly the will of God was made known. Though dethroned, *pneuma* persisted in the form of conscience and of a prompting towards godliness, more or less pronounced. *Psuche*, in so far as sensuality supplanted *pneuma* in its control, is represented as under the dominion of *sarx*. Yet the struggle between *pneuma* and *sarx* continues in the unregenerate man, intellect itself (*nous*), declaring the way of the *pneuma* to be the preferable way, but *sarx* prevailing over *pneuma*, and constituting the man *sarkical*. When the unregenerate man is spoken of without special reference to his subjection to the *sarx*, he is said to be *psychical*. In regeneration man's *pneuma* is reinforced by the Divine *pneuma*, *sarx* is dethroned, and *psuche* and *soma* are brought under the dominion of the *pneuma*. Christ dwelling spiritually in the believer constitutes his true life. Yet the strivings of the *sarx* do not at once cease. Though it has received its death blow, it is tenacious of life. The believer does not once for all become what according to his profession he should be. The regenerate man is called *sarkical* or *psychical* on the one hand, and *spiritual* on the other, as the *sarkical* or *psychical* elements, including not merely sensuality, but a rebellious attitude of the intellect and will as well, are not, or are, in entire subjection to the spiritual. In the perfected state, *pneuma* becomes absolutely dominant, while in the finally impenitent *pneuma* remains as the Divine accuser, the "worm" that "dieth not."

What then shall we say of the authority of the consciousness of the regenerate man with reference to the things of God? The believer is said (1 Cor. II.) to speak God's wisdom in a mystery, even the wisdom that hath been hidden." "The things of God none knoweth save the Spirit of God." "We received . . . the spirit, which is of God; that we might know the things that are freely given to us by God." "He that is spiritual judgeth all things, and he himself is judged of no man. For who

hath known the mind of the Lord, that he should instruct him? But we have the mind of Christ." God is said to have "shined in our hearts to give the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ." The believer is said to abide in Christ and Christ to abide in the believer. Believers are spoken of as "reflecting in a mirror the glory of the Lord," and are said to be "transformed into the same image from glory to glory." Believers are said to "have an anointing from the Holy One," and to "know all things." The Apostle *knew* whom he had believed. "If any man willeth to do His [God's] will, he shall know of the doctrine." I think we may safely say, that if in any given case we could be perfectly sure that the *sarx* is in complete subjection and that the *pneuma* is absolutely dominant, that we are filled with the Spirit, that we have realized as complete a union with Christ as it is the privilege of the believer to enjoy; if we can say without reservation "to me living is Christ," in such case, I doubt not, our Christian Consciousness would express God's will in a highly authoritative form. But, alas! those of us who are not hopelessly eccentric, know too well how lively the *sarx* is still within us, how incomplete the dominion of *pneuma*; and we cannot escape the conviction, based on experience and observation, that Christian Consciousness, while it has its important place in furnishing the believer with assurance of his acceptance with God, and of the reality of his personal appropriation of revealed truth, is exceedingly *variable* and *deceptive*. I believe that just in proportion to the height of the christian's attainment in spiritual life will be his lack of confidence in the infallibility of the deliverance of his consciousness, and his sense of the need of a higher standard of appeal.

The limitations of the authority of Christian Consciousness may be instructively illustrated by certain historical perversions. We will consider a few representative cases.

1. Gnosticism. We should be scarcely justified in regarding the Gnostics of the first and second centuries as conscious deceivers. Coming to a slight knowledge of christianity deeply imbued with the esoteric theosophy of Egypt and Syria, their minds full of questionings, many of them were no doubt wholly sincere in the belief that they had risen above *pistis* to complete *gnosis*, and that they had found in christianity a key to the mysteries of the universe. Now no sane man of the present thinks that the slightest degree of authority is to be attached to the Christian Consciousness of a Basileides or a Valentinus. The

fact is, they were woefully deceived, and they lured multitudes of souls to destruction.

2. Montanism, in some respects, the antithesis of Gnosticism, furnishes a still better illustration of the deceptiveness of Christian Consciousness ; because we feel surer of the sincerity—of its leading representatives, and because the movement involved a more direct appeal to the authority of Christian Consciousness. Montanism represents, on the one hand, a re-action against the growing secularization of the church and against the speculative spirit of Gnosticism, and, on the other hand, a revival of heathen manticism, with its wild enthusiasm, ecstasy, visions, etc. Wrought up into a frenzy by zeal for reform, in view of the speedy approach of the end of the age, the Montanists supposed their fevered fancies to be the direct utterances of the promised Paraclete, who was to guide into all truth ; and they did not hesitate to place such utterances as far above New Testament revelation as New Testament revelation is above the Old Testament revelation, or to make them the basis of doctrines contradicting or supplementing the teachings of the New Testament. In fact, they laid far more stress upon the supposed teachings of the Paraclete than upon the words of our Lord Jesus Christ himself, authentically recorded, as they fully believed, in the Gospels. Phenomena of this kind are likely to occur at any time, and have almost invariably accompanied religious movements in which zeal has exceeded proper bounds, and genuine enthusiasm has given place to fanaticism. Mediæval and modern instances without number could be readily cited. Here we have what claimed to be Christian Consciousness, based upon immediate Divine communication. Does anyone now believe that Montanus and his prophetesses were really inspired by the Spirit of God in their unscriptural utterances ?

3. Mysticism is another form of unwholesome dependence on Christian Consciousness widely different from either of those mentioned. Christian mysticism had its historical derivation from the semi-pantheistic Neo-Platonic theosophy. Disgusted with the emptiness of forms and ceremonies and the utter corruption of church life, and imbued with Neo-Platonic conceptions of God, man and the world, the mystic turned his thinking inwards and sought fully to realize union and communion with God. By dint of profound and long continued meditation men of strongly intuitional minds were able to persuade themselves that they were so completely merged in Deity, that the deliverances of their consciousness was the very utterance of God.

"God and I are one in knowing," wrote Master Eckart. "God's essence is His knowing, and God's knowing makes me to know Him. Therefore is His knowing my knowing. The eye whereby I see God is the same eye whereby he seeth me. Mine eye and the eye of God are one eye, one vision, one knowledge, and one love." Again, "So long as ye desire to fulfil the will of God and have any desire after eternity and God, so long are ye not truly poor. He alone hath true spiritual poverty, who wills nothing, knows nothing, desires nothing." Again, "For us to follow truly what God willeth is to follow that whereto we are most inclined—whereto we feel most frequent inward exhortation and strongest attraction. The inner voice is the voice of God." As might have been expected some mystical minds were held by practical evangelical christianity from ruinous extravagances, and furnish some of the noblest examples of christian life and devout thought. Others, however, were swept into the abyss of pantheistic reverie, to the utter subversion of christian life. Mysticism, moderate and immoderate, has had its representatives in every age. Few, we take it, would venture to maintain that the pantheistic, often senseless, utterances of an Eckart, or a Suso, or even the more moderate and thoroughly devout utterances of a Tauler or a George Fox, are authoritative exponents of the Divine will.

4. The New Theology. It is in connection with the method of religious thought popularly known as the "New Theology" that the term Christian Consciousness is now most frequently used. To trace the historical derivation of this mode of thought would transcend the time at my disposal. Socinianism, Kantian and Hegelian philosophies, Coleridgeanism, German Biblical Criticism, New England Transcendentalism,—these and other modes of thought, interacting and overlapping each other have had much to do with the formation of the Christian Consciousness of the Andover School. American literature, as is well known, is chiefly the product of advanced unitarianism, and is of course permeated with unitarian and humanitarian principles and sentiments in their subtlest forms. In the absence of strong counteracting agencies, these principles and sentiments would inevitably impress themselves powerfully upon those subjected to their influence, and would manifest themselves in Christian Consciousness. The counteracting influences seem to have been to a great extent absent in the case of the Andover School. The Andover Christian Consciousness so magnifies the love of God and the mercy of God as to lose sight, in a measure, of God's

punitive justice and of God's holiness, which is "a consuming fire." To quote the words of an Andover theologian: "The Christian thought of the mercy of God our Heavenly Father, has felt itself restrained by certain limitations which it is claimed the Bible puts upon the offer of the Gospel to mankind, until now it cannot help asking if there are any members of the human family who are shut out from the opportunities of grace, any who are left to be treated simply according to their actual deserts. It is admitted, and even contended, that every theory concerning the extent of the Gospel's power must be grounded on the Word of God, or at least must not be contradicted in any part of the divine revelation. But it cannot be denied that the Christian Consciousness, with its certainties concerning God, with its experience of the very heart of God, with its knowledge of his love upon which the world presses, and which throbs in sympathy for the whole world, must be satisfied, or at least must not be dissatisfied, with the views which are presented concerning the extent of God's grace to mankind in the Gospel. The same facts might be confirmed by tracing the development of the doctrine of the atonement. The Christian Consciousness of to-day, which is a product of the Gospel, cannot be contradicted by the Gospel. Hence any theories which claim to be confirmed by the Bible, yet against which Christian sentiment protests, should not be accepted."

The Andover Christian Consciousness finds many of the doctrinal representations of the Apostle Paul, as they are commonly understood, out of accord with itself, and attributes them to his Rabbinical training, to his contact with Roman legalism, etc. In short, if the Andover Christian Consciousness finds difficulty in accepting any Scriptural teaching whatever, so much the worse for the Scriptural teaching. The authority of Christian Consciousness "cannot be contradicted by the Gospel."

Now I have great respect for the Andover theologians and others who are like-minded; but does it not seem just a little presumptuous in them to set up their own religious sentiments in the face of the united sentiment of the most devout minds in all ages, nay, in the face of Scripture itself, and to claim that these sentiments are the deliverances of Christian Consciousness? Whatever might be the authority of universal Christian Consciousness, the authority of the consciousness of a small faction is, to my mind, *nil*. I have known a few men whose Christian Consciousness I should be inclined to regard as almost infallible; but these have all been men noted for their reverence for Holy Scrip-

ture and wholly subordinating their own consciousness to its teaching. I had far rather trust the Christian Consciousness of Paul or of John, than the Christian Consciousness of a Smyth or a Munger. If Paul and John were Jews and had been subjected to the influences of their age, Smyth and Munger are nineteenth century Americans and have been subjected to influences even more likely to pervert their Christian Consciousness. Besides, the united Christian Consciousness of eighteen centuries has attested the special divine inspiration of the Scriptures. If this verdict be correct, it implies that the inspired writers were freed, for this purpose at least, from the influence of the *sarx*, and were brought wholly under the influence of the *pneuma*. When we hear of the Christian Consciousness of an individual or a faction setting itself up in oppositon to Scripture, I think we are pretty safe in suspecting that *sarx* is lurking in the background.

Dr. NEWMAN'S paper was followed by an address by Prof. E. H. JOHNSON, D. D., of Crozer, Pa.

Dr. JOHNSON spoke as follows :

What sort of feeling we have concerning the problem before us depends upon the direction from which we approach it. If anyone can say out of his experience, as it is precisely out of his experience Paul says, "I know whom I believe," there should be for him scarcely a more engaging question than this. In what way does religious experience justify the statement that one has tested the truth of God? But if a man should say my religious experience shows me that some Christian Consciousnesses are true, and leads one to doubt that others are true, then you see the problem becomes immense, and even formidable, and that is the situation. What are called intuitions by some theologians are all the same thing at bottom ; and if I may be permitted to say that now, it will aid in the consideration of the question.

What is Christian Consciousness? Well, what is consciousness? It is being aware of some mental process. I may be aware that my mind is thinking, or feeling. I am aware I am having an experience, and Christian Consciousness is simply being aware of a Christian experience. Now, what are Christian experiences? They are just those transactions in the mind which Christianity says are peculiar to Christians. Or, in other words, Christian Consciousness is the recognition of the corres-

pondence of facts within us, to the statements in the Bible. As for instance, the Bible says a man is a sinner; the Christian recognizes the correspondence of that statement to fact. The Bible says men are by nature sinners, and the Christian admits that he has within him facts attesting the truth of that. The Bible says Christ is the Saviour, and in the same way I might go through the whole list of Christian doctrines, and in every case there would be someone who would say that within his consciousness were facts corresponding to that doctrine.

Now, as to the authority of Christian Consciousness as thus defined, I have three propositions to make. The first is that Christian Consciousness is a standard of doctrine, because man is the image of God. He is a reduced likeness of the Most High; and if a doctrine concerning God is alleged which does not correspond with the image of God found in himself, it does not correspond with the standard found in himself. Your missionary friend is going to send home his boy, and he wants you to meet him at the landing stage. He writes and tells you how the boy looks, what clothes he wears, and also sends you a photograph of the boy who is to land. Two boys land; one has on the clothes described, but he has not the face; the other boy has the face. Which boy will you accept as the child of your friend? Besides this, all the higher faculties of man can be exercised God-ward. God has made man for himself, and every one of these faculties seeks exercise. The desire of our several faculties for exercise is an appetite, just as the muscles of children desire exercise. If a doctrine is offered which fails to satisfy these appetites of the highest faculties, there is within one's self something which protests against that; there is a standard within one's self which protests against that doctrine. Man has a conscience; and if a doctrine is alleged concerning God which is not in harmony with conscience, the man rises up against that doctrine concerning God. Man has a heart; it is his function to love God; and if a doctrine presents God as unlovable, his heart is offended at that. Man is capable of understanding the greatness and glory and sublimity of God; and if any doctrine is advanced which seems to demean God in his eyes, there is a standard in the man which combats with that doctrine. If a doctrine represents God as untrustworthy, there is a faculty in the man which protests against that. So that by virtue of his faculties directed Godward, man has a conception of God. The Bible says so. Jesus himself said: If any man will do his will, he shall know of the doctrine, whether it be of

God, or whether I speak of myself. If a man be a Christian, he has within himself a standard whereby he may judge what Jesus himself said, and tell whether it be truth or not. The words mean nothing else. Paul said : " By manifestation of the truth commending ourselves to every man's conscience in the sight or God." That is, men accept me as an Apostle because they see what I say is true. He also said that the unconverted were capable by standards within themselves of judging the truth of teachings ; for he said : " But if all prophesy, and there come in one that believeth not, or one unlearned, he is convinced of all, he is judged of all. And thus are the secrets of his heart made manifest." What follows ? " And so falling down on his face he will worship God, and report that God is in you of a truth." In other words, an unconverted man, by a standard within himself, accepts or rejects Christian doctrine. Besides this, the whole Bible is commended to us by the fact that a very large part of its doctrine is but a statement of Christian Consciousness. The illumination which you and I share has a deal to do with the recognition of doctrine, in addition to revelation, pure and simple ; and I am pleased to see that Dr. Newman recognizes that statement. I trust I do not misrepresent him in that particular. So then Christian Consciousness, the consciousness of Christian persons, that is, of regenerated persons, is a standard, because man is in God's image ; all his higher powers are concerned with God, and the Bible says so.

Now, in the next place, this is a qualified standard, an injured standard, one we cannot wholly trust. Man is not the effaced, but the defaced image of God ; and if he trusts that standard he is liable to make mistakes about God. That is the reason the heathen have false conceptions of God. One generation has preferred that representation of God which satisfied the puritan age, another those representations of God which suit the heart of the present age. The spirit of the times is a changing spirit, and the spirit of the present age is the right spirit beyond question, only if it is not liable to be supplanted in another age.

When the anarchists in Chicago had been guilty of the Hay-market riot, the country clamored for their hanging ; but as soon as they were convicted a large portion of the country clamored that they might be let off. Which was the right spirit of the day ? You cannot trust a changing spirit, because the tastes of man are more or less disordered, and therefore, his faculties are not absolutely trustworthy standards of truth. Furthermore, if the image of God was in no way disturbed, if the image of

God was undisturbed and our tastes uniformly agreed, the Bible would still have one great advantage over the Christian Consciousness ; it would be a great deal easier to understand than the Christian Consciousness. The contrast would be exactly that furnished by the difference between the difficulty of understanding a difficult book and that of writing that book. It may be hard to understand the meaning of a difficult book, but how much harder to write it. The Bible has stated that we are to believe, while the Christian Consciousness has to find out what to state. It is a modified standard.

I will venture to say this, that there is absolutely in history no discord between true Christian Consciousness and the real doctrine of Scripture. Now, we have no right to guarantee that any doctrine whatever is a correct interpretation of the Bible unless it is accepted by all qualified persons of spiritual mind, all christians. An infallible book can be fallibly interpreted as to certain points ; and unless it is infallibly interpreted, we have lost the value of its infallibility. But it is infallibly interpreted upon all points on which spiritual persons agree, and these are not difficult to ascertain. This is a point on which I take issue with Dr. Newman. These doctrines are the very substance of the truth, as he himself said ; and it is not difficult to assure one's self as to the truth of all points which exegetes and the experience of christians have accepted. For instance, was there ever any doubt on the part of spiritually minded interpreters of the Bible that there is one God, and he a perfect being ? Was there ever any doubt on the part of christian men who trust in Jesus as their Saviour, and are regenerated by the Spirit, respecting the doctrine that in some sense Jesus Christ is divine ? It may be a question as to what that sense is, as among devout Unitarians ; but regenerated persons who accept Christ as their Saviour are forced to admit that Jesus is in some sense divine. They all recognize Him in some sense as the Saviour ; and in some way or other they recognize the Holy Spirit as the regenerator. In the same way they do not doubt that there is punishment for sin in the next world ; and here, you see that the Christian Consciousness and interpretation of the Bible agree upon the doctrine of eternal punishment. It is only a question of what is meant by eternal punishment ; what is eonic punishment. I agree with you that it is everlasting ; but we know there is a difference of opinion among exegetes on that point, and it is impossible to say, of course, that the Christian Consciousness can determine such a proposition as that. The Christian Conscious-

ness always confirms what this book affirms, that it is the Word of God ; the new theologians confirm that. Very well, there is no real difficulty as to the substance of the gospel, as to doctrines easily ascertained, as to the doctrines that we need to know ; but as to the theories about these facts. and the minor doctrines, there is a deal of difference of opinion on the part of those who interpret the book, and on the part of those who interpret their experience. Now, the first fact, permit me to remind you, is that Christian Consciousness is a standard ; and, second, is it a defective standard as it now stands ; at any rate the Bible can be more readily interpreted. Third, there is actually no difficulty between Christian Consciousness and the doctrines which can be guaranteed, and are guaranteed by consensus as the doctrines of Scripture.

Now, my conclusions are these : In the first place, a man who believes in the Bible but trusts in his Christian Consciousness to dissent from any doctrine of the substance of Scripture, is in an absurd position, saying that nobody ever understood the Bible before him ; but if a man should dissent from doctrines about which there is disagreement, he is not in an absurd position. It is not ridiculous to be a Baptist, or a Presbyterian, or a Methodist, or an Episcopalian ; and it is not ridiculous to find something in your Christian Consciousness that corresponds with what you find in the Bible. Now, here is a vital issue. Suppose a man sees, or thinks that he sees, that Scripture teaches a doctrine not in harmony with his Christian Consciousness ; what shall he do? What has already been said in the case? The Bible is an uninjured standard, sin has not defiled it, it is incorruptible and trustworthy. He must do as Coleridge says in "*The Confessions of an Inquiring Spirit*:" "If there is a difference between the word without and the word within, accept the word without and wait for more light." And that is what everyone has a right to say. The Bible is uninjured by sin ; it is to be accepted. We must accept the Bible even though we do not see how it can be true. And yet, doctrine accepted in that way goes into your creed, but does not become a conviction ; it does not go into your life, for this reason, that all your higher powers are tests of doctrine, and the doctrine alleged is one that will not satisfy one of your higher appetences, and cannot be to you what it would have been or would be, if it were so accepted. In other words, Christian Consciousness is not a standard of the truth of doctrine, but it is a standard of the effectiveness of doctrine. Now, in saying it is not a standard of the truth of doctrine I was or-

thodox, but in saying that it is a standard of the effectiveness of doctrine I was not heretical. I challenge you to notice the profound practical importance of the fact, for here is the difference between the regenerate and the unregenerate. Many a man believes that Jesus is the Saviour, but it is not a fact of his consciousness. He has not found it affects him ; he has not seen how Christ is a necessity to him ; and it is all the difference between heaven and hell whether the doctrine goes into his consciousness and is approved there. So, though we cannot always find a correspondence between consciousness and the truth of the Scripture, those doctrines that we merely do not know how to reject are doctrines that do not rule over us, and we miss all the benefit which they might otherwise confer. They are part of our creeds, but not of our lives. If you will permit me I will use an illustration I once printed upon this subject. This is it: There is a chamber in every man's soul, a throne-room. Many thrones are there, and there are enthroned a man's convictions. The Christian Consciousness stands sentinel at the door, and no opinion can become a conviction until it has passed that sentinel. It is a blundering sentinel, because it sometimes admits opinions that ought to be kept out, and sometimes keeps out those that ought to be admitted ; but no truth of the Most High God can ever rule over you unless it passes the standard of the Christian Consciousness.

And lastly, this conclusion : The best guarantee we have that Christianity is to be the final religion is the acceptance of it by the Christian Consciousness ; that is to say, it is internal evidence for christianity rather than external, which is a guarantee which cannot for you and me be set aside. Now, questions can be raised about the various books of the New Testament ; it is even possible some of us may be puzzled about these questions, though we have the largest scholarship ; and even more perhaps than if we had not. We have some difficulty in settling all the inquiries of criticism about the New Testament or the Old. But, my brethren, if we are christians, if we have experience of Christ, if Christ and His help are facts to the consciousness, they cannot take Him away. We cannot doubt what we know by experience, for that is to doubt one's self, and that which is purest and highest in one's self. We must first let go our christian experience and give up what we feel and know most thoroughly, and what is best in us, before difficulties about the external evidence can shake the solidity of the testimony of the Christian Consciousness. Once, in a village where I was pastor, going

into a grocery store, I heard an old infidel in debate with an old christian ; and, as is apt to be the case, the infidel had obviously the best of the argument, until finally the old saint said to the hoary headed unbeliever, "It will be but a little while till you and I shall know the truth about these things." Brethren, was that an ignominious retreat? No. It was saying what the unbeliever would not have dared to say ; it was only putting in a humble way what the Apostle Paul put in his high way when he said, " I know whom I have believed, and I am persuaded that he is able to keep that which I have committed unto him against that 'day." (Applause.)

The discussion was opened by Rev. ALEXANDER BLACKBURN, of Lowell, Mass., who said :

Living, as I do, almost under the shadow of the Andover Theological Seminary, being within six miles of it, I thought perhaps I might say a word on this, to me, exceedingly practical question, one of the most practical questions that a company of pastors could consider as they meet together. It is certain that we cannot have two infallible standards, at least it is certain to my mind, unless we are perfectly sure these two standards will always agree. If that be true we have no use for the second one ; if they do not agree, then one of them is infallible and the other is not. I find in this, in my own conception in reference to this subject, in all I have heard or read concerning it, and in what I have heard this morning, or a part of it, a failure to distinguish as to just exactly what is Christian Consciousness. Where are you going to draw the line ? The consciousness which is spoken of in the Epistle to the Corinthians was certainly not Christian Consciousness, for it was the consciousness of those people who were not Christians, who were to accept what the believers should say. That was the standard in that case, not Christian Consciousness, but consciousness that was not Christian. In the case of the Scripture quoted from our Saviour, "Whosoever shall do his will shall know of the doctrine," it occurs to me that it is possible to get those two statements reversed. You notice there, it is the man who does the will that knows. Doing the will is spoken of as obedience. Knowledge is the result of obedience, not obedience the result of knowledge. As it appears to me, the mind of the believer passes through a process of submission to the Word of God, and because of that submission to the authority of the truth, he knows his consciousness accepts that

thing. Where are you going to draw the line? Who is going to say that the consciousness of this man is good and the consciousness of that man bad? And I have noticed, as I suppose we all have, that wherever the defence is made against accepting some so-called truth on the ground of Christian Consciousness, the truth involved in the case is one that is rather an unpleasant truth. I suppose if those men who felt on their backs the whips that Christ laid on them in the temple should have pronounced the decision of the consciousness they would have said, "No Christ would ever whip a man, therefore he is not the Christ." (Applause.) That is precisely the same thing that our Andover friends are saying, "No God will for ever punish a man." Well, they cannot deny God, so they deny the other thing; they deny the fact of the punishment. Those fellows in the temple could not deny that part of their consciousness, so what did they do? They denied the Christ. It must be either the one or the other. Now, I am puzzled, brethren, to know just where in my work as a pastor I am going to meet that thing. You go to a man with the doctrine of the Gospel, and he tells you, "I can't accept the doctrine of the atonement by Christ, because my whole being rebels against it." It seems to me—and pardon a seeming difference from wise men—it does seem to me that the last speaker failed to grasp any idea of the condition of an unregenerated soul. Is it true, brethren, that the unregenerate man is a defaced image of God? Is it true that all that is necessary is that that defaced image, like a picture that has been defaced by some boy, with a piece of charcoal, is to rub the charcoal off? Jesus Christ says, "Ye must be born again," "Created anew in Christ Jesus." (Applause.) I want to bring out one other thought, which is a practical one. It is not only along the lines suggested, but we meet it to-day in the class of men who are putting up Christian Consciousness in the place of the Bible, who are a very pious sort of men. I talked with a man the other day who has the doctrine of Christian perfection, and I was really amazed at what that man told me God could not do. I stood in dire amazement. Why, he says, God can't do this, and that and the other thing. How on earth did he find it out? Why, he knows; that is all; he just knows all about it. And that man can tell you, if you go to him, just what man in the city God can bless, and will bless; he can tell you what church God can and will bless. Another thing, this doctrine of Christian Consciousness just comes in and upsets not only the whole doctrine of the New Testament, but the practices of the

New Testament. Dean Stanley says, "My Christian Consciousness tells me that God does not require baptism now, so I am not baptized." It is his Christian Consciousness, it is his idea, you know. Baptism is not to him a question of exegesis, but of Christian Consciousness. I believe, brethren, that we must go by one infallible standard, the Word of God ; that this image of God is not defaced, but obliterated by sin, and the power of the Holy Spirit must come to regenerate ; I believe the regenerate man is not a judge of the Scriptures, but a disciple to sit humbly at the feet of Jesus and learn of him. (Applause.)

Rev. A. B. CHAFFEE, of Seymour, Ind., said :

I am very glad indeed this subject has come before the Congress, because, as others have said, it is a very practical subject. Some have read very recently the attacks of Prof. Huxley against the Christian World, in which attacks, he arraigns this idea of Christian Consciousness. He brings to bear his knowledge of German criticism—which, by the way, I believe English scholars know quite as well as Dr. Huxley—and throws out of the Scripture, with the exception, perhaps, of a few things that would lead to some notion—I don't say really to the idea—of the Divinity of Jesus, whom we call the Christ, all the questions of the influence of the Holy Ghost, and has brought into prominence and supremacy the thought of man's moral reason. And with that has not he taken out of the problem that which you and I must certainly build upon if we are to trace our Christian Consciousness, or our consciousness at all? Is it all to contend that God has given us an intellect alone? Are we unconscious of the movings of a higher and more commanding thought, and, as christians, of the movings of the Holy Ghost? Now, Dr. Huxley and others have left this out entirely. I have been driven by my own consciousness, as I have read almost with tears the destructive criticism of this book that I revere ; I have been driven, I say, not only by my intellectual processes, but by my intuitions of heart to believe in Christian Consciousness, in other words, my own experience of the truth. Now, I am from Indiana, where men believe in a God who comes down with the effusions of the Holy Ghost, and lifts and elevates and blesses mankind. But I conjecture that Dr. Huxley would say it was all folly. With his oratorical scalpel he would take away all that which we call the life, and give us merely an anatomy, a skeleton, the lifeless remains. I

say I am forced back as a practical man to this question of Christian Consciousness. I am driven back finally to this Word of God and my own experience of it, and as I read this book and come into the spirit of obedience that Brother Blackburn has spoken of, then it is that out of my Christian Consciousness I can look into the face of my God and see not merely an intelligent Creator but a benign Father, and then I can go back and do as Dr. Johnson has said, see the blessed harmony between the essentials of the truth of God and my own experience of them. Now, as practical men, have we anything else finally to guide us? Not that we should say we know it all, but have we anything, my brethren, except that Divinely implanted intuition of what fits our conditions and those of the universe respecting these grand truths? And the difference between the Christian World and Dr. Huxley is just this: that the Christian World has taken this truth of the Christ into the life, and Dr. Huxley knows nothing of it except as it has dawned upon his intellect and reason. I, for my own part, cannot see that there is any other place of resort than my own intelligent consciousness of what is the truth in connection with the consciousness of the world, the consensus of mankind. This is a practical question in the ministry. I do not know that you can take one class of men and impress upon them the dictates of another class of men, but are not we warranted in saying to all men, "read under the direction of the Holy Ghost for yourself, and, if you believe as I believe, let us together work for God; but if we believe differently then you must go according to your consciousness and conscience, and work that way." That makes a harmony between me, and my brother of another name and denomination. We are both honest men in the sight of God, and we have relied upon the intelligent consciousness that is in us under the direction of the Holy Ghost, the only rule we have with which to judge the Scriptures. To the scientific man I can say, "When you have tested and know the Lord is good, then, indeed, I will go with you just as far as you are willing to be led by the power that you must recognize as the Light of the world." (Applause.)

Rev. J. J. BAKER, of Walkerton, Ont., said:

My only reason for saying a word on this subject is this, that I ran my head against it and got hurt; got knocked down and had to scramble about to regain my feet. I am willing to accept the definition which has been given here, that consciousness is

the knowledge of self, of one's own condition, and that Christian Consciousness is the christian's knowledge of himself, of his states or conditions. The question that occurred to me is this : Is there anything additional in what we call Christian Consciousness over other or ordinary consciousness? I believe there is. As a christian I have found myself revolting at certain interpretations of truth that I was taught to believe were themselves truths. Could I doubt what I knew? Could I doubt myself? Dare I doubt the Word of God? Was there any light to be had from any source? On inquiring into this question it became apparent to me that there were facts recorded here in the Word that I could always accept, that my own consciousness approved. I could not accept all that was said about the creation; I could not accept all that was said about the atonement; I could not accept all that was said about inspiration; but my consciousness would accept the fact of the creation, the fact that I am created; the fact that this was God's Word; the fact that God would punish sin—every fact that is recorded here I found myself willing to accept. Now, I believe that Christian Consciousness is an authority, that it is capable of guiding one. If consciousness, or conscience, will guide one as to the ordinary duties and relations of life, so I believe there is a residuum—that which we call Christian Consciousness, something above the ordinary consciousness, that will guide one here. How can we eliminate that which is not christian? I am willing to go back and say that we must always square everything with the Word of God: but what is the Word of God? It is not the thousand and one interpretations of the Truth that men everywhere are pleased to give, and that make the different sects that have appeared all through the church's history, and that appear in greater numbers to-day. But I say there are facts here to which I can always subscribe, and to these my consciousness allows me to subscribe. I don't agree with the thousand and one interpretations, but I always find myself in sincere and perfect harmony with the truth itself. Why do I believe that this consciousness, when that which is not christian is eliminated, is sufficient to guide? Because I find there is a universally expressed conviction of the truth of these facts; I must subscribe to the truth, I feel it to be truth, and I find that this is so with others during all christian centuries. There is here a consensus of christian opinion from which I can take that which is false. There is a consensus of opinion as to the truth of these facts, and upon this I rely; here I have not only my individual judgment, but the

judgment of all christian people in all ages in harmony with it. I take the best of men—I take Paul, I take John, I take the rest of the writers of the New Testament, and I find their Christian Consciousness subscribed to these facts. I find, therefore, that there is a Christian Consciousness universally expressed that may be a guide. I find that this same consciousness becomes a power to impel. What is it that makes an individual willing to do certain things? It is not the simple, ordinary human consciousness that impels him to this duty; here is a duty that goes beyond the ordinary duty of man, it is a christian duty; what is it? It is the higher, Christian Consciousness that makes a man feel that he must move in a line with this truth; it gives him activity, it controls him, it is authoritative with him. And so I find that this same consciousness has a power to deter. A man does not do this certain thing, though other men do it; he is a christian man, and does not do it because there is a consciousness that deters him from doing that which is wrong. And, moreover, this Christian Consciousness becomes to me authoritative, not only because I find there is a consensus of opinion as to fact, not only because I find it is a power to impel or deter, but I find in this a power to strengthen the individual. Why is it that christian people are willing to endure? Why were Paul and Silas willing to suffer in a Roman prison? Because God was consciously present with them, because they were lifted above other men on account of their new experience; the Spirit of God was bearing witness, and their own spirits were bearing witness not only that they were born of God, but that God was there with them. What is this? To me it is their consciousness which makes christian men able to endure and ready to suffer. And so, I ask you, how is it that people are strong in the very hour of their weakness? Most of you pastors have stood beside dying beds. How is it that people whom you have known to be timid and weak, are strong at this moment? Is it because they have read certain truths? Not at all; plenty of people have read the truth over and over again, and in this hour it has no value for them, but here is one weak in body going to meet the last enemy, and this one is cheerful and strong. Why is it? To me it is nothing other than their consciousness, testifying that they are new creatures related to God, and that God is present with them. And so they are strong in the hour of their weakness. (Applause.)

Rev. J. H. GRIFFITH, D. D., of Buffalo, said :

I wish to assent to what has been said here as to the practicalness of this topic, the most thoroughly practical and most important topic, it seems to me, there is on the entire programme of this Congress. I believe in consciousness because I believe in myself ; I can't get rid of it. Gb back to the 1st Chapter of Genesis, the creation of man, with which we are all familiar. Those words which have been repeated so often about our being created in the Divine likeness and image. As has been said ereh upon this platform there is something in us that is the image of God, there is a sense in which we are created like God. Some of you have perhaps read John Bunyan's allusion to that, which came to my memory on hearing this discussion. He compares it to a mirror. Man was created in the beginning like a mirror that reflected God's image ; but he has had a fall and the mirror is broken, and yet in each fragment you can discover a reflection of God. (Applause.) I believe that. Not long since, while riding on the cars, I was reading a book, and the gentleman in front of me looked over and saw the title, and asked had I read *such* a book. I replied yes. And we fell into conversation on the subject of religion. He put forward some very superficial ideas about christianity being a theory like platonism. "Well," I said, "what is platonism?" I asked him a few questions and soon found that he was talking of something of which he was profoundly ignorant ; he simply knew that there was such a man as Plato, who founded the Academic Philosophy. I worried the dear fellow as much as I could by asking him questions, until he finally said "Are you a preacher?" I said, "I preach once in a while when I get a good opportunity. Why did you think I was?" "Well," he replied, "because you went for me so." "Now," he says, "I will acknowledge to you frankly that I was talking to hear myself talk, but I have a criticism upon you preachers." I said, "You are just the man I am looking for, give me your criticism." "I will, and as I have never heard you preach you cannot say there is anything personal in it." Said I, "Give it in the strongest form." "Well," he says, "the criticism I have upon you preachers is, that you do not get under our jackets ; there is something in us that is responsive to the great truths that you men preach ; we may not obey, but there is something right down here that will tell us that what you say is true, and you have always won us on to your side when you go down there." That was the best lecture on pastoral theology

and homiletics I ever received. I believe in the preaching that goes down under men's jackets. Why? Because there is that in man in his fallen state—and I will be as radical on the consequences of sin in man as anyone on this floor—there is that which is at once responsive to the great fundamental truths here in this Bible, and that is the advantage we have as preachers. You know the old philosopher, who, when he found out the power of the lever, said, "If I had a place to put the fulcrum, I could move the world." Why, this moral consciousness in man, this likeness to the Divine image, this defaced image, this broken mirror, this is where you and I can put our lever, and we can lift men. Sometimes persons come to the inquiry meeting. A pretty intelligent individual recently came; he was all adrift sceptically, didn't know whether he believed anything or not. I said, "Do you believe you are a sinner?" "Yes." "Why do you believe it?" "I know I am." "You have no doubt about that?" "No." Well, you see where I had a chance, because there was the consciousness of sin, or as Paul speaks of it in the 10th Sins of Hebrews, a "conscience of sin," a "knowledge of the truth." Why, brethren, when we disparage consciousness we are disparaging christian experience, the most precious thing that we have, that of which the Bible makes the greatest account. When Paul stood up to defend the Gospel did he work out rational lines of argument? Did he undertake to make certain mere intellectual demonstrations? No. What did he appeal to? He appealed to his experience. Three times when he stood up there for his very life, and when everything sacred to him was at stake he came right down here, where the first speaker opening this discussion did, affirming the great truths of consciousness planted himself; there Paul planted himself. The more thoroughly we as christian people can recognize the validity and invulnerability of Christian Consciousness the stronger we are. Here is the argument. It has well been said here again and again. You know what that English christian said to the infidel, "I cannot meet all your arguments, but I feel here it is true." Brethren, there is no argument, there are no proofs nor array of proofs that can ever stand against what a man feels in himself. Only care needs to be exercised that a man does not mistake something else for consciousness. I think some people mistake sensibility for consciousness. Great discrimination needs to be exercised in defining the deliverances of Christian Consciousness. But I have simply to repeat what Prof. Johnson said here with reference to the value of the certitude of deliverances of Christian

Consciousness. I would have no faith to preach if I did not feel that I could go with just that mighty advantage it gives us. If you take the Bible alone you might just as well revert to the standard of the Church of Rome, and take the church. No, the Bible and consciousness, God and self, are the two great factors blended together. A brother said there should not be two standards. I have seen two try squares, maybe three or four, and if they harmonize one does not vitiate or destroy the other. (Applause.)

Rev. J. W. A. STEWART, of Rochester, N. Y., said :

I shall occupy but very little of the time of the Congress on this subject, and I rise rather for the purpose of asking a question than with the object of throwing any light upon the very interesting subject before us. And, indeed, I need hardly have arisen to propose this question had I known the manner in which Dr. Griffith was going to end his address. However, the question is this : In reading a few years ago the Letters of Thos. Erskine of Linlathen (which I know is hardly a name to be mentioned in a Baptist gathering, not one that stands for orthodoxy), I was very much struck with a sentence in which he said that at the time of the Protestant Reformation a change had been made from an infallible Pope to an infallible Book, and he questioned very much whether the infallible book called the Bible, so far as infallibility was concerned, was of any greater advantage to the Christian Church than an infallible Pope ; by which I understood him to mean that infallibility is not a thing which the Christian Church needs, and I have an idea that in a certain sense he was right. We are continually talking about an infallible standard. If, when we use the phrase, we mean it in the sense I now take it, I question whether God has given us, either in Pope or Book, infallibility. I am inclined to think that the question of infallibility goes very nearly to the heart of the subject we have before us this morning, that it has a good deal to do in determining our attitude towards the subject we are now considering. If the Bible is infallible let us carefully determine in what sense it is infallible. Certainly it is not at all infallible in the sense that a proposition in geometry when proved is infallible. It is not that sort of a book at all, and it does not put things before us in that sort of way. It is very hard for us to tell what we mean by the inspiration of the Bible ; perhaps no two men in this Congress would agree in expressing what they meant by the inspiration

of the Bible. And if we talk about the Bible being an infallible book we at once run up against a hundred questions upon which in this our day of criticism it is exceedingly difficult for any honest, intelligent man to pronounce, and I cannot quite handle the Bible for myself as being infallible in the way in which I understand that word just now. Now, one brother, for example, will say that the Song of Solomon is an inspired representation of the wonderful love between Christ and the Church, while another, just as pious and just as intelligent, will say that the Song of Solomon is really a magnificent Oriental love song—no more and no less. Now, if the Bible is infallible it is a question which of these brethren is correct. The fact is this: When Jesus Christ left this world he did not leave an infallible book; he did not leave any book at all, but he left a number of men who were living disciples of his own. This is what he left, and the book arose from the fact that these men were left behind him, and he said to these men again and again before he left them that the Holy Spirit should come and testify of him. Now, I understand, of course, that the testimony of the Holy Spirit is not simply confined to the books of the New Testament, which we say are inspired, but that the testimony or witness of the Holy Spirit is continually being borne in the hearts and lives of christian men the world over. I, as a christian man, am a witness of the Holy Spirit, and so is every christian man. I did not rise to throw any light on this subject, but simply to propose the question, are we not seeking after something which God has not given us at all, when we are continually talking about seeking after an infallible standard, and is not God's process the education which is going on in the human race and the christian church—a sort of process which, in the very nature of things, does not ask for that particular thing which we continually call infallibility in a standard? Now, if you choose to give to the term infallibility a different meaning from what suggests itself to my mind, then, perhaps, infallibility is the very thing we want. But as I understand the term I do not find that exact thing, either in the Pope of Rome or in the Bible, or anywhere else; I doubt whether God has given it to us, or whether we need it; that is, the sort of infallibility which we find in a foot rule, or a chemist's scales, and which settles everything for us apart from the exercise of our mental and moral powers, and which, therefore, would render absurd any such conception as the authority of Christian Consciousness.

Rev. Dr. BOARDMAN, of Philadelphia, said :

Mr. CHAIRMAN: One of the many advantages of a Christian Congress like this is that it allows us to recognize openly and squarely, differences of opinion, and at the same time to retain the old sense of personal fellowship. Now I am one of those who believe with Dr. Johnson that man is still the image of God. What is the underlying basis of our Lord's matchless parable of the lost, or as I prefer to say, recovered, son? What is it that gives this parable its profound hold on humanity? Simply this: That wandering youth, notwithstanding all his prodigality and guilt, had never ceased to be his father's son. "*Father,*" "*Son,*" these are the pivotal, telling words in this wonderful parable. For we must distinguish between forfeiture of circumstances, or position, and forfeiture of personality, or nature. What this prodigal son had forfeited was not the fact of sonship, but the sense of sonship. You can no more annihilate the fact of sonhood than you can annihilate the fact of fatherhood; while the fatherhood stands, the sonhood stands; they are essential, everlasting correlates. In fact, the sense of God as father, and of man as son, is the sign of lost man's returning sanity. What is the ground of your appeal, fellow pastors, when you address your impenitent listener? Do you not seek to awaken in him the sense of his essential sonhood? What do you appeal to if it is not his moral sense? Terribly defaced the image is; but never, at least in this world, effaced. Once persuade your unconverted listener to recognize and feel his divine lineage—to say in the depth of his heart, "Father!" and he is, practically speaking, a saved man.

Again: my excellent friend from Lowell reminds us of the necessity of being born again. Of course, this is one of the radical truths of the christian religion. But who is it that must be born again? A new man? No; for that would be a literal and moral contradiction in terms. The old man? Yes; for the appeal is to the same old personality, or "natural" man, as we theologians say. When you declare that a man must be born again, do you mean the creation of a new man, or the re-creation of the old man? When a man is born anew, or from above, is there a creation of new faculties? Or does the spirit of God brood over the chaos of the soul, and arrange that chaos into the cosmos of the Christian life?

Sir, we are engaged in a fundamental discussion, and I am very glad to have heard the opinions of those from whom I my-

self differ radically. For truth is often elicited by collisions—I mean of course our perception of truth; for truth itself is eternal, having neither beginning of days nor end of life. The great thing in these discussions is, if I may be permitted to end as I began, for each of us to cherish strongly his own personal convictions, but always in the light of what may be the equally strong personal convictions of his brethren.

Rev. H. W. BARNES, of Binghamton, N. Y., said :

I am before you, certainly, as an illustration of wonderful audacity. After so many brethren, thoroughly qualified by investigation, observation and experience, have spoken, it can seem in me nothing but presumption to take a place on this platform ; however, this subject is not entirely new to me, and the thoughts which have been uttered this morning have—many of them—accorded with long cherished convictions ; and most of them have found a ready assent in my heart. It seems to me, however, that there are two things between which we should carefully distinguish. A distinction has been made, incidentally, between them in the utterances of one of the brethren. I point you to this fact, which I think we shall readily admit, that there is a standard of faith to be recognized as infallible—a standard outside of our personal consciousness—and a standard of possible attainment for us in Christian Consciousness. I think we must recognize the righteousness, fullness, and absolute completeness of an authority without ourselves for our faith, and for our direction in everything ; a standard which we are to strive to attain to, but which we have not reached. It seems to me that the apostle Paul, in one of his utterances, brings out this fact very clearly : “Not as though I had already attained, either were already perfect ; but I follow after, in that I may apprehend that for which also I am apprehended of Christ Jesus ;” and in immediate connection with this utterance, which is found in Philipians, is found this also : “Nevertheless, whereto we have already attained, let us walk by the same rule ; let us mind the same things.” Going back into his experience and history as a man, I find an illustration of the fact that there was a voice without him, a voice which spoke authoritatively to him, and put a new fact into his consciousness, the fact that Jesus is Divine. So I think there is a standard without for *theories* and for *doctrines*, and a standard within us which must ever be the *practical* standard for christian action. The apostle’s utterance in the

last passage quoted indicates that we should walk by the truth to which we have attained. We find him, on his way to Damascus, a man who has not received into his mind and heart one truth belonging to the standard of truths, namely, that Jesus is Divine ; but as soon as he received this truth, there came into him a consciousness which became a rule of present action. The truth without ourselves, which is thoroughly and unchangeably standard in its character, needs to become the truth within us to become a standard of action. No man can live, properly and righteously, above his consciousness of duty, or his attainment of truth ; and no man should live below it. He *cannot* live above it, and he *ought* not to live below it. We have, it seems to me, a standard of christian action in consciousness, and a standard of christian truth outside of ourselves, to which we are constantly to attain. There is another history in Scripture of the working or result of the incoming into consciousness, of a new truth, which has struck me as lying along this same line, namely, that of the blind man on whom the healing touch of Christ rested, and who in that touch received new thoughts of Christ and of himself. Christ had bestowed His thought, His mercy, His power upon him ; he is of some worth to Christ. From that moment, raised by this new consciousness of the value of himself, this new truth which has dawned in his understanding, he parries all the thrusts made at him by his opponents. One new truth makes him mighty : " One thing I know, whereas I was blind, now I see." There had come to him one truth in creed, in theory, which he had never held before. The truth lived outside of himself before, the truth he had not attained to ; but by his experience of Christ's love towards him, and of Christ's working in him, there came into his consciousness a truth which became his standard of action ; and he worshipped the Christ. It seems to me that the two lines of thought, of this morning, are coming together to harmonize with each other. The standard which we have attained to, the present movable standard of action, as it lies in our consciousness ; and an infallible standard of revelation outside of ourselves which ought to become, and may become, more and more, a matter of Christian Consciousness. As we open up our minds to this outward standard, perfect in itself, in proportion as we receive it we become elevated to an absolutely correct standard within ourselves, in our christian experience or consciousness.

Rev. R. G. BOVILLE, of Hamilton, Ont., said :

I was very much interested personally in the sketch given in the opening paper of the different phases in which the Christian Consciousness was apt to overstate itself, and to make claims that could not be supported for it ; and in the identification effected in that paper of the School of Andover with the school of mysticism, and the hyper-spiritual school that manifests itself in modern times, because we have to-day a class in every community who arrogate to themselves a right to speak by the authority of the Holy Spirit, and who claim that the face of God within them authorizes them to set aside the laws of courtesy, and even sometimes those of decency, and to override the ordained laws of the universe. I believe, sir, personally, with some of those who have gone before me, in the authority of Christian Consciousness. I believe there is a sense in which there is nothing authoritative but consciousness. I believe that in perception it is not the fact without me which possesses the authority, it is not what the philosophers call the noumenon that has authority, but it is something without me which has come within me through perception, and which is living in my consciousness which possesses the power of control over me. Or, putting it another way, there is a sense evolutionally, there is an authority and a higher authority, there is an authority of the germ and an authority of fuller development of the mature manhood. Now, applying this to the question mooted in the paper, and the question asked by Prof. Newman as to the relationship of the Apostle Paul to Professor Munger, what was the relationship? I would prefer the consciousness of the Apostle Paul as to the person of Christ and the facts of the redemption, because I believe Paul was more intimate with those facts than Prof. Smith or Munger. But as to the manifold applications of redemption to modern life and its manifold relations, I believe there is a richer consciousness belonging to modern times, in which consciousness Prof. Smith's might be even preferable to that of the Apostle Paul. I believe then, sir, that there is a sense in which there is nothing authoritative but Christian Consciousness. It is the effects of revelation on consciousness, or, as has been pointed out, it is not the book without, but the effects of the book in the consciousness, living in the consciousness, which must possess authority for any man or for any denomination. The authority of consciousness is not complete ; that consciousness to have authority and to be quite reproductive

must keep itself in continual contact with the facts from which it originally sprung. Now, if that be applied to natural science, the fact that is ruling the world to-day in science is the consciousness of the scientist; the consciousness of the man as to facts of nature, and the relations and applications of these facts to the problems of life; but if men were to part from the original facts, if they were to cut loose from them and go adrift, the investigation of theories in science leaving out the facts, that science would cease to have authority and cease to be reproductive. In every department it is the contact of consciousness with facts that makes consciousness reproductive and gives it authority. So, too, the consciousness that would set aside the Bible, apart from the historical character of the Bible, and do away with Jesus Christ, to that consciousness we can say nothing, that consciousness has no claim, at least in a Baptist Church, but the consciousness which goes back to the facts of revelation, and which places itself in line with those facts of revelation, it is that consciousness alone which I believe ought to possess authority.

The Rev. M. MAC VICAR, Ph. D., LL. D. of McMaster University, spoke substantially as follows:

The writer of the paper has very kindly referred to the fact that I was asked to prepare it. I am quite sure, however, that the Congress has lost nothing by the change in the writer. Dr. Newman has placed the subject before us, from a historical standpoint, in a very happy manner. His presentation has called forth a full and frank expression of opinion. I have listened with deep interest to the views advanced. Some of those views I heartily endorse, but to some I cannot give any assent. In response to the call of the Congress you will permit me, in a few words, to refer to these.

We are told that Christian Consciousness is to be taken, at least in some matters pertaining to moral and spiritual truth, as an infallible standard. Of the correctness of this position I am very doubtful. I am equally doubtful of the infallibility in the realm of material things of the Scientific Consciousness (if I can use that expression—and why not as well as Christian Consciousness). My doubts regarding the infallibility of the Christian Consciousness I believe to be fully justified by the history of christian thought as pointed out by the writer of the paper; and in justification of my doubts in reference to the infallibility of the

Scientific Consciousness I appeal to no less authority than Prof. Huxley. His Scientific Consciousness has proved everything but infallible. He himself frankly stated on one occasion that he had outgrown some of the views, which, without doubt, his Scientific Consciousness had regarded, at one time, to say the least, as very trustworthy if not infallible.

But, again, when we speak of the infallibility of consciousness with reference to anything external to the mind we are using the word in an unwarranted sense. Consciousness is confined exclusively to the operations of the mind. Be this, however, as it may, one thing is certain, consciousness creates nothing either within or without the mind. It simply takes knowledge of what is. Scientific Consciousness, for example, can add nothing to the matter of the universe or to the phenomena of that matter. It simply cognizes what is. On this point I think scientists generally are agreed. In like manner the Christian Consciousness, or better the Spiritual Consciousness, creates nothing, adds nothing to moral or spiritual truth or to the phenomena of either. It simply receives and interprets such truth, but the truth itself is the creation and gift of God alone.

Once more. The question has been suggested is the Bible infallible? To this question I answer emphatically, yes. The Bible is the truth, the infallible truth, the whole of moral and spiritual truth to which nothing can be added by the Christian Consciousness. As already pointed out, the Scientific Consciousness can add nothing to the matter of the universe or its phenomena; no more can the Christian Consciousness add a single iota of moral or spiritual truth to what God has given in His revealed Word. Just as the earth, including vegetables and animals, furnish the matter with which the Scientific Consciousness has to do; so the Bible and the Bible alone furnishes the whole of the moral and spiritual matter with which the Christian Consciousness has to do. The Scientific Consciousness may blunder, as it has in the past, in perceiving and interpreting the forces and phenomena of the material universe, but this does not in any way affect the infallible nature of these forces and phenomena. In like manner the Christian Consciousness may fail, as it has surely done in the past, to perceive and interpret correctly what is given in the Bible, but this does not in any way affect the infallible nature of the book. Let us not be deceived in this matter. The Christian Consciousness is not the truth, is not a standard of any sort, it only, as already observed, perceives and interprets the truth as it comes to it. The Bible alone is

the infallible source of all moral and spiritual truth, and not the consciousness. It alone, and not the consciousness, must ever be the infallible standard of the christian's faith and practice.

Rev. J. H. CASTLE, D. D., of Rochester, N. Y., said :

I rather think the brother who sent my name up mistook my declination for assent. Nevertheless, my name having been called, I will not decline to say a few words upon this topic, of such exceeding interest. I most reverently and fully, and without reserve, accept the Bible as the Word of God. Suppose now I am appointed as a missionary to the heathen, to carry with me this perfect, infallible Word of God. As I address the first little company of heathen, who have never heard of the book, I find another missionary simultaneously with myself presenting another book, the Mohammedan Koran. Now, sir, which book shall this company of heathen accept, and on what ground shall I appeal to them to accept the Bible as the book of God? I know there is a vast mass of external evidence; I know there is the history of the canon. Shall I carry this congregation of heathen souls whom I am addressing, to whom I am proclaiming the unspeakable riches of Christ, through the whole realm of christian evidences? Shall I put them in possession of these evidences which I have so long and so carefully studied, and by the overwhelming power of external evidence shall I succeed in bringing them to acknowledge the authority of the book? Suppose that be my plan, how many converts will I have in a hundred years? Now, is there another plan? The plan which our missionaries employ, and with such magnificent effect, for penetrating right into the consciousness of the congregation? Give them ideas of God, of sin, and the impossibility of correcting the depraved tendencies of their own nature. I ask these men whether the religions they have had have helped them, whether their own efforts have helped them! What answer do I get? Whence comes the answer I receive? It comes, if at all, from the consciousness of these men as to their need, and I find that the elementary teachings of this book exactly correspond with the necessities of the congregation which I address. And at length the soul opens up, and the truths I proclaim from the book fit the soul, and before there has been any thought of any discussion about external evidence, I find a congregation of rejoicing, believing souls, brought out of heathenism, having just as implicit confidence in this book as the book of God as I have

myself. And yet they have never known anything about the history of the canon, or of what we call the external bulwarks or defences of christianity; they have received, and received with certainty, the truths of the book through the channel of what has come to be their experience, or in other words, Christian Consciousness. Well, now, suppose this to be true—and no one will doubt it—the operation of the Holy Ghost, coming with the proclamation of the truth and working in the souls of these heathen men, brings about results by which the absolute authority of the book is understood and felt;—and what have we received? An illustration of what the Apostle Paul declares in the 1st Epistle to the Corinthians, where he tells men of his own time, “The testimony of Christ was confirmed in you.” Here then, we find right at the outset of our declaration of the truth to heathen people the necessity and value of the confirmatory power of consciousness, and allow me to say that it is a thousand fold more authoritative than any other process by which the soul is brought into relation with the truth. We need not go to heathen lands; I ask you in your own congregation, brethren, what proportion of the members of your church hold the Bible as the book of God on the ground of any external demonstration, on the weight of external evidence? How many of them could construct such an argument? And yet every converted soul among them, by the process to which I have alluded, fully admits, holds and rejoices in the Bible as the book of God.

Why? Simply by the correspondence, which is itself a divine work of the truths of the book with the voices of the soul. Now, all this seems to me to indicate in the most important practical way the initial value, the superlative value, of consciousness in relation to the truth. Then we go on towards the maturity of the christian life, and we find further and further, wider and wider, deeper and deeper as our experience goes on, is the Holy Word of God confirmed in us. A point at which I was somewhat surprised in the able paper presented by Professor Newman was, that having in the beginning of his essay decried to so large an extent the value of the utterances of Christian Consciousness, he gathered together at the close of it that wonderful collection of Scripture quotations, in which our union with Christ, our fellowship with Christ, is set forth. What is union with Christ, if it be not consciousness of life in Christ and with Christ? Then came that grand classification of passages which indicate the vast importance of the appeal of the

Word of God to man as man, and that appeal becoming effective by the soul of man responding to the truth set forth, and sealing that truth by what we call experience. Now, in all this I have not set up consciousness as above the Word of God. As Mr. Boville said, consciousness comes directly back again to the facts, and deals with the facts, and it grows wider and wider, and deeper and deeper. I had not intended to speak at all on this subject, and was called out quite unexpectedly, and made no preparation. But it seems to me that those who receive the Word of God as the Word of God, and hold it with a grip which nothing can unclench, get it not through any mere tradition; tradition as an authority among Baptists is worthless. I am not to take this book as God's Word because my father so took it; I must have something better than that. I cannot even take it because the church takes it; I must have something better than that. And I am not able, not one in a thousand, or ten thousand, is able to go through that wonderful mass of external evidence, but by the self-convincing power of its truth, by the correspondence of the doctrines and the facts of this book, with my experience I get them in a way that comes to me as an absolute authority. Hence the absolute correspondence between my consciousness and the facts and doctrines set forth in the Book, infallibly attests it as Divine. But what have I done? Have I not received the Bible itself on the authority of consciousness? And if you examine closely, have not you also received it on the same authority?

The Rev. LEIGHTON WILLIAMS, of New York, said :

There were two topics which I was particularly anxious to have on our programme, of which this is one, and in listening to the speakers who have preceded me I have felt that the selection of this topic has been amply vindicated. It has seemed to me to be becoming more and more clear, as the discussion proceeded, that there is substantial harmony and agreement, with a few variations of terms in minor matters, among those whose opinions we have heard. In the first place, two or three points on the psychological question. If we are to know God there must be a capacity in us to know God; as far as my psychological knowledge goes we can know things only in two ways—from the outer world, through sense, or internally by intuition. I believe if God is to be known, He is not known through the senses, except as He is reflected in the material universe; if He is to be known intu-

itively He is known because He is in my mind. I understand that the law of intuition is, that there must be a suggestion of something from without, and I understand, therefore, that if I am to know God there must be a basis of approach to Him from some other source, and that basis is the Word of God ; I think that must be the suggestion of any intuition which springs up within me ; it is the seed, and I find that is precisely what the Scriptures tell me it is. This leads me, then, to the consideration of what the Bible says about itself. Many people say for the Bible what it does not say for itself. Many people would like me to believe that I am again in the bondage of the law, but the whole New Testament tells me it is nothing but the law of God's love. I have said that the Bible is the seed. Now, if the seed remains a seed of what value is it, as long as it remains in its little shell ? And if it is to be of value where shall it grow ? In my Christian Consciousness. I expect, then, that there will be a development of the Christian Consciousness ; I expect it, not because there dwelleth in me any particular good thing, but because I suppose my mind to be the soil in which God intended that word of life to grow, and the only place it can grow is in me and other men. I am met, however, by the point that there is fallibility in men ; there are continual mistakes, and consequently men have been led largely into error, it is said, by any supposition that Christian Consciousness can teach them anything. It is true. Why ? Because they have set up the idea that their individualism can apprehend the will of God ; whereas it is not the individual, but the whole of mankind progressively that becomes the interpreter of God. I find Peter, speaking of the Scriptures, speaks of them as, "A light that shineth in a dark place, until the day dawn, and the day-star arise in your hearts." St. Paul, talking of the same thought, says it is to lead to what ? To Christ in me the hope of glory. I am not supposing, then, that the authority of Christian Consciousness rests in the fact that I have, in myself, anything, but in the direct revelation of the Son in me. I think that this has been the position of the Baptist Church through all past generations, in that we would not be bound down, but would believe in the liberty, the power which the Spirit gave us ; that we would not be men of tradition but men of conviction, and I understand that the difference between a man of tradition and a man of conviction is this : The man of tradition has learned certain things here in the Bible and elsewhere, and he simply knows them because he has been

taught, but the man of conviction believes there is a power that is not his own in him, that makes for light and truth, and he is able, as it were, to demonstrate the existence of that power in the men to whom he speaks, as has been said this morning. This, then, leads me to the thought with which I desire to close, that in our day, if we are to make religion again a power in the world it will be, as Brother Stewart said, by being, as the apostles were of old, witnesses of the grace of God that has been committed to us. I never expect that the world will be moved by the logic of my mind, or the fact that I believe in such a thing, or such another thing, but the witness is through me, and therefore I believe that the Spirit directly teaches me and directly teaches him that it illuminates; it illuminates in order to reveal. The illumination is simply the cleaning of the mirror in order that an impression may be made. What is the impression or image? The image is Christ; Christ must, therefore, be revealed in me, the hope of glory. I distinctly feel the illumination would be nothing if it were not in order to prepare the way for revelation. I believe that God to-day reveals Himself to the world, and that the evil of the world is that men know it not, and believe it not; that God is not past, not distant, but that He is here and now; that Christ is in you and in me, and in all men, not outside of them but in them, and is the hope of glory.

Rev. L. A. CRANDALL, D. D., of Cleveland, O., said:

After hearing the speakers who have addressed you since I sent up my name I have little to say, and I will try to say it in ten minutes.

After Brother Stewart had spoken, and Brother Boville, I felt a good deal like a certain old lady who found her husband sitting on a log outside the door one evening. She had, as you know some of the sisters have, a pretty sharp tongue, and she said, "Samuel, what are you doing out there on that log?" Samuel did not make any answer, and she cried again, in a louder tone, "Samuel, I say, what are you doing out on that log there?"

This time the answer came, slowly, "Never mind, Nancy, I am thinking." "Thinking," said Nancy scornfully, "For the land's sake what with?" Well, I feel very much in that predicament, for Brother Stewart and Brother Boville have traversed the very ground I wanted to go over. There was this thought in my mind during the first part of the discussion, that there was a seeming array of the Bible against Christian Consciousness,

an infallible book on one side of the fence and an infallible consciousness on the other side, an infallible book pitted against an infallible consciousness. I cannot conceive of the word of God and the Spirit of God which is in man as antagonizing each other. Now, it has been well said, and very much better than I can say it, that the Bible and Christian Consciousness are to work together, that the Bible furnishes the data upon which Christian Consciousness acts. But it seems to me, while I accept the Word of God, and that which He has taught of His truth in this word, that He must bring to bear upon the statements contained in that book, Christian Consciousness, and that in the last resort they are to be judged, whether we will or not, by that which we call Christian Consciousness. For instance, I have an inner consciousness which is called a stomach. I go down to the hotel and they say to me, "Here is plum pudding." "All right," I say, "I am not English but I love plum pudding," and I fall to. But I soon find that the head cook, instead of making it of flour, has with the usual other ingredients used sawdust. I say, "I cannot eat that, that does not nourish me." "But," says the landlord, "That is plum pudding, don't you see the plums there?" "Yes," I say, "but my inner consciousness protests against it." Well, now, men come to me with certain things which they say are in the Word of God. I do not know as much as they do, and they go on and buttress and support their position by certain texts, and I am compelled to say to that, whether it is christian or not, my inner consciousness, my feeling, protests against it. I say to you that I have difficulty, and I am glad to be here that I may learn from this body, representing so much wisdom, how to get away from the authority of my consciousness, if I ought not to be under its authority, for I acknowledge very frankly that it has a tremendous grip on me; consciousness has authority over me whether it should have or not. For instance, a man tells me that the Word of God teaches that there are a certain number whom God has reprobated, that from the foundations of the world until this hour that Divine mind has ordained that some men should be eternally damned. That is said to me by those who teach christian truth. Well, I simply say, I don't believe it, because I can't believe it, that is all. Some things are impossible for the consciousness. If one of you here should tell me that wall is black, and proceed to argue the question, I should say, "That is a good argument, but I simply do not believe it, that is all, I cannot believe it." A man arises and says that the elect dying in

infancy are saved, and puts the corresponding proposition that those who are not elected will not be saved ; I simply say, "I can't believe it." The difficulty is we do not agree as to what God's word teaches. You talk about an infallible book. I do not know what you mean. Do you mean a book without error, this King James' Bible ? Do you mean the Revised Version, or what do you mean by an infallible book ? I am very willing to admit that my consciousness may not always lead me aright, but I cannot get away from it, and I must obey the authority of that consciousness as it takes to itself that which God has revealed to us through this book ; in other words, I must act upon my apprehension of that which God teaches through this word, not upon another man's apprehension. Now, another thought which came to me during part of this discussion was this, that men seem to suppose God is dead—I say it with all reverence—that God is not in the universe. I believe that God is as much God to-day as ever, and that he has not withdrawn himself, either, from mankind ; that when this book was finished, and the last word of Revelation written by St. John, and the book closed, that God did not betake himself to some point in the universe and leave humanity to struggle on the rest of the ages alone. I believe that God to-day impinges Himself upon human life, and puts Himself into human hearts. I do not know what else the Lord Jesus Christ meant when He said, "It is expedient for you that I should go away, for if I go not away the Comforter will not come unto you, but if I depart I will send him unto you ;" and when He said that when the Comforter came he should teach us all things. We live to-day under the reign of the Holy Spirit, and when God comes into men's hearts, He comes in by the power of His Spirit to teach them concerning the way of eternal life, just as truly now as eighteen hundred years ago. God is as present in human life to-day as ever in the past.

The Chairman called on Rev. J. F. AVERY, of New York, to pronounce the benediction.

Second Day.

EVENING SESSION.

The proceedings opened by Rev. W. H. BARNES, Secretary of the N. Y. State Convention, leading in prayer, and reading Romans, 10th Chapter.

Rev. J. F. ELDER, D. D., who occupied the chair, said :

I very much regret to announce that Dr. Hill, who was to give us the opening paper this evening, has been unable on account of illness to give us his paper, or to be present, and it is a matter of regret that the third speaker—Dr. Schurman—cannot be here till to-morrow morning, so we have only one of the speakers to open up this subject. In this emergency, the General Committee have requested the Vice-President of the Congress, D. E. Thomson, Esq., to take the place of one of those speakers and occupy the allotted time. Mr. Thomson should, by rights, have presided here to-night, as he did so acceptably yesterday ; but in view of this duty that has been put upon him, I am requested, as acting chairman of the Executive Committee, to again preside this evening. Let it be understood that after the discussion is opened by these two gentlemen, that any member of a Baptist congregation who will send up his card to the Secretary will be entitled to participate in the debate, occupying ten minutes. The bell will give him the signal to stop within three minutes of the expiration of his time, and again when the ten minutes are up. The topic this evening is

THE RELATIONS OF CHURCH AND STATE,

BY REV. A. H. MUNRO, OF ST. THOMAS, ONTARIO.

Fifty years ago, in the month of April, 1839, there appeared in the columns of the *Edinburgh Review* an essay which has become one of the classics of English literature, Macaulay's review of a work on "The State in its relations with the Church, by W. E. Gladstone." The urbane courtesy of the essayist increased, rather than diminished, the effect of the keen political

insight, wealth of knowledge, soundness of logic and felicity of expression, which he employed in attacking the untenable positions held by Mr. Gladstone, which were these: That the propagation of religious truth is one of the ends of government, as government. That the duties of a government are paternal. That it is bound to profess a religion. That all power is from God, and should be and can be rightly used only when referred to Him; and the power of a government can be properly referred to Him only when a religion is applied to it, or professed by it. That a government ought to profess a religion because it is composed of men whose acts cannot be acceptable to God without a religion, which must be as public as their governmental acts; they are the reasoning agents of the nation, and must have and profess a religion in accordance with their consciences. That national will and energy are one; that every nation is a personality; actions by it, or towards it, are moral deeds. The nation, therefore, needs a religion as a person does; and it is the duty of those who hold supreme power in the State to employ their power to promote whatever they may deem theological truth. That if the government be good this is its duty; and if it is not good, let it be made good. But while it ought to exclude from all official positions any who do not conform to the established religion, it is not to persecute any such persons, 1st. Because the sword is given only to punish evil doers and violators of the law; 2nd. Because the government cannot adequately supervise religion. And finally the church (that is the English Episcopal church) should be allied with the State because it has the authorized teaching of those who enjoy Apostolic succession. The reply of Macaulay to all this was masterly and complete. He said that the ends of government are temporal and not spiritual things. That in relation to the former all may and ought to agree without reference to a higher power, while this is not possible with regard to the latter, which, therefore, cannot be properly included in the duties of a government. That if a government were paternal, it ought to perform all the duties of a parent, including the punishment of those who persisted in error. That a government was not more responsible for the use of its power than a stage coach company, and is under no greater obligation to profess a religion. That a railway company is composed of men, has a personality and moral acts, and is therefore as much under obligation to have a religion as the government is. That while the individual members of a government should have a religion, it does not follow that there-

fore they should combine to profess and maintain the same religion, any more than the managers of a commercial company should do so, and insist upon all the shareholders professing that same religion. That any government is better than no government at all; and any government will best attain its proper ends by keeping them in view singly and availing itself of the services of all who can best aid their accomplishment; otherwise the creed of a general would be regarded as of more importance than his ability to command an army. To prove that a government should employ its power on behalf of religion it must first be shown that this would do more good than harm. No government has been perfect. It is therefore useless to argue about what a perfect government could or should do. Who is to make a government perfect? Who shall decide what is a good government and what is not? If a government were the most perfect that human frailty will permit, it would not follow that it would be qualified to propagate a religion. The way in which governments obtain their power does not qualify them to distinguish between religions or to propagate any of them. Almost all the governments that have ever existed must have been wrong on religious subjects, for they have all differed, and only one of them could have been right. For one that has propagated truth, a thousand must have propagated error. One effect of religion being propagated by a government is to make malcontents and hypocrites; but it has no tendency to produce sincere believers. It bribes people to decide in favor of the established creed. If the State makes any distinction between those who conform and those who do not, there is no reason why it should not make other distinctions also between them. If it admits the one to offices as a favor and excludes the others from them, there is no reason why it should not go further and permit the one to live in peace, while it persecuted the other to death. If a government cannot detect and punish deadly error, it is not competent to propagate the truth. It does presume to punish error if it makes any distinction in civil rights on account of religious belief or unbelief. It cannot be proved that any living minister or priest has received his holy orders in uninterrupted succession from the time of the Apostles. Over the polity of the church through several of the first centuries there lies an obscurity that nothing can penetrate. During the middle ages the utmost disorder and irregularity prevailed. Since the first century more than 100,000 persons have been made bishops, and that many of these were not bishops of apostolical succession is certain. If any church

did receive its authority through apostolical succession, this would not qualify it to teach the truth. Most churches that make this claim came out of Rome. A stream cannot rise higher than its fountain, which in this case was full of the errors repudiated by the reformers.

Such in condensed form, were the unanswerable arguments by which Macaulay refuted Gladstone's theory of the relation of church and state. But, nevertheless, Macaulay was by no means a believer in voluntarism, but had a theory of his own in relation to the support of religion by the state, which he set forth substantially as follows :

1. That government, like any other institution, should have a main end, yet if without any sacrifice of its efficiency for that end, it can pursue any other good one, it ought to do so. A hospital should not sacrifice its main purpose to nurse and cure the sick, that it may be made an ornamental structure. But if it can be made a beautiful building without sacrificing its efficiency for its intended purpose, it should be.

In the same way he argued if a government can, without any sacrifice of its main end, promote any other good work, it ought to do so. It may therefore not only encourage the fine arts and superintend education, but also give religious instruction.

2. It may do this not only in accordance with the creed of the majority, but also give proportionate support to the belief of the minority.

If Macaulay had understood art as well as he did political philosophy, he never would have employed the illustration of beautifying a hospital to defend his theory of the propagation of religion by the state. Ruskin would have torn his illustration to pieces. He would have told him that "Building" is a term rightly used to indicate something more than the mere making of foundations, walls, roofs and apartments out of whatever materials may have been selected. It means the wise contrivance and erection of an edifice for some definite purpose according to the principles of science and the rules of art, imparting to it adaptation, strength and beauty. No building was ever constructed for two different purposes that was not a failure in respect to one of them. A hospital would not be made beautiful by sacrificing its main purpose, nor by misappropriating its funds, to stick upon it some anomaly stolen from a Grecian temple or a Gothic cathedral. Any ornamentation of it that did not accord with, and in fact arise from, its construction for its main purpose, would be an eye-sore to a person of

cultivated taste. And in the same way a government will best promote religion not by any departure from its legitimate work, but by a proper performance of it. Let that government be composed of able and high-minded men, using their power as a government only for its rightful purposes and with a strict adherence to truth, justice and righteousness, and it will do more for religion than any government has ever accomplished on its behalf, though giving it directly nothing more than a fair field and no favor, which is all that the truth needs or should receive.

When Macaulay advocated more than this being done for religion by the government, he was strangely unconscious that some of the very arguments that he had employed to destroy Mr. Gladstone's theory were equally fatal to his own. If governmental support of any one religion can be justified only by proof that this would do more good than harm, surely the support by a government of two or more religions must require the same defence. If the result of the attempt of each government to propagate a religion has been that a thousand times more error than truth has been taught, certainly the effect will be vastly worse when every government undertakes to give patronage and support to any kind of religious belief that may exist or arise in the nation or its dependencies. In the case of Great Britain this would involve the maintenance by the government in the United Kingdom, of Episcopal High Church, Low Church and Broad Church, of Romanism and Presbyterianism, of all the dissenting bodies that would accept state aid of a hundred minor sects, and every shade of infidelity, including Deism, Secularism, Agnosticism and Atheism; while the foreign possessions would add to the list the Buddhism, Brahminism and Mohammedanism of India; the Cannibalism of Papua, and the Fetish and Mumbo Jumbo of Africa. To this absurd result, a logical and just appreciation of Macaulay's theory of the relation of Church and State must lead. There is but one escape from it, that of restricting government to its proper ends and duties.

To decide what these are we must first understand what we mean by the terms Church and Government.

The word church, as we are all aware, is an anglicized form of the Greek word *Kuriakos*, the Lord's House; to which a nearer approximation is made in the Scotch word *Kirk*. The word church is used in our version of the Bible as a translation of the Greek word *Ecclesia*, which in its strict etymological sense means a called out or select assembly. It is not, however, with

its etymological sense, but with its significance in the New Testament, that we have to do. The word *Ecclesia* or church is used then to denote four things :

1. It is employed to designate an assembly, gathered in any way, or for any purpose ; and is in this sense applied to the riotous mob of Ephesus in Acts 19 : 41.

2. It is used to indicate the chosen nation that God called out of Egypt and led to the promised land. Acts 7 : 38.

3. It is employed to designate the whole body of the faithful, the entire spiritual Israel of God. Heb. 12 : 23.

4. It is more usually employed to designate any organized body of believers in Christ, who may be united in Christian fellowship, as the Church at Jerusalem, the Church at Antioch, the Church at Corinth. Acts 8 : 1 ; 13 : 1 ; 1 Cor. 1 : 2.

The term *ecclesia*, or church, is never used in the New Testament to designate all those of the christian faith dwelling in different parts of the country, and forming separate and different assemblies for fellowship and worship. We do not read of the church but of the churches of Galatia, Macedonia, Syria and Celicia. There is no phraseology in the New Testament corresponding to that in use among us, when we speak of the Church of England, the Church of Scotland, the Gallican Church or the Roman Catholic Church. The New Testament knows nothing of ecclesiastical organizations corresponding to those indicated by these and similar terms, which are thoroughly unscriptural in their origin and significance, and fruitful in most erroneous conceptions of Christ's Kingdom in this world, but not of it. Any theory of the relation of Church and State that involves the recognition of such institutions, must, therefore, be contrary to the fundamental principles of Christianity.

It is a remarkable fact, that hardly any of the great religious bodies that are more or less christian in their faith and practice have given authorized definitions of the term Church. Rome, much as she speaks of the Church and insists upon its authority, leaves us to infer that by the Church she means herself, whatever she may be. That and nothing more. The Church of England says what she does not mean when in her 19th article she declares that "The visible Church of Christ is a congregation of faithful men, in which the word of God is preached and the sacraments duly administered according to Christ's ordinance in all these things that of necessity are requisite to the same." Had the language been "Churches of Christ are congregations of faithful men," it would have been less objection-

able, though still defective. The Presbyterian confession of faith gives a definition that may mean anything or nothing, when it says that "The visible church, which is also Catholic or Universal, consists of all those throughout the world that profess the true religion, together with their children." The New Testament idea of a Christian Church must be learned from the language of inspired men, from which we gather that the scriptural meaning of a Church of Christ is that of a body of regenerated believers in Christ, organized for the maintenance of christian worship, the preaching of the gospel, the observance of the ordinances and the extension of the christian faith. The visible church is the sum total of such churches as may exist in the world at any time. Of each individual church and of the whole visible church Christ is the head. That universal church is the pillar and ground of the truth. Its mission is to evangelize the world; and its only weapon in its warfare with men and sin is the sword of the spirit, the word of God.

The other word, whose meaning we have to decide, presents greater difficulty. Government cannot be defined like a mathematical figure. A circle or right angle is the same every where; but government means something very different in China, Russia, England and the United States. In general terms government is the ruling power in a political society. In every civilized community there is a determinate body consisting of one or more persons whose commands the rest of the community must obey. Forms of government and spheres of government may be viewed in two aspects. First, What history shows that they have been; and second, what political thinkers say that they should be. For our purpose on the present occasion we need not consider what is the best form of government, but confine our discussion to what are the proper functions of government, and the limits of its legitimate interference with the liberty of the subject. Its functions are necessarily threefold, legislation, judicature and administration. Doubt can exist only with respect to the first and last. Upon what subjects shall the government legislate and with what things shall it directly interfere. Let the great thinkers on this subject speak.

Aristotle says that the law should reign; but he does not seem to entertain the thought that the law itself should be restricted. In fact this is an entirely modern idea, which was not generally accepted, even in England, till after the revolution of 1688.

Locke asserts that men, when they enter society, give up the liberty, equality and executive power which they had in a state

of nature, to be so far disposed of by the legislature as the good of society may require. But they are to do this only with the intention to better preserve their liberty and property; therefore the power of the government should never extend beyond the common good.

Arnold of Rugby considered the ideal church and state one, and thought that the persecution of infidelity might be justified in extreme cases.

John Stuart Mill taught that whatever is useful or necessary, and cannot be done by the individual, or not as well, should be done by the state or government.

Herbert Spencer evidently, like Paine, considers all government but a necessary evil, to be made as small as possible. He would restrict its work to the protection of life, property and liberty, and he condemns all state regulations of commerce, religion, education, sanitary measures, and even the state currency and the post office.

These diversities of opinion, with their common underlying truth, seem to force upon us certain fundamental principles respecting government:

1st. That it has no essential nature or limits; no natural or divinely imparted constitution or sphere; but that it is in any instance what men will it to be and make it.

2. That as government is created by and for the governed, it should be and do the best that is practicable for their interests. Its form and sphere should be decided by an exclusive regard to what is for the greatest good of the greatest number.

3. It therefore follows that the sphere of government should include all the legislation and administration that may be necessary or desirable for the temporal welfare and happiness of society.

4. That its work should be strictly confined to these objects.

First, because it can efficiently perform such work. It belongs to matters of fact, to things that the government can originate, protect and control, to an indefinite extent, for the common good.

Secondly, because it cannot efficiently perform any other work. Matters of sentiment, opinion or belief are things beyond its power to discover or originate, value or control, and therefore, beyond the legitimate sphere of its action. To interfere with them is to meddle with what does not belong to human but to divine government. If such an interference is permitted in any instance, no limit can be placed to its extension to others. And

history proves that all meddling on the part of government with sentiments, opinions and beliefs, has been the cause of infinitely more harm than good.

Such being the natures of the church and of government, it will not be difficult to determine their relations to each other.

The sphere of the one is spiritual things and that of the other temporal things. The constitution, authority and work of the one are divine, and admit of no change or modification ; while those of the other are of the earth earthy, and may be freely altered at the pleasure of men. The weapons of the one are not carnal but spiritual and mighty through God, while the other may use all forcible means from a magistrate's subpoena to fleets and armies.

What is, what can be, the relation of two institutions so opposite in their natures and purposes, but that of entire isolation, each moving in its own sphere, without interference with, or recognition of, the other.

A Christian Church as a church has nothing to give to the State or to receive from it. Its members as individuals have a right to oppose or sustain a government and to receive from it the protection it offers to all. But as a religious society they have no right to use their influence for or against any government. They are not organized for any such purpose, but exclusively for that which is entirely spiritual. As the owners of certain property they have a right to demand protection in its peaceful use and enjoyment, but no right to ask or accept more than this, as the granting of it would imply that the government had recognized and placed a certain value upon specific religious beliefs, things that are all beyond its powers and functions. A government as such, ought to know no difference between the place of worship of a Baptist church and the lecture hall of an Atheist.

This brings us at once to the subject of the exemptions of church property and clerical incomes from taxation.

Such exemptions cannot be reconciled with the principles we have laid down. The first thing then to be done by those who would defend them is to prove our principles to be erroneous : to show that the respective spheres of the church and state are not essentially different ; that it is not best that the one should confine itself to things spiritual, and the other to things temporal ; that government is authorized and qualified to recognize, judge and reward or punish as it may see fit certain religious beliefs, or the absence of them. It will not do to

say that these exemptions are not rewards when bestowed or punishments when withheld. When the Anarchist or Agnostic lecturer is compelled to pay taxes for his lecture hall and for his income, from which christian churches and christian ministers are exempt, he is to all intents and purposes fined to that amount for not holding certain religious beliefs. Not only so, but he and his followers are by such taxation compelled to contribute indirectly, but no less really, towards the support of religious beliefs which they repudiate. If this is right, then the Spanish Inquisition was right, for whatever will justify the one will be a sufficient defence of the other.

It is no answer to this to say that "If a tax is levied upon a church edifice, religion is made by that act to pay tribute to the State." Not so. It is not a case of *religion*, but simply one of *property*, which the owners may use for religious purposes, or any others of a peaceful nature, without reference to the government, or interference by it; but which property needs and receives the same protection as other property, and should be made to pay for it in a similar way.

Nor is it any answer to say that the lands and buildings held in the interests of religion are not property in the commercial sense of the word. That they do not represent material, productive values, or tangible assets. That as far as pecuniary returns are concerned, they are virtually withdrawn from the community, and as capital are dead and no longer available.

This argument is simply a misconception of facts. When a building is devoted to church purposes, it is not lifted up into the air, but occupies its former locality and is beneficially affected by the increased value of the real estate in its neighborhood. "Once a church" does not mean "always a church." In almost every large city there will be found instances in which religious bodies have sold their old places of worship for many times their original values; without ever having paid a cent for the protection enjoyed while that investment took place.

The moral benefit argument cannot be successfully used in this case. It implies that a certain system of taxation must be adopted. That the government has the power, right and ability to discriminate between truth and error. And it is an argument, which, if satisfactory in relation to the property of churches and the incomes of ministers, is at least as suitable respecting homesteads and the incomes of parents. Is it quite certain that all the institutions exempt from property taxation are of moral benefit to the community. Without any uncharitable-

ness will all admit that this is the case with respect to the Roman Catholic mimicry, or the Mormon Church? If the benefit of exemption is not to be enjoyed by anything and everything that gives itself a religious character, who is to make and apply the law of exclusion from that benefit? And if there is to be none, but all are to share alike, whatever their faith and practice, will not error and evil be helped more than truth and righteousness?

There are several other things of importance to which the principles enunciated may be applied. First, to that of the use of the Bible in schools. Shall the reading of the Bible in schools be enforced or prohibited? Neither. The Bible is before all else a text-book of religious belief; as such it is regarded by both those who believe in it and those who reject it. Shall the former force it upon the children of the latter, and make it, irrespective of the wishes of their parents, a part of their daily instruction? Certainly they cannot do this with any more justice than they could take those same children altogether from under parental control and compel them to receive whatever religious belief others might select for them. But the Bible is not only a book of religion; it is a history of most exceptional value, and a moral instructor of priceless worth. The Bible is as no other book is, the foundation, centre and key of so much that forms all essential part of modern education, that its omission from the course of juvenile instruction involves loss and injury of a most serious character, and should be endured only from imperative necessity. Is the objection which some few persons may have to the Bible as a religious book a sufficient reason why a much larger number should be denied the benefit of the study of its history and morality? I do not attach much value to the mere perfunctory reading of a few verses of Scripture at each school session. It is not likely to attract much of the scholar's attention or to very deeply impress their thoughts and feelings. What is needed is instruction in the Bible as a history and text book of morals. Without any interference with religion by the State, and purely for the sake of the intellectual and moral benefits accruing, this may and should form a part of the regular curriculum of the public school, but a part from which any parent should be free to withdraw his child.

Another subject which demands our attention in this connection, is that of laws to enforce the observance of the Sabbath. Can these be maintained in harmony with those principles of civil and religious liberty which we hold?

With respect to the religious observance of the Sabbath, the state has nothing to do. But the admitted necessity for a general day of rest, the demonstrated superiority of the weekly Sabbath for that purpose, enormous physical, intellectual, moral, social and natural benefits arising from its observance, the necessity for making that observance general to render it effective, more than justify the government, irrespective of all religious considerations, and on purely economic, sanitary and moral grounds, in making and enforcing laws for the observance of the Sabbath as a day of rest, and in prohibiting all commercial regulations or customs that would render necessary work or business being done on that day. The government has no right to prevent anyone from working on the Sabbath if he sees fit to do so ; but it has a right, and it is its duty to prevent any railroad or steamboat company, or anyone else, from compelling others to work on that day beyond the demands of necessity or mercy.

There is one thing more to which these principles may be applied, that of Separate Schools, which already exist in Canada, and are beginning to be demanded in the United States. If the State is not to recognize religious distinctions, or to legislate, or take action with reference to them, then separate schools are an impossibility ; and they are equally so if all money received by the State or controlled by it is given to it for secular purposes, and is to be used by it for no other ends. Separate schools are such on purely religious grounds. When once conceded to any religious sect there is no justice in withholding them from any others that may demand them. They are a premium on bigotry, and a sanction of intolerance, a perversion of public funds and the opening of the flood-gates to incalculable evil from which society may be saved, by the government refusing to legislate for what is beyond its proper jurisdiction, the differences between religious sects.

It goes without saying that the principles here set forth leave to the government the utmost freedom of action in relation to temperance legislation, obscene literature, or immoral publications or practices of any kind ; and that they in no way debar it from doing anything which it can do better than the individual for the temporal welfare and happiness of society. More than this it should not attempt, for in more than this it cannot succeed. Nowhere will its failure be more complete, and the misuse of its powers more pernicious than when it interferes, directly or indirectly, with religious interests. Whatever plea or

excuse may be offered in behalf of that interference, in the end it will prove itself to be a mockery, a delusion and a snare.

THE CHAIRMAN: The discussion will be continued by D. E. THOMPSON, Esq., Vice-President of the Congress, and your fellowtownsman.

D. E. THOMSON, Esq., of Toronto, said :

Mr. Chairman and friends:

I did expect to speak to-night, but I expected to be confined to ten minutes, and I confess that I thought it was a serious subject to tackle—at least for me—under the ten-minute limit, and I would have been glad to think of some way by which I could have mesmerized (or chloroformed would be a better word) the secretary's watch, or else have persuaded him that I was two people; but by the kind arrangement of the committee I am allowed to stand here as two people and a half to-night. (Laughter.) I shall discuss this question on the understanding that I am addressing the Baptist Congress—that I am addressing Baptists. There is no doubt there are those here who are not Baptists. I cannot wait to demonstrate to them to-night the correctness of Baptist principles; they will have to pick up what crumbs of comfort they can. (Laughter.) I will speak to our own people mainly. Even our own people need some instruction as to what it is to be a Baptist. Somebody said the other day at Ottawa that there were wishy-washy Baptists who conceived that the only difference between themselves and other christians was that they had gone through these waters (pointing to the baptistry). That is a very superficial conception indeed. If I understand anything of that which distinguishes Baptists from other religious bodies, it is intimately connected with the subject that we are discussing to-night. If there is anything that is specially distinctive of Baptists, above everything else, it is the doctrine of true soul liberty; the doctrine of the individual right of conscience; the doctrine of the individual responsibility of man to his Maker, and the doctrine that that implies—that his conscience must be left free to discharge that responsibility to his Maker. (Applause.) And even in this matter of the connection between the church and the state, I am disposed to go a little deeper—or what seems to me a little deeper—than is implied in that form of language. When we speak about the separation of church and state we are using language that is not

very specific, that is not very definite, because there is no doubt that, though we may not be of this world, as a Christian Church, we are in this world, and there is a sense in which we *are* connected with the state. We are connected with the earth, as a church, because we are on it, and our building is standing on it, and we are entitled, even as a church, to all that the state should give to the community—all the protection, and all the rights, that the state should secure to all citizens, and in respect to all property—that is to say, *if we pay our taxes like other people* we are entitled from the state to the same rights that other people are. (Applause.) So there is a sense in which there is a connection ; but there are very important limitations to the things that government has a right to do. No government has a right to interfere with individual right of conscience. No government has a right to tamper with soul liberty ; and that involves—as Roger Williams contended—that the government has no right to constrain any man to support or contribute to the support of any form of religious belief. There are certain rights that are inherent in a man, that the Almighty gave him, and that men in their organization together into a community—into a body owing allegiance to a government, did not surrender. There are certain rights that are inherent in a man, and that the majority cannot override—dare not override.

I want to speak of only three points to-night. First, of the Separate School question—one that has not been referred to in the paper to which we have listened—perhaps it would have been referred to if we had had the pleasure of hearing it all—but one that exemplifies very well the point I am trying to make. In this province, unfortunately, as I think, and unfortunately, as I believe the vast majority of my fellow-countrymen think, we have a system of Separate Schools. That is to say, the law lends its machinery to one communion—to the Roman Catholic Church—in order that its adherents may be compelled to support Separate schools in which the Roman Catholic religion is taught. That, I say, transcends the functions of government. When any government undertakes by its machinery to compel any individual, be he Roman Catholic or Protestant, or whom you choose, when the state assumes to compel him to contribute towards the support of religion, it violates his conscience, and the state has transcended its power. (Applause.) We are constantly told, with reference to this matter of Separate Schools, that they have been incorporated into our constitution ; that the principle has been agreed to ; it is a bargain ; it is a contract ; the faith

of Protestants is pledged to the arrangement, and it would be dishonorable to repudiate it. Well, I stand here as a citizen of this country, and I repudiate any such contract. (Applause.) I am told that I am bound by it. Why? Individually I never assented to it; and if I am bound-by it it must be because somebody else has bound me to it. It is a principle of law—which I may be excused for stating here—that an agent's power to bind his principal depends on the agent's authority; and I say no man can bind me to that arrangement unless he is authorized to represent me for that purpose. Not but that you can authorize a man in a general way to do a thousand things that are not specified; but they must come within the scope of the authority that you have given him. Now, there are certain things that politician can bind me to. There are certain rights of mine that politicians can deal with and bind me with reference to. Thank God, there are some things that the politicians cannot bind me with reference to (applause), because I have no right so sacred but what they would barter it for place and power when the opportunity came; I do not know that they would not barter my immortal soul if they had the power. (Laughter.) With reference to this matter of Separate Schools, I care nothing for the statement that it is a compact, that it is a contract. It is *ultra vires* of those who assumed to make the contract. It is inherently a violation of the rights that God has given to every man. It is not binding on me; and I intend to oppose it, and use whatever little influence I possess to have Separate Schools abolished. (Applause.)

Now, with reference to the Bible in the Schools; that is my second point. I say that the state transcends its power if it attempts to enforce religious instruction in the public schools. (Hear, hear.) That is the ground we should squarely take. I know that a great many Protestants are not prepared to take that ground. They are finding already—and I predict that if they have not, they will soon find—that the course on which they have embarked is a dangerous one, and that they are not able to carry it through. I take my stand where the last speaker has, and say that the perfunctory reading of the Bible in the school is worth nothing. If you want religion taught, you want a full and positive religion taught. If it is the function of the state to teach religion, it is the function of the state to decide what that religion is to be. There is more evil in the concession of the authority to teach the Bible in the schools than we have any conception of. It weakens the responsibility of parents. (Hear,

hear.) That responsibility had better be left where it belongs. It is impossible for the state to compel the teaching of religion in the schools without being qualified to determine what the religion is. Anything, I say, that justifies the state undertaking the inculcation of a system of religion, must necessarily justify a state church.

Now I come to the third question that I meant to refer to to-night, and that is, the subject of Tax Exemptions. I contend that the state, after having adopted its own system, which is its business, as to the levying of taxes, ought to apply that system without distinction of person, and without distinction of property. When the state assumes to exempt church property from taxation in a municipality, it is doing exactly the same thing as if it were levying a rate on all property indiscriminately, and then giving part of that rate to the churches as a bonus, towards their support. (Hear, hear.) As one of the secular papers has said, this exemption of church property from taxation is state aid in a very thinly disguised form. Yes, the disguise is very thin indeed. When the subject was being first discussed in our own church, Deacon Roberts referred to a good concrete case. He says, "We have a mission out here in Chester. We hold the service just now in a public hall, that is used for public meetings, owned by an individual in the village; and the owner of that hall pays taxes on it like any other owner of property; it bears its share of municipal taxation. Now, suppose, he said, that we go and buy that property for our church; the municipality won't need to raise any less money on that account, will it? and that will mean necessarily that the other owners will have to pay a higher rate. It is a matter of mathematical demonstration. The other owners of property (who may not be Baptists) are taxed to support the Baptist church. Take this question from the Baptist standpoint, and I say that so far as we are concerned we ought to wash our hands of this whole business. (Loud applause.)

So far as we are concerned we ought to say that for the honor of our Master, and to lift His name above reproach, we will not leave it in the mouth of any man to say we are parties to an arrangement whereby, in violation of our own professed principles, those who don't believe with us are compelled to contribute to the support of our religion. I did not need to go so far away, perhaps, for an illustration. A little while ago, as we are all very glad to know, a very valuable piece of property up on Bloor street was conveyed to the Baptists for the purpose of establish-

ing a ladies' school. Well, that property had theretofore paid its taxes honestly, squarely ; but there are some ladies' schools in this city yet that have to pay their taxes. Under the law, this property, passing into the hands of a religious body, is free from taxation. Take the case of a teacher who is struggling to maintain her own private school—we will call her Miss Smith. She has to face this dilemma : she has not only to compete with an endowed institution for the future, but she must actually—poor woman—pay more taxes next year for the support of the other school—her competitor—because that property is withdrawn from the general rate, and Miss Smith's rate is so much higher. (Applause.) Well, I think the Baptist denomination ought to pay taxes on that property. (Applause.) Why not ? It will not do to excuse ourselves in reference to this matter by pointing out inaccuracies in the law. There is no doubt the law of assessment is just about as imperfect as most other human laws, and is likely to continue so. If we wait till the law is perfect before we do our duty, it is quite clear we will never do it. Some people say (though I ought to apologize for referring to this at all, after what has been said by the previous speaker) that the churches are an immense good in the community ; that they are a moral police force of the very greatest value ; and we hear quoted Mr. Spurgeon's words about the value of the Salvation Army as a police force in London ; and that it is only fair that the State should recompense us a little for that good. Well, let us be logical ; if we are willing to take pay for our goodness—if we are going to neglect our Master's injunction, " Freely ye have received, freely give," let us go the whole distance. There is no doubt we do the state a great deal more good—in our estimation, at any rate—than we receive in benefit. Why not send in our account for the balance ? (Laughter and applause.) Is it possible that the Church of Christ can maintain its self respect in making such a demand as that ? If I am the good and exemplary citizen that I ought to be, this city is very much the better for my living in it. How would it do if I claimed exemption on that account ? (Laughter.) By such a proposal I would forfeit the respect of every right-thinking man. Is the honor of the church—nay, rather, is the honor of Christ, that is committed to our keeping, of no more importance than my reputation ? (Applause.)

I have spoken of this subject from a Canadian standpoint ; but there are a lot of American brethren here. One of their influential organs the other day, in referring in a rather—well, I

was almost going to say in a rather sneering way—to this movement, reminded us very patronizingly that the American Baptists had not taken any move in this direction—(laughter)—and that it was a very extraordinary—evidently a very presumptuous thing—in the eyes of this New York newspaper, that we should have thought of doing a thing on the ground that the opposite was contrary to our distinctive principles, while it had never occurred to the American Baptists to do such a thing. (Laughter and applause.) Well, the message I desire to send, through these delegates, to the great American Baptist brotherhood is, that if they expect us to follow them at the respectful distance this criticism seems to indicate, they had better **MOVE ON!** (Great applause and laughter.) We haven't any use for leaders who won't lead. (Laughter.) If the fact be that the American Baptists are quite content to go on taking the benefit of this exemption of their property from taxation, that they have need to read again American Baptist history, to hunt up the records with reference to Roger Williams, and see whether the principles that he advocated with so much force and so much success, do not, in their ultimate application, require them to come out consistently and boldly in this matter. It is certainly a great glory to the American Baptists that it is a matter of settled history that the distance the United States have gone in securing religious liberty and religious equality (further than any other nation, I am free to confess) is due directly to Baptist influence. (Applause.) That clause in the American Constitution has no uncertain birth-marks. When Roger Williams came to New England he did not find religious equality as he expected. The Puritans had come with an entirely different conception. They sought to set up a theocracy, and they persecuted Roger Williams, and ultimately drove him out among the Indians, to find among aborigines the succor and support that christian brethren refused to give him; and when he afterwards founded the colony of Rhode Island, it was there first, in modern times, that the principle of religious equality was constitutionally acknowledged. From that germ there has been a consistent stream of Baptist influence right along. In Carolina, when it was proposed to put a clause in the Constitution disfranchising atheists, it was the Baptists and the Quakers who stood up and said: "No! men's religious belief has nothing to do with their franchise." And when in Virginia the final struggle came, and the Episcopal Church had to give up its connection with the state, finding it could hold that position no longer, it proposed an

anomaly—well, is it an anomaly?—it is just the same as tax exemptions—a concurrent endowment—a proposition that the state should levy a tax and distribute it among the denominations. The Episcopalians proposed this, and a large majority of their good Presbyterian brethren fell in with them; and it was left to the Baptists to fight that struggle almost single-handed. As you know, it came within one vote of being carried as the law in the State of Virginia. What was determined upon then was to delay the action until the next session of the House. During the intervening time the discussion went on, and, if I am not mistaken, it was to that discussion that Madison and Jefferson owed much of their prominence and their position. As leaders of the people they may almost be said to have been begotten of that discussion. The result was, when the Legislature of Virginia met again, instead of passing the law proposed, they declared, in practically the same terms as was afterwards engrafted, through the same forces, into the American Constitution, that the Church and State should be separate. But it is quite evident now to any one who studies American history that this principle was not carried far enough. Have you got rid of all your troubles? Is the separation complete? Have you any trouble with your Roman Catholics now? Is there any attack on your school system now? Is there any such thing as grabbing public appropriations for denominational purposes? Have you made this thing clear—cut it clean enough? Have you any need, then, to have this question opened again? Have you any need to have it looked into, and see if the separation be complete? And who, I ask, are to do this work but the descendants of those who began it, and who carried it forward so nobly to the position it has attained? (Applause.)

There is one other objection that is made to this movement; it is said that it will be such a sacrifice and such a loss. Well, I don't believe it, because God says it won't be. We say that every dollar we give, we have a dollar less. Well, that depends on what we give it to. If we give it to the right thing the Lord says we will have a hundred dollars more; that is what He says. (Applause.) "There is that scattereth and yet increaseth, and there is that withholdeth more than is meet, and it tendeth to poverty." That is said not only in God's word, but, if our eyes were open, we would see that it is being demonstrated before us every day. The path of sacrifice is the only path to strength, and the only path to success, in every walk of life. The Ameri-

can brethren, at any rate, know the history of the struggle that they have gone through for the abolition of human slavery, and they know what temporizing was advised with reference to that, and they know how nothing was done until bold men came out, like William Lloyd Garrison, and said they would have no compromise with this thing. They called the clause of the constitution that was quoted as justifying this infamy, "a covenant with hell," and said they would have nothing to do with it. Now, I want to ask you where William Lloyd Garrison got so much of his strength? He got it, like so many other men, from his mother; and I want to close by reading you a reference to William Lloyd Garrison's mother.

"To illustrate the conscientious and firm character of this admirable woman, we must be permitted to give an anecdote of her whilst yet young. Her parents were of the Episcopal Church, and among the most bigoted of that body. In those days the Baptists were a despised people, and it was reckoned vulgar to be of their community. One day, however, it was made known through the neighborhood where she lived, that one of these despised sectaries would preach in a barn, and a party of gay young people, one of whom was the lovely and gay Fanny Lloyd, agreed for a frolic to go and hear him. Of those who went to scoff one remained to pray; this was Fanny Lloyd. Her soul was deeply touched by the meek and holy spirit of the preacher; she wept much during the sermon, and when it was over the preacher spake kindly to her. From that day a change came over her mind. She would no longer despise and ridicule the Baptists; and before long announced to her astonished and indignant parents that she found it necessary for the peace of her soul to become publicly one of that despised body. Nothing could equal the exasperation which followed this avowal. They threatened that if she allowed herself to be baptized, they would turn her out of doors. It was not a matter of choice but of stern duty with her; she meekly expostulated—she besought them with tears to hear her reasons, but in vain. She could not, however, resist that which she believed to be her duty to God; she was baptized, and had no longer a home under her parents' roof. She then took refuge with an uncle, with whom she resided several years. This early persecution only strengthened her religious opinions; and she remained through life a zealous advocate of those peculiar views for which she had suffered so much."

Mr. Chairman, I have finished. I say that at that moment

was begotten of God one of the forces that swept slavery off the American Continent ; and it is a good instance of the value of sacrifice. (Loud applause.)

The discussion was opened by Rev. JOHN MCLAURIN, of Woodstock, Ont., who said :

Mr. Chairman and Christian Friends :

I feel rather sorry that my name was the first one to come before you this evening—that but two addresses have been presented—because I am not in the happy position of the Presbyterian elder—I have nothing to object to in what I have heard this evening ; so that if I give you in few words my creed, and along with it a few words about the points I make, that will be all that will be required. Now, it seems to me in discussing this very interesting question—and to us in Canada this very important and burning question—that it is well to get down to fundamental principles—get down to the bottom of things as far as we can. It seems to me the ideal government, after all, is a theocracy. It was not a theocracy that the Pilgrim Fathers attempted to establish in New England, because there was altogether too little of the “theos” in it, and there was too much of the man. God the King ; His word law ; and His messengers—whoever they might be—the executors, or the executioners, of that law, is, as it appears to me, the fundamental principle ; but you know as well as I do that such a government as that would be inoperative under the present conditions of human society ; and therefore I think that now comes in the great division that has taken place. I believe God has handed over to humanity—that is, to human organizations—the administration of secular affairs and the guardianship of human rights. All inter-human relations—relations of man to man simply—He has given into the hands of the children of men ; for not only has God allowed this, but we are told distinctly in His Word that the powers that be are ordained of God. Human government has been ordained of God, but at the same time I believe that he reserved the domain of faith, of conscience, and of worship—that is, the relations of the individual soul to Himself—He reserves in His own hands. Why ? You know why ; we all know why. We know how the world has ever blundered, and the human State has ever blundered, when it has touched these relations. We know what a poor, miserable, blundering thing the State is, after all, and human organizations, even for the

regulation of human affairs, how they blunder. And the relations of the soul to its God He has given to no man, and to no combination of men; those eternal interests, those precious interests, He has held in His own hands; and it seems to me that here is the crucial point in this question—that, He has given to humanity, to men; this, He has reserved to Himself. Well, then, if this be so, I think it follows that the State has no authority to formulate a creed or construct a liturgy. It follows, it seems to me, from this, that the State has no right to place any one under a disability for unbelief, neither to give any one immunity from legitimate burdens on account of conformity to such belief, or with such a form of liturgy, or such a form of worship; and that the State steps out of its legitimate sphere when it interferes with a man's belief or form of worship. Whether a man believes in a God at all or not, the State has nothing to do; how that person worships a God, or when, or where, the State has nothing to do. The State has nothing to do with that man whether he carries out his own beliefs with reference to God or not. This is what I think is the true relation of the Church—what we call the Church—and the State. Now, there are two or three things—or half a dozen of them perhaps—that I think follow from these positions; and the first is: That the State has no right to establish or endow any form of religious belief whatever. We know that the State has undertaken that. It undertook it away back in A. D. 323 or 325, and it has been trying it ever since, and it has been a miserable failure in every respect. It has no right to force any one to pay tax or tithes for the support of such; I suppose you all believe in that; almost all believe in that, in this land, any way; they don't in England, or on the continent of Europe. I think, again, it has no right to deprive any one of human or civil rights for non-compliance with such laws. There is not much of that to be found among us now. Besides that, it has no right to force any one to support any institution where religious beliefs are compulsorily taught; and I think that this touches the burning question in Ontario and Quebec at the present time, of the Separate Schools. It has no right, further, to compel or induce any of its servants to subscribe to, to teach, or receive any religious belief whatever; and I believe further, it has no right to exempt any person or institution from its share of civic burdens on account of their religious character. I remember, several years ago, traveling between Ottawa and Quebec on a Government railway, and just before going to the ticket office

I was told by a friend that I could have half fare, and need prevailing, perhaps, over every other feeling, I took half fare—(laughter)—and after I got into the train and sat down I turned up my ticket, and saw on it the words: “Clergymen and Nuns, half fare.” (Great laughter.) Well, whether I was right or not, I did not feel happy over it—(laughter)—and I learned shortly afterwards that one of our great railways has now put it this way: “Clergymen, Nuns and Indians, half fare.” (Renewed laughter.) Now, it seems to me, christian friends, that this tax exemption is an intolerable stigma. It seems to me intolerable that we, christian men and women, the servants of the Lord Jesus Christ, need to go to the agnostic, to the atheist, and even to the Heathen Chinese, to get money, money to carry on the Lord’s work; because it amounts to the same thing. If this church gets \$400 or \$500 exemption from the State every year, it gets \$500 from it just as really as if it puts its hands into the coffers of the State and took the \$500 out and transferred it to their own. Let us wash our hands of this whole business, and then go forth in our power and our strength, looking to Him who is our Lord and our King, and there will be no trouble about the result. (Applause.)

Rev. LEIGHTON WILLIAMS said:

I said this morning that the topic then was one of two in which I was particularly interested. This is the second. I have been delighted with the remarks made. I have not come up at all to dispute anything, as far as I have noticed, that has been said by any of the three preceding speakers. I hope that if leadership is looked for on our side of the line—which, from the remarks to-night, seems hardly necessary in this direction—it will be found that our leaders there are not lacking in this great cause. (Hear, hear.) The words that I want to speak are briefly these: The New Testament idea of the church, in the first place, has been very nicely defined to-night. I merely want to recall your attention to that thought at the commencement, and to remind you that the church, all through the New Testament, seems to be simply a body of those who hold a certain set of views and notions and feelings, and who follow one leader. Therefore, it is very natural that the leader himself very seldom refers to the church: and only on a very few occasions—less than half a dozen—do we find the Savior using the term “the church,” because He is not talking of His party; He, the King, always

talks of the kingdom ; He is above party, as kings always are ; but after His visible presence was taken away it was very natural that His lieutenants continually referred to the party of which they were leaders. That party was the Church. I understand, therefore, that one of the fundamental thoughts to be kept in view in this discussion is this : that the Church is not identical, as Episcopal brethren seem to think it is, with the Kingdom of God, but that the Church is the party—I might almost say the political party—that is engaged in the business of bringing about the Kingdom. That thought noted, the second thought that comes to my mind is this : the position of that kingdom to all earthly states. It is a position of antagonism, necessarily, because that kingdom expects to overturn, and overturn, and overturn, until He comes and sits upon the throne. I understand, therefore, that every revolution in the machinery of His government is the means by which He is bringing His kingdom nearer. An illustration to clinch this thought before I proceed to the application. In the French Republic to-day there is a recognized party called the Legitimist Party, who believe that the Count of Paris is the just and legal governor of France ; nevertheless, they vote as citizens of the French Republic ; they sit in the legislature of that Republic ; but they are always voting, always acting, always hoping, for the return of the Count of Paris as the recognized governor of the nation. They, therefore, although they sit in that legislature, are never, in thought and heart, at peace with that Republic. They cannot be. It is so with the christian. He never can sit down content with the present organization of things, because he is always praying, “ Thy Kingdom come ; ” he is always working that that kingdom may come ; He, necessarily, therefore, must be always, in every capacity where he is, engaged in bringing that kingdom to pass. Now the application. The first is, there can therefore be no union between the State and the Church—the party that is seeking the setting up of a kingdom antagonistic to the State—never in any way whatever. As Professor Ely, of Baltimore, has said, too many of us think there should be a treaty of peace between the Church and the State on the basis of a partition of territory, by which the church should take the life to come, and the world should take the life that now is. It cannot be. This, therefore, leads to these thoughts that have been advanced to-night, that there ought to be no union in work of education, such as contemplated in State support of sectarian schools—that there can be no union in anything of that kind ; that it is right that the

State should take its part and should take it untrammelled by the Church. But the second thought—and this being the thought that is not being so fully alluded to I must spend the rest of my time on it—is that there must be influence; the Church must seek to influence the State. There the Catholic brother is quite right, it seems to me; and he has a great deal more power than I or my brethren have, because he is conscious of his right—distinctly conscious of it, and, therefore, never afraid to exercise it in every way. He has a right to try to influence the Government; and, exercising that right continually, he succeeds, while we, continually in doubt about it, do not succeed. And yet, let me take an instance or two to show that we, after all, are conscious of that right. We are conscious, for instance, that as christians we can believe in nothing else than monogamy—the marriage of one woman to one husband—it is our religious view. We, therefore, could not sit as legislators and vote for polygamy because certain people want it; we, therefore, do seek to influence the State on that principle. In the same way, when the religious feeling of the community was awakened, we felt that we had to cast out the blight of slavery in our country. Again, we influenced the State because of our religious views. In the same way, the temperance movement takes its strength in religion; and Mazzini, generalizing from these thoughts, says that there is no reform movement that has not a religious basis to it—and Mazzini is a very great name to any one who has come under his influence. I, therefore, would stand on this distinction from the brethren who have preceded me—I feel it right to push every bit of moral view into the public school system that I can; and if I feel that the Bible is a good moral text-book I am content to use every means in my power to push Bible instruction into the schools; I never want to push any sectarianism; I do want to push all the moral, all the religious force that I can into every department of the Government. (Applause.)

Rev. WALTER RAUSCHENBUSCH, of New York, said:

I want to take up the fragments that my friend Mr. Williams has passed by. In the old times Count Eberhard, of Wurtemberg, had a feud with his own son Ulrich, and in order to demonstrate how thorough was their separation, he cut the table-cloth between them as they sat at meat together. I have seen this evening the cutting of the table-cloth—the complete sepa-

ration announced. But it seems to me that only one side of the principle has been announced, for all the enunciations have been negative, and not very many of them positive. We have heard here the ultimate statement of the Baptist doctrine—complete separation of Church and State. But I read a short time ago the life of that great and noble man, Thomas Arnold of Rugby, and also that of Frederick Dennison Maurice; and I remember that they held the view that the Church and State are necessarily, and in their nature, one. Here we have two views, that are at opposite poles from each other. Is either one of them absolutely false? Shall we say that this latter view is so wrong that we will have to condemn it to the uttermost depths of Tophet? Or shall we take the position that there is a way between the two? No, I don't say that. Let us not be of the men who are forever making compromises, and believing in the *via media*; let us assume the higher wisdom that says not that the one is true and the other untrue, but that both of them in some way are true. I hold that both of these views have the element of truth in them, but that either is incomplete without the other. Would you accept this formula, that there must be complete division in the *organizations* of religion and State, but that there must be an inter-penetration of the *life* of Church and State? Does that seem to you true? There must be a complete division of the organizations, because unless the church organization is completely divided from the State organization, the State organization will influence the Church, and will hinder it from exercising its true functions; therefore we must divide the two absolutely and utterly. But on the other hand, the two must inter-penetrate in their influences and in their life, somehow or other. The attempt has been made frequently enough to divorce the two. In the French Revolution the effort was made not only to sever the connection between the institutions of the Church and the institutions of the State, but to cast out religion itself, and we know that that was disastrous. We know also that attempts have been made to sever the connection between the life of the Church and the life of the State; but I remember that God himself said some things to us about that; He said something to us about those who believe in a multitude of sacrifices, in the lifting up of hands in prayer, and in the solemn assemblies, but who turn not aside to lift up the fallen, to bring to justice those who oppress the widow and the fatherless, and to help the needy; and I remember that his condemnation on those who thus believed only in the Church and kept

their hands away from the State, was of the most severe kind. The two must somehow inter-penetrate. There is a positive side to this question, and not a negative side only. The State must be built on righteousness. Its very purpose is to exercise righteousness among men, and its ultimate goal is to be merged in the Kingdom of God which is to come on earth. The kingdoms of this world shall become the kingdoms of the Christ, and the day shall come when every knee shall bow and every tongue shall confess that Jesus Christ is Lord, to the glory of God the Father. That is the ultimate glorious ideal towards which the whole organization of the world must be tending. That is the ideal of the State. Now, what has the Church to do with it? Mr. Williams has already expressed it. I believe in the prophetic ministry of the christian Church within the State. I believe that the Church is composed of men who are touched with the power of the life to come, with the power of the *aion mellon*, of the world era that is coming. They see the things that shall be in the future, but which are not yet. The Church must announce those things in the ears of the State; it must declare that truth which is not yet recognized; it must perform that duty which has not yet been performed; and if necessary, it must suffer in doing so, and in suffering and in declaring the truth, and in doing that which is right, it shall usher in the reign of righteousness throughout the kingdoms of the world. That is the positive connection which the Church must necessarily have with the State. Brethren, I feel sometimes that in our strong statements of the separation between Church and State, we have come to gather up our skirts and to act as if the State had no more claim on us; that somehow our life as christians and as citizens can be cut asunder; that on one side we can be christians and on the other side we can be citizens. It is not true. We must be the two things at the same time, and we can be that in just one way—by being animated by the life of Jesus Christ, and by carrying that life into the State in every direction. (Applause.)

Rev. E. H. JOHNSON, D. D., of Crozer Theological Seminary, said:

When I hear so strong a paper as that we have listened to, and so cogent a speech as the one that followed it, and then when it is perfectly plain that the whole audience agrees with the paper and the speaker, and especially when I have trusty

information to that effect, it seems to me the times are out of joint. It never will do that a Baptist Congress go on that way. It seems to me the logic is all on their side, but I am here to speak a little common sense. (Laughter.) I remember hearing about an Englishman whom a Frenchman was twitting about some of the peculiarities of the English Government. "Why," says the Englishman, "the English people boast of being illogical." When I recollect the romantically logical governments of the French, and the way they don't work, I have a sympathy with the illogical Anglo-Saxons. In the days of our fathers, if we wanted the United States to build a highway across the country, we had to call it a military highway. That would give us an excuse for preparing it. And then when it was necessary for the government to interest itself in astronomical science, there was no way except to put the matter in charge of the Naval Department; and the observatory is called the Naval Observatory to this day. And when we wanted to have our farmers informed of what the weather was going to be, we put that business into the hands of the War Department. I suppose the idea is that, in case a war breaks out in our territory again, there will be some part of the army that will notify the rest when it will be suitable to march in gum shoes and umbrellas. (Laughter.)

Well, now, brethren, if one must be illogical—if common sense makes it necessary to be illogical—it is because our logic up to this time has not covered all the facts. Government is a matter of adjustments. With the Anglo-Saxons in their development of government it is a contrivance, so far as the situation will admit of it, to ameliorate the condition of things without much necessary deference to a single theory controlling the whole scheme. Now, I have this to say: I am used to being taxed. Ministers on our side of the lakes are not everywhere exempt. Indeed, I don't think it is a fine thing for ministers to be altogether exempt, if they have property that is taxable. When I employ a physician I should feel ashamed of myself if I didn't pay him. I understand that he shall get pay when he comes to doctor me or my family; but then my family isn't very big, and she's pretty healthy. (Laughter.) But as the matter stands, I don't want the doctor to exempt me; and I know the community doesn't exempt me; but I want my church exempt. Now, I will tell you why: because there are certain things that ought to be exempt. The Presbyterians here and there in the United States build hospitals; the Roman Catholics build hospitals;

and the Episcopalians build hospitals; and if the government undertakes to say, "We will come in and take part of that money that the benevolent have raised, and keep the medicine away from the poor," I will not consent. I for one can never consent, government or no government, logic or no logic. The government under which I live shall not be guilty of that nasty outrage if my voice can prevent it—(Hear, hear)—to take the money away from the poor when the benevolent raise money for the poor. Now, if everything may be taxed, why not let the government put its hand into the contribution box, for instance, and take out some of the money that we have raised to send to the heathen? Why not put its hand into the contribution box again and take out a good bit of the money that we have raised for mission Sunday schools in the slums? Why not put the tax on the property—as I suppose we would under this proposal—which is used solely for purposes of a mission Sunday school, even if it happens to be provided for by the poorest class themselves, who have grace enough of God in their hearts to seek to make provision for the minister whom they love? It would be an indecency in itself; it is not a fit thing for government to do. It is not a fit thing for a government to set up one religion against another, and it is not a fit thing for a government to distinguish in the slightest degree, or to throw itself in the slightest in the way of any such work as that. It would be as unjust, as unseemly, just as hurtful to the population, to do a thing like that, as it would be to take from the mouths of the poor the medicine contributed by the gifts of the benevolent. And I see no propriety in taxing churches unless the churches are expending too much money on their meeting houses. There may well be a limit to the amount of property exempted on the plea of church purposes.

If exemptions of any sort have any seemliness and propriety, I suppose this, may be, is the basis of it, the government might, with a kind of propriety, exempt from taxation those enterprises which really exempt the government from cost. I should think a good total abstinence society might be exempted from taxation, because if we can get people totally to abstain, it saves the community a good deal of money. If we would do it, I don't know that that would be so utterly illogical; because, when I look the matter over, really, it seems to me, if I recollect about these things, we don't tax everything after all, as it is. It seems to me there are some exemptions. If I know myself, and the situation in which I live, not everything I own is taxed, and not

everybody that I know of is taxed. We have exemptions. Why not? If there is any propriety in exempting anything, exempt from taxation that which of itself saves money to the community. Now, that is the humblest, the poorest ground on which my plea can be based; I prefer greatly to put my plea on other grounds. I don't think it is right for us to fling over to any extreme. Once the State supported the church; let not the State now put down the church. (Applause.)

Rev. A. P. McDIARMID, of Ottawa, Ontario, said:

There are a few things I desire to say after the more recent speeches that have been made. I think it is very clearly laid down in Scripture that there is a separation between Church and State. "Render, therefore, unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and unto God the things that are God's." (Applause.) It strikes me that sets forth a clear demarcation between the Church and the State. It has been stated here to-night that the Kingdom of Christ and the kingdoms of the world are necessarily antagonistic—at least I so understood it—necessarily antagonistic. I don't think that they are necessarily antagonistic. They occupy distinct spheres, as this quotation from Scripture clearly indicates: "To Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's and to God the things that are God's." There is a clear line of separation, but there need not necessarily be antagonism because of this demarcation or separation. The christian man occupies his position in the State, and as a citizen there are certain duties that he owes to the State. He is also a citizen of God's Kingdom, and as such he owes certain duties to God, the Ruler in that Kingdom. I protest against the men of the State coming in and telling me what my duties are to God, and telling me how I shall observe those duties to God. (Applause.) I claim that to God alone I am responsible with reference to those duties that concern God's Kingdom. (Applause.) I think that the separation ought to be very clear and distinct between the Church and the State. Now, with regard to some remarks of the last speaker with reference to the founding of hospitals and the taxation of those hospitals. He spoke as if it were almost an outrage that hospitals should be taxed. What are those professing to do who are founding hospitals for the need of the poor and the sick? They are professing, out of their love to Christ and their love to humanity, to give of their means for those purposes. It is voluntaryism pure and simple. Let them

not, then, in any way seek to compel the State to aid them in the support of their voluntary work. (Loud applause.) If we are going to have the credit of doing a voluntary thing, let it be a voluntary thing right through. (Applause.) Let the work that we are doing pay its fair share of taxes, so that it will be voluntary from its foundation to its topmost stone. In regard to our churches paying taxes, we may say what we will, but this exemption from taxation of our churches is laying burdens upon those who do not believe in our religion; it is putting a taxation upon them that they would not have to bear if we paid our taxes in full. Now, I take this position on the ground of voluntaryism again. We, as christian people here, profess that we are in this world voluntarily to do a work for God and humanity—that we are here to make sacrifices to do that work. Why should we then, in any way, seek to compel those who do not believe in our religion to assist us in doing that work for the world? If this is voluntary work—if this is work that God has laid on the consciences of those who love Him, and love His Son, I say, we should not seek aid from the State, such aid being in part received from citizens who would not voluntarily give for this work. Let it be voluntary out and out. Let us do this work because we love this work, and because it is needful to carry forward this work in the world. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN:

I hesitate very much at this late hour, and with the sympathies of the audience evidently swinging all one way, to take upon myself to add a closing word to this debate. I have sympathised with almost everything that has been said here to-night. No man or woman in this house believes more firmly than I do in the separation of Church and State as institutions. I believe firmly in the principle to which the brother has referred here to-night—"Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and to God the things that are God's." But if Cæsar chooses to take one of those coins which has on it his own image and superscription, and, without imposing any conditions, or making any demands, shall lay it humbly at God's feet, in God's service, why not let him do it? Slavery! Is there any comparison between this question and that of slavery? A moral wrong—an iniquity that no words can adequately express, against which our consciences have revolted ever since we had a conscience—is that to be likened to a courteous, kindly, moral

relationship between the Church and the State? I believe that God has given unto Cæsar the sword, and to Peter the power of the keys. But as surely as Cæsar gets hold of the keys he is just as likely to lock up the Kingdom of Heaven against men as to let them into it; and if Peter gets hold of the sword he will cut off the ears that are dull of hearing, instead of inclining them to attend to the truth. (Laughter.) Now, God has made a clear mark of distinction between these two; but they are both of God. "The powers that be are ordained of God." Let us not forget that human government is a Divine institution just as much as the church is. Neither let us confound religion with the church as an institution. What we purpose to have the State do for the Church in this matter of taxation of property is not a concession to the Church as an ecclesiastical organism, but to religion itself as the handmaid of civilization and of moral progress. Why should not the State, living, as it does, side by side with the Church, extend to it, as it might safely do thus far, its aid and sympathy in trying to save the world, and thus reduce its own police force? If it were a moral question, there would be no sacrifice that any one of us would not make. And it will require a sacrifice, my friends, to carry out your views. You have applauded here to-night sentiments favoring the taxation of our churches. Are you just as ready to put those hands, with which you have clapped applause, down into your pockets, and pay the \$500 and \$1,000 and \$5,000 and, in some of our cities, the \$10,000 that it will cost additional for the support of Baptist work? (A voice—"Yes!" and applause.) Well, God bless you, then; go ahead, and do it if you want to. (Great laughter and applause.) But I have been thinking all the evening of a story that I read in a late magazine of a man of a morbid, sensitive temperament, who somehow had a most bitter animosity against one of his old school-mates who had risen to be Governor; and one day he struck a man who was speaking in defence of that Governor, and slew him. This man was tried for the murder, convicted, and sentenced to be hung; but on the ground of this morbid feeling and for other reasons, application was made to the Governor, whom he hated so cordially, to pardon him, and the Governor, as a matter of political policy, signed his pardon. They took the pardon to this man, and he refused to receive it. He was a lawyer by training, and insisted that you could not force a deed upon a man; and that, unless he received and signed it, it was of no effect. Until, therefore, he accepted that pardon himself, it was

null and void, and the law stood against him. The sentence must be executed ; he insisted that it should be executed. And because they delayed to do it, and found various ways to get out of it, he hung himself, and left word that he was his own executioner. Now, brethren, "Logic is logic, that's all I say."

The meeting closed with prayer by Rev. ALEX. BLACKBURN, of Lowell, Mass.

Third Day.

MORNING SESSION.

The Rev. J. F. ELDER, D.D., of New York, again presided, and gave out the hymn, "Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God Almighty."

The Rev. S. S. BATES, of College St. Church, Toronto, read the 1st Chapter of the Epistle to the Colossians, and led in prayer.

The CHAIRMAN announced as the subject for the morning discussion the Sabbath Question. The first paper was on

SUNDAY OBSERVANCE. IN ITS RELATION TO THE SPIRITUAL LIFE.

BY REV. J. W. A. STEWART, PASTOR FIRST BAPTIST CHURCH, ROCHESTER, N. Y.

It is not an uncommon experience for us, in our relation to a good many institutions and commands, both divine and human, to pass through three distinct stages. And this is true of men, alike as individuals and as a society. At first we yield unquestioning obedience. Later on we question and rebel ; we regard the command or institution as a yoke, and we throw it off and assert our independence. Then lastly we learn better, we reflect, we see farther into things, and we perceive that the institution

or command is the embodiment of wisdom, and is designed not to enslave but to bless, that it ministers to freedom. The first stage corresponds to the period of childhood, before either independence or wisdom has come. The second corresponds to the period of youth when freedom has arrived, but wisdom still tarryies at a distance. And the last stage corresponds to the period of manhood, when at length wisdom is added to freedom, and when the man willingly and gratefully observes, what the child blindly obeyed, and the youth proudly scorned.

It may be said that as to the institution of the Sabbath the period of unquestioning submission has passed away. Alas! for multitudes we are only in the second, the radical stage, the stage of independence *minus* wisdom, that is the stage of license rather than of liberty, in which the one feeling is to deny the claims of the Sabbath and to cast it off, so far as it calls for quiet and solemnity. But there are some of us who have reached the third stage, and who perceive that of all the institutions claiming our reverence and our obedience, the Sabbath is amongst the wisest and most beneficent. I am here to-day not to assist in laying a burden upon men's shoulders, but to add my word in the endeavor to make known to a thoroughly radical and independent, though not otherwise generation, the blessings unspeakable which are bound up with a due observance of God's holy day.

Notice carefully, if you please, the limitation of my subject. I do not propose to inquire into the teaching of the Old and New Testament, on this question of Sabbath observance. Nor am I to say a word about state legislation with respect to it. Nor does it fall to me now to speak of the necessity of the Sabbath rest to all who toil. These three phases of the question lie outside the province of this paper. My arguments will be based not upon a positive divine command drawn from the Scripture, but upon reason and experience: and my subject is, the Relation of Sunday Observance to the Spiritual Life. My aim will be to show that this relation is one of *necessity*.

I fully recognize that in limiting myself to this phase of the question I limit also the number of minds to which I appeal. To the unspiritual, the utterly secular man this paper has nothing to say. For the man, in whose judgment a quiet cigar and a Sunday newspaper, with its gossip and its sensationalism, constitute the ideal of Sunday refreshment and Sunday diet, this paper might as well be written in Egyptian hieroglyphics. To the man whose horizon is bounded by time and sense, whose life

is made up of business and politics, and money-making, and worldly comforts and pleasures, to the man, whoever he be, however groveling, however intellectual and refined, whose life and the spiritual life, like oil and water, utterly refuse to mix together, in whose thoughts God is not, the *practical* materialist and atheist, to that man I do not now pretend to speak; there is no chink or opening at which my present thought can enter his mind. I speak to the spiritual, the devout, the godly; to those who "seek first the kingdom of God and His righteousness," who "walk with God," who are "friends of God," who live the life of faith, who "endure as seeing Him who is invisible," to whom the spiritual life is the one great and blessed reality. I wish it were possible to believe that this class included all professed christians, all the members of our churches. But alas! how many of these seem scarcely to live the spiritual life at all, to have their thoughts and desires occupied not at all with heavenly things, but exclusively with earthly things. And so I cannot hope to appeal even to what is called "the church." I must be content to speak to "the church within the church," to those who in fact "are led by the spirit of God and are children of God."

Appealing then only to such minds I may take it for granted that there is such a thing as the spiritual life, consisting in the knowledge of God, in communion with God, in love for God, in holy aspiration. And of course if there is such a life then like all other life it has its conditions and its requirements, and my contention is that *the religious observance of Sunday is essential in order that these conditions and requirements may be satisfied.*

1st. The religious observance of Sunday is necessary to the spiritual life, *because time is necessary.* And time is necessary because the spiritual life must have its proper nourishment, and that nourishment cannot be had without the expenditure of time. I shall not speak now of the exercises of public worship, of the nourishment they afford, and of the time they demand. This may be taken for granted. But I will speak of that spiritual food which the individual must secure for himself, outside the public exercises of religion, if he is to have an intelligent and expanding life of the soul. And this is to be had in reading, in meditation, and in communion with God. Before all else it is to be had *in reading the Bible*, and in meditation upon it. Surely it does not need to be shown at this late date that the Bible is the great storehouse of food for the soul. Knowledge of the Bible is strength; ignorance of the Bible is weakness. Prophet and

psalmist, evangelist and apostle are our spiritual teachers. The man of God must make that book his life-long study and companion. He must know it as a whole, he must know especially certain books of it ; and certain chapters of certain books must be written on his inmost heart. Every christian should have a Bible which is thumbed and marked, and is wearing out from constant usage. "Like a diamond the Bible casts its lustre in every direction ; like a torch, the more it is shaken the more it shines ; like a healing herb, the harder it is pressed the sweeter its fragrance." How it nourishes the soul to think through, and live over the thoughts and lives of this book ! to go forth with Abraham, and journey with Moses, and sing with David, and be exalted with Isaiah, and be disciples of Jesus with Peter and James and John, and go through the doctrines of redemption with Paul ! And there is not the Bible alone, but there is the story of the church through these eighteen centuries, and there is the record of the church's activity throughout the world to-day. And there are the "lives of the saints," the biographies of men and women of God, so rich in spiritual inspiration. And there are printed sermons which are like the very voice of God. And there is all the wealth of religious poetry. And there are devotional books, of which I need only name "The Imitation of Christ."

Here then, in reading, in meditation upon these is the food of the soul. How any child of the Eternal Father can leave all this food which the Father has provided, and prefer "the husks which the swine do eat," in the shape of the reading matter which is often taken up on Sunday, is a mystery to me. And of course if this spiritual food is to be taken in, if this reading and this chewing of the cud of meditation are to be done, there must be the expenditure of time. And, in the way we live to-day, when this time is to be had, if not on Sunday, I know not. O, the value to the soul, who can estimate it, of that quiet hour which a man spends on Sunday afternoon with his Bible, with a good book, in holy meditation. Because so few hours are thus spent therefore is there such leanness of soul. Because so many professed Christians grudge to God and to spiritual things even the hours of Sunday, and think it a sign of their greater enlightenment and independence to trench upon these hours with their secular reading and worldly conversation and their recreations, therefore is the Spirit of God grieved, and the power of God withheld. But to him who uses Sunday aright how precious its hours are !

And to glance in another direction just for a moment, how important to the spiritual life of the rising generation is that hour of the week when the godly mother gathers her children about her to read them a Bible story, or a chapter from the Pilgrims' Progress, and to talk to them as only a godly mother can; or when the godly father takes his place as a true priest of God in his own home. Thank God, all such mothers and fathers did not pass away with the Puritans! And when can such hours be had if not on Sunday? And so I think my first point is made.

2d. The religious observance of Sunday is necessary to the spiritual life because *abstraction is necessary*, abstraction, withdrawal from secular concerns. And by this I mean not simply the cessation of bodily toil, but also the withdrawal of our thoughts from the ordinary, everyday business of life. If the soul is to prosper there must be regular times when business and politics and society and recreations and purely intellectual pursuits, which so much absorb us six days in the week, are left behind and shut out in order that the things of God may have a chance. Only on condition of this abstraction are we capable of viewing eternal things; only on this condition will God unveil Himself to us. If the eagle would soar into the sky on its mighty wings it must first withdraw its feet from the earth. When nature would show us her loveliest scenes she takes us far from the beaten highway and the crowd and bustle of men to the quiet valley and the hidden lake. Only when "the garish day" is gone, and the roar of the world is being hushed to silence do the starry hosts of the heavens above us march forth in their pomp and majesty and permit us to behold them. The poets have not failed to impress upon us our need of retirement from the world, if our highest interests are to be conserved.

"The world is too much with us; late and soon,
Getting and spending, we lay waste our powers;
Little we see in Nature that is ours;
We have given our hearts away, a sordid boon!
This sea that bares her bosom to the moon;
The winds that will be howling at all hours
And are upgather'd now like sleeping flowers;
For this, for everything, we are out of tune;
It moves us not."

And again,—

"Converse with men makes sharp the glittering wit,
But God to man doth speak in solitude."

And listen to these words from that master in spiritual things, Thomas à Kempis, "Seek a convenient time of leisure for thyself, and meditate often upon God's loving kindness." "The greatest saints avoided the society of men, when they could conveniently ; and did rather choose to live to God in secret." "He that intends to attain to the more inward and spiritual things of religion, must with Jesus depart from the multitude and press of people ." "In silence and in stillness a religious soul advantageth itself." "Whoso therefore withdraweth himself from his acquaintance and friends, God will draw near unto him with his holy angels." "Shut thy door upon thee, and call unto thee Jesus, thy Beloved." "Stay with him in thy closet, for thou shalt not find so great peace anywhere else."

Need I remind you of those frequent withdrawals of our Lord from the multitude, that He might commune with the Father. And the christian soul, speaking out its most instinctive feelings, says :

"Far from my thoughts, vain world begone !
Let my religious hours alone."

In the very nature of things this abstraction from secular thoughts and secular affairs is essential if the spiritual life is to be promoted. Drag politics and business and pleasure into the day set apart for the things of God and the things of God will take their departure from it. Always let your thoughts, by some means, be dragged down and tied down to earth, and they will never rise to heaven. Have no sacred hours and sacred days in your life, and there will be nothing sacred in your life, it will be wholly secularized, materialized, "of the earth, earthy." The blessings of home and of family life can only be known on condition of a certain seclusion and withdrawal from the gaze and rush of the world without. This is more emphatically true of the religious life.

Six days in the week tell me that I belong to nature, to the material creation, to time and sense : that I have a stomach to be filled and a back to be clothed ; that I have much in common with the animals beneath me. One day in the week tells me I have a soul, that I am free, that I belong to an eternal order, that I am a child of God. In the name of all that is sacred let six days suffice to ding it continually in my ears that I belong to sense and to time ; let there be one day in which the "still small voice" may be heard, which whispers that I belong to eternity and to God.

The spiritual man does not stop to ask whether the Sunday newspaper is a *sin* ; he instinctively says it is an *impertinence*. After he has given six days of thought and toil to temporal things, it comes and does its best to drown that voice which tells him of his higher destiny ; it comes to pre-empt his thoughts and his hours, and to drive away prayer and the Bible and holy meditation. I say, to the spiritual man, it is an impertinence, he will not have it within his doors. That the Sunday newspaper can find its way into so many houses of church-members is no sign of greater independence, but rather of less spirituality, of a growing inability to rise and soar with delight amid the things of God. Church-members will take their Sunday newspapers, and will tell you that they do not consider themselves tied down by the Sabbatarian notions of the Jews and the Puritans. Precisely. The period of independence has come to them, but wisdom still tarries afar. Perhaps the time may come when they will have advanced a little further, when wisdom will be joined to independence, and when they, without becoming one bit Judaic or Puritanic, in the full spiritual freedom which Christ has proclaimed, will at length perceive that after all it is worth while to keep one day sacred for God and for Jesus Christ, and for the Bible, and for holy thoughts, and for the greater concerns of a being who thinks himself immortal. Meanwhile the taking and the reading of a Sunday newspaper is a confession that in mind and heart there is a vacuum, a vacuum which ought to be filled with higher things, but which, not being so filled, invites the Sunday newspaper to dump its contents into it.

Yes, the religious observance of Sunday is essential to the spiritual life, because withdrawal from the world, rest, stillness, the turning of the thoughts into other channels, is essential ; and it seems as if Sunday was made by a good and wise God for just such a purpose. That Old Testament picture of the godly man is still true to life. "If thou turn away thy foot from the Sabbath, from doing thy pleasure on my holy day, and call the Sabbath a delight, and the holy of the Lord honorable ; and shalt honor it, not doing thine own ways, nor finding thine own pleasuse, nor speaking thine own words ; then shalt thou delight thyself in the Lord." Indeed, if there were no Sabbath existing as a divine institution, the spiritual life would have to ordain one for itself, so essential is it. And it would be quite impossible to tell the value, the blessedness of this day to the devout soul, standing, as it does, a witness for God, telling us every week of our spiritual destiny, reminding us of our risen Saviour,

and of our union with the faithful of all ages, bringing with it a thousand hallowed associations, and being a foretaste of eternal glory.

“ Sundaies observe ; think when the bells do chime,

’Tis angels’ music.”

“ On Sunday heaven’s gates stand ope.”

“ Day of the Lord ! and truce to earthly care.”

“ Thou art a port protected
From storms that round us rise ;
A garden intersected
With streams of Paradise ;
Thou art a cooling fountain
In life’s dry dreary sand ;
From thee, like Pisgah’s mountain,
We view the Promised Land.”

3d. The religious observance of Sunday is necessary to the spiritual life, because in this stage of our existence external props and guards and helps are necessary. This is the first stage of our spiritual history. Here, all the way through, the animal and the spiritual are side by side. The problem is the enfranchisement of our spiritual nature, the victory of soul over sense. The spiritual life just gets a start here, it just begins to grow ; it is feeble, and sense is strong. It is not able yet to depend on its own strength and sturdiness. Like a young plant lately set out, it needs protection from frosts and storms. Like a young tree it needs support. Like a child taking its first steps it wants something to hold on by. In the future state all this may be different. There the spiritual life shall have attained its full development, and its true place. No longer shall it contend with the world and the flesh. Everything shall be subordinate to it, in harmony with it. Redeemed saints will live it by freely and constantly acting out themselves. And so external helps and reminders will be unnecessary. In a sense the Salvation Army song is true :

“ Every day will be Sunday by and by.”

But we have not reached that stage yet ; and our best life, if left to itself here, must soon be choked and overwhelmed by the multiplicity and the persistence of secular concerns. And so we need ever-recurring reminders ; we need times and places and institutions which speak for God, which command the world to silence and summon us to holy thoughts and aspirations.

“ Lord, with what care hast Thou begirt us round !
 Parents first season us : then schoolmasters
 Deliver us to laws ; they send us bound
 To rules of reason. Holy messengers ;
 Pulpits and Sundays ; sorrows dogging sin ;
 Afflictions sorted ; anguish of all sizes ;
 Fine nets and stratagems to catch us in !
 •Bibles laid open ; millions of surprises ;
 Blessings beforehand ; ties of gratefulness ;
 The sound of glory ringing in our ears ,
 Without, our shame ; within, our consciousness ;
 Angels and grace ; eternal hopes and fears ! ”

Yes, and we need them all, and never were they more needed than to-day. It would seem to me almost an axiom that the greater our advance in secular life, in the accumulation of wealth, in the production of physical comforts, in the mastery of nature for man's service, in the complexity and magnitude of commercial enterprise,—the greater also is the necessity for preserving more and more sacredly those institutions which bring it home to us that “ a man's life consisteth not in the abundance of the things which he possesseth.” And of these institutions none is more beneficent, none is a better reminder, none is a truer prop and help to the spiritual life than Sunday religiously observed.

And thus have I sought to make good my point by these three arguments. For the health and development of our spiritual life, time devoted specially to its interests is necessary ; abstraction, withdrawal from secular thoughts and pursuits is necessary ; and external props and helps are necessary. Sunday, properly observed, exactly answers to these requirements ; and therefore Sunday is necessary to the spiritual life.

With this my paper ends. Directions in detail I have not attempted to give ; and I refrain also from adding any exhortation.

SABBATH LEGISLATION,

BY REV. A. P. MCDIARMID, M. A., OF OTTAWA, ONT.

The right and duty of the State to enact Legislation requiring the Observance of the Sabbath as a day of rest.

Law is essentially limitation. To limitation all creature life is subject. God alone is infinite. As finite there are bounds set in man's constitution to his powers of thought, of action, and of en-

duration. "Thus far and no farther" is the fiat of the Creator, to which all creature life is subject. In no human being, nor in all human forces combined, is there might to break its bands asunder, and cast away its cords from us. To the finite, absolute anarchy is an absolute impossibility. Man cannot get away from the authority of law. If, not its willing subject, he is its suffering victim. He who beats against its bars of steel does it to his own hurt.

One of the laws written by the finger of God in our being exacts periodic rest as an essential condition of healthful life. Corresponding to this law of sentient life is the law of the material world, by which the alternation of day and night is regulated and permanently established. Even this provision is inadequate to meet fully the requirements of rest exacted by the law of our nature. Experience proves that the unbroken iteration of toiling days is a violation of the law of our being, involving inevitable penalty. Work continued day by day without cessation, becomes slavish drudgery instead of being pleasurable activity. Life is bereft of its natural stimulus. Health—physical, mental and moral alike—is enfeebled and shattered. It must be so; if a man flings himself against a law that cannot be broken, he breaks himself.

And further, unceasing toil is not only detrimental to health but the products that reward its energies are far inferior to those of the labor that enjoys its periodic day of rest. The value of the product of toil is proportionate to the strength and quality of life put into it. The fruit of labor has value only as it embodies transformed life. Life, therefore, must be full of vigor and force if work done is to have its highest worth. Whatever takes the spring and vivacity out of life (and the unbroken succession of toiling days does it), depreciates the value of the products of labor. It is beyond all controversy that year by year the man who works six days of the week and rests the seventh will do more work, and better work, than he who drags himself in weary toil through all the seven.

A periodic day of rest, then, must be to insure healthfulness of life and the highest efficiency of human labor. The frequency of the recurrence of the day of rest which will most perfectly answer the constitutional need of man is another consideration. This, by a long series of experiments, man might have discovered for himself, as he has discovered other laws of life. But the Creator did not leave man to an experimental solution of the problem. He, from the very dawn of human life, set bounds to

the cycle of laboring days to be alternated by a day of rest. The bounds He then set have been tried and proved to be those which exactly meet man's necessities. Experience confirms the word, "The Sabbath was made for man." In France, at the time of the Revolution, the decimal system was introduced. Every tenth day was set apart as Sunday. Experience proved that this period of labor was too long. And, therefore, many, as far as police regulations permitted, kept the seventh day also as holiday. This, on the other hand, was found to be extreme in the direction of too much leisure. It became conclusively evident that the middle path between these extremes was the true path. Six days labor, succeeded by a day of rest from labor, is now the scientifically-established law of human life.

It was long ages before man, by the inductive process, had conclusively established this law of healthful life, that it had found place in the pages of God's Book of Revelation. At the time when it was first enumerated in the Bible, man had not yet begun to study out scientifically the laws of his being. How significant the fact that this law, now one of the fruits of scientific investigation, was explicitly enunciated away back in the remotest antiquity touched by the most ancient of books. The Book is the Book of God, as the nature whose laws it sets forth is the creation of God. He wrote a law in my being, and transcribed that law into the Book He gave as the guide of my life.

Let it be clear to us that the biblical law respecting the seventh day as a day of rest from labor, is now a scientifically established law of our being. Nature and the Bible are alike urgent in the demand that every seventh day should be observed as a day of rest. It is because it is a requirement of our nature, and not because it is a command of the Bible—a regulation of religion—that it comes within the sphere of civil legislation. It is no trespass of the principle touching the entire separation of Church and State that certain civil laws are found coincident with the requirements of religion. "Thou shalt not steal," as enacted by the State, is not a religious law, even though as such it has place in God's Statute-book. We justly protest against any civil legislation that aims at forcing religion upon man.

Civil Sabbath legislation is based wholly on the natural obligations of the individual to his fellow citizen and to the best interests of the State. He who respects the *divine* obligation to keep the Sabbath holy, *needs* no civil legislation to compel him to keep it as a day of rest. The higher law of his life more than covers the ground. But there are those who do not recognize

the divine obligation. And not a few of these are disposed to use the day in a way that violates the inalienable rights of their fellow citizens, or that proves detrimental to the higher interests of the State, imperilling seriously its free institutions. To all such the civil legislature has the right to say, as it is its duty to say, you must not so do. This abridgement of personal liberty is plainly justifiable and obligatory. That conception of personal liberty that would leave a man free from outward restraint to do wrong is too absurd for serious consideration. It is madness to think that every man has the right to do as he pleases. Such a principle becoming operative would precipitate a nation into a carnival of horrors such as the worst despotism of earth has never produced. The relation which the individual sustains to society sets necessary limitations upon personal liberty. Every man has rights; yes, and so has every *other* man. The rights of each limit and are limited by the rights of others. If a man will not stay himself from violating the rights of others, it is the duty of the State to interpose, and by the abridgment of his liberty compel him to respect the rights of his fellow citizens and the interests of society. It has been laid down as a canon of political philosophy that "each human being in society requires an equal amount of governing force upon his actions." If a man has acquired the power of self-government, having due regard in his conduct to the rights of others, he needs but a small measure of government from without. But when there is little or no self-government, external government must be introduced to supplement the deficient inner moral restraint. He whose disposition inclines him to a course of action inimical to the rights of others may not do as he pleases. He must be, as he ought to be, subjected to the restraint of the civil law.

At this point, even at the risk of repetition, we must make it clear that the restraint put upon the individual by civil Sabbath legislation is not restraint upon the conscience, nor is it any intermeddling whatever with the man's relationship to God. It is not within the province of any human government to coerce the individual in respect to his religious duties, except by way of restraint, when, in the name of religion, he is guilty of acts that in their nature are crimes against himself and society. Man is a creature of God; he is also a citizen of the state. "Render, therefore, unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and to God the things that are God's." There are civil duties as well as religious duties. Not only is man to love God with all his heart; he is likewise to love his neighbor as himself. This latter re-

quirement is the fundamental principle of ideal civil citizenship. It is the duty of the civil government, by effective legislation, to seek to attain to this ideal. It is its duty to place under restraint those, who, if left to themselves, would pursue a course hostile to this great principle on which alone the ideal state can be established and ideal citizenship realized. And accordingly the restraint involved in civil Sabbath legislation can be justified only on the ground that it is requisite to protect the individual citizen in the enjoyment of his inalienable rights, and that it promotes the best interests of the citizens as a whole. If these ends demand that all the members of the state should abstain from unnecessary secular work and from public amusements and recreations on the Sabbath day, it is clearly within the province of a popular government to enact legislation requiring such Sabbath observance. In so doing it is promoting the truest interests of the people, without doing violence to their conscience.

While the Sabbath legislation we advocate does not enforce the religious observance of the day, it does aim at securing protection from annoyance and disturbance for those disposed to worship God. This is well put in the following decision rendered by the Supreme Court of the State of New York: "The Christian Sabbath, as one of the institutions of religion, may be protected from desecration by such laws as the legislature, in their wisdom, may deem necessary to secure to the community the privilege of undisturbed worship, and to the day itself that outward respect and observance which may be deemed essential to the peace and good order of society, and to preserve religion and its ordinances from open reviling and contempt, and this *not as a duty to God, but as a duty to society and the state.*"

Further, our legislators should not be allowed to lose sight of the fact that the Christian religion is the foundation and bulwark of those free institutions which are the glory and strength of the civil constitutions of North America. Because, therefore, it is the right and duty of the state to protect itself against the operation of forces destructive of the principles fundamental to its strength and stability, it owes it to itself to afford the largest freedom and fullest protection in their worship to those who are keeping alive the christian religion within its domains.

The question in regard to the right and duty of the civil government to enact and enforce Sabbath legislation resolves itself into this: Do the inalienable rights of the individual citizen, in a free country demand, and is it in the best interests of society and for the strength and stability of the nation, that legislation should

be enacted and enforced guarding the Sabbath as a day of rest from secular toil and public recreations? Is the prosecution of ordinary business and labor, and the engagement in open amusements by a portion of the citizens an infraction of the just rights of other citizens, and detrimental to the social and national purity and strength? Upon such considerations, apart entirely from the divine ordinance requiring its observance as a day of *worship*, we base the duty of the state to see that it is observed as a day of *rest*.

1. In the first place, man's nature requires this Sabbath rest. It has been demonstrated beyond all question that body and mind can sustain healthful, vigorous activity only on condition of periodic rest for recuperation. *This absolute need creates an inalienable right.* Every true government respects the inalienable right of the individual. It is as much the duty of the state to protect the citizen in the enjoyment of his natural right to periodic rest, as it is to protect him in the rights of property and life. And it is as much the state's interest as it is its duty to do so. The violation of this requirement of nature diminishes the capacity for service to society and to the state, by the impairment of vigor and health and the shortening of life. A distinguished American statesman has said, "There can be no greater mistake in the management of the great workshop of the world, than to so abuse these human implements as to dull their edge, and to render them less capable of performing their part. * * *

Constant toil destroys all the parts of man. He becomes first a mere machine, then an impaired machine, and then a useless machine." He adds, "This recuperation" (during our rest), "is not merely a process of reparation; it may be the higher process of development. In this time we may become fitted for higher labors, for ampler work, adding thereby to the actual wealth of the world by our own increase in intelligence, skill and capacity." He points out further that the need and benefit of this periodic rest are augmented by the use of "the new machinery and the constant inventions which mark and adorn the age in which we live. These require an expenditure of nerve force, a concentration of our capacities, and a tension upon our intellect, that was not required under the old system of simple manual toil." In this relation then, the absolute right of the individual, and the economic interests of the state alike demand the day of rest. It insures better work and better workmen.

But may not this be left to right itself altogether apart from civil legislation? Eliminate all selfishness from human life, and

secure universal respect for individual rights, and we may dispense with the law that put restraint on the subject. The man will in that case be a law unto himself. But the world, even the North American world, is a very long way yet from that blessed estate. The insatiable greed for material gain, that still prevails, tends to blind the judgment to that even which is most conducive to self-interest. The greed of avarice often thwarts itself. But if this were all, it might be left to its blindness and folly. It is not all. The great majority of citizens are not their own masters. We are to such an extent the servants of one another, our interests are so interlaced, we are so dependently related in the great social organization, that "*the liberty of rest for each depends on a law of rest for all.*" If a portion of those engaged in any trade open their shops for business on the Sunday, only strong religious conviction will restrain the rest from following the example. The case of employees is a yet more difficult one. If the employer of labor is disposed to carry on his business on Sunday, the employee has the choice of working on that day, or of finding employment elsewhere. The employee, in many instances, is completely at the mercy of the employer, and the tender mercies of the Sabbath-breaker are cruel. It is very manifest that, in the social and business complications of our modern civilization, if each individual is to enjoy his constitutional right of Sabbath rest, there must be a law requiring it of all. Otherwise he who would observe the day as a matter for conscience, may be left the option of wronging his conscience, or leaving himself and his family destitute of the means of subsistence. It is at its own peril that any civilized government dares to leave the laboring class of its citizens in such a dilemma. The violation of the conscience is the beginning of general moral deterioration. If a man has once so wronged his conscience, even under such pressure, the commanding authority of conscience is weakened, and the way is open for rapid moral degeneration. If the state is to preserve its stability and permanence it must guard against the operation of influences that work the moral deterioration of its citizens. Earl Russell has said, "There is no necessity in the nature of things that nations should die. History points to no people which, while strong in faith, in reverence, in truthfulness, in chastity, in frugality, in the virtues of the temple and the hearth, has sunk into atrophy and decline. We may decide, therefore, that so long as moral energy fails not, the life of the nation will not fail."

2. This leads to the statement of a second fact upon which

we base the right and duty of the state to enact effective Sabbath legislation. The civil government is bound to protect itself against the destruction of the principles upon which its own prosperity and stability depend. To this end there is nothing so essential, in a popular government especially, as the intelligence and virtue of the citizens. Not the least potent factor in developing these qualities of life, that make for prosperity and permanence, lies in the educative forces generated by right Sabbath keeping. John Bright said in the English House of Commons: "The stability and character of our country, and the advancement of our race, depend, I believe, very largely upon the mode in which the day of rest, which seems to have been specially adapted to the needs of mankind, shall be used and observed." Like sentiments were expressed by the peerless statesman, William Ewart Gladstone. The Earl of Beaconsfield, in a speech against the opening of museums on Sunday, said, of the institution securing a day of rest for man, "It is the cornerstone of civilization."

The value to the state of the educational influences of the day of rest, with its privileges of family fellowship and christian worship, can hardly be overestimated. The stopping of the noisy wheels of the busy treadmill of toil, not only affords opportunity for, but itself awakens and quickens thought of high educational value. In the words of Dr. A. H. Vinton: "The very pausing from work, the release from the heat, the hurry, the noise, the dust of the work-day, to the cleanliness, the order, and sobriety of a holy day, is of itself a social influence that is very salutary." Further, whatever views the civil government may entertain of the christian religion, as being a divine revelation, or as standing related to a future life, it cannot ignore the fact that the christian teaching and worship freely enjoyed on this day of rest are highly conducive to the virtue and intelligence of its citizens. The social, intellectual and moral influences of Sunday christian worship are an incalculable national blessing. That civil government that fails to foster the cultivation of intelligence and virtue in its citizens is moving forward to inevitable dissolution and ruin. There is no other fate possible for the nation whose government is a government by the people, if intelligence and virtue do not live in the people. Decadence in these qualities is the precursor of anarchy or despotism. For the intellectual and moral culture of the masses there is no more effective agency than the well-observed day of rest, with its domestic and religious privileges. As, then, we value

our civil and religious freedom, we must see that the day of rest which in so large a measure is the palladium of our free institutions, is secured by effective legislative safeguards.

If the Sabbath is not properly observed, one of the strongholds of national prosperity and power is gone. The christian religion has made North America the home of the truest freedom, and the highest civilization the world has ever known. The secularization of the Sabbath is a deadly blow, not at the christian religion alone, but at the freedom and civilization it has produced. Renan was a little previous when he shouted: "Christianity is dead; it has lost its Sunday." No, not yet. His words, however, suggest, what history proves, that there is a connection between the observance of the Lord's day and the decline of christianity. So there is a logical connection between the decay of the christian religion, and the downfall of the free institutions, which are the glory and strength of a popular government.

In conclusion, let me say that the people must be educated up to right views of the principles upon which Sabbath legislation rests, before we shall ever have, and have sustained, right Sabbath laws. It must be shown that these laws are no more religious laws than are the laws against stealing, or the commission of any other wrong upon our fellow-citizens. The people must be made to understand that these laws are made to protect individual rights, or to serve the highest interests of the State,—that national prosperity and the stability of our free institutions depend in no small measure upon their enactment or enforcement.

Why should not the principles fundamental to righteous Sabbath legislation be taught in our public schools? The coming generation ought to be instructed in the principles of civil and religious liberty, in that history of the process by which these blessings have been obtained, and in respect to the conditions of the permanence of these principles in our national life. For its own protection and prosperity the civil government has made education compulsory. Why should it not then embrace in its system of teaching instruction respecting the principles that underlie free popular government and the conditions upon which alone such government shall be stable and prosperous? Such instruction, in addition to other benefits, would remove the ignorant prejudices now prevailing in many minds against the Sabbath legislation we need, and create a public sentiment that would respect and secure the enforcement of such laws.

Another way in which we may contribute to the creation of a public sentiment that respects the day and preserves it from desecration, is the cultivation on the part of christians of a conscience exceedingly sensitive in regard to personal use of the day, and the claim made upon the time of others to minister to their convenience and enjoyment. General Grant, when President of the United States, said on one occasion to his pastor, "Perhaps you think I might have the carriage and ride to service; but, doctor, when I was a poor man, long before I ever thought I should have a servant, I made up my mind that if I ever did have one, he should have his hours of Sunday for worship; and no servants or horses are ever called into use by me upon that day for my own personal convenience." The multiplication of examples of this sort on the part of christians, especially those occupying eminent positions in life, would be one of the most efficient helps in creating a sentiment that would secure the enforcement of good Sunday laws. Let the people know that the "Sabbath was made for man," not for the *religious* man, or the *rich* man alone, but for *man*! Let the people know the physical, mental and moral health-giving virtues, the economic as well as the religious value of the Sabbath! Let this knowledge run to and fro in the land, and the line of legislation will speedily be written on the statute-books, and the nation will go forward to write such records as will prove to coming generations the benediction the due observance of the day of rest bestows upon a people.

Prof. A. H. NEWMAN, of Toronto Baptist College, said:

We have listened to two excellent papers, covering a part of the ground suggested by the topic for this morning's discussion. The utilitarian considerations, spiritual, physical, social, natural, are certainly in favor of a Sabbath. Nothing has been said, or nothing considerable, with reference to the particular day which should be observed in this manner. It seems to me that one of the great practical questions we have to meet to-day is, whether or not we are justified in celebrating the Lord's Day as the Sabbath; whether we are justified in abandoning the Jewish Sabbath and making the Lord's Day the Sabbath. Now, it seems to me that there is very grave difficulty here. First of all, we have the seventh day established as a part of the Mosaic law, and we have reason to believe that the seventh day was the Sabbath even before the time of Moses. I believe we are justi-

fied in saying that the Sabbath institution is based upon God's will and the constitution of man, the seventh day is a divine institution, and that this institution is permanently binding upon mankind. Now, the question arises whether or not we are justified in transferring this seventh day from the seventh day of the week, the day observed by the Jews, to the first day of the week, the day of the resurrection of Our Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ. There is no Scripture which fully justifies this transference. In the New Testament time we know full well that the first day of the week was very commonly observed by believers for prayer, praise and breaking of bread ; and also that—especially in Jewish-Christian communities—the Jewish Sabbath continued to be celebrated. I am sure that this practice continued in many christian churches as late as the fourth century at least. We have, therefore, no distinct scriptural authorization of the change. We find that gradually the inconvenience of celebrating two days in immediate proximity to each other, the Jewish Sabbath as the Sabbath, and the Lord's Day as a day of worship and christian fellowship, came to be profoundly felt. We can easily see that to have two holidays out of the seven continually would be a matter of great inconvenience, and would interfere very seriously with the secular activities of the people. Another consideration came into play ; a very strong feeling arose in the christian church against Judaism, and a desire to escape everything that savored of Judaism. This hostility between Christians and Jews became more and more pronounced as time went on ; and there is no question whatever that when Constantine the Great adopted christianity as the religion of the State, and proclaimed the Lord's Day a day of rest and worship, one of his chief motives was to discourage the use of the Jewish Sabbath, simply because it was Jewish. I have no doubt but that in this he reflected the sentiments of his ecclesiastical advisers. I may say, in addition, that when Constantine established the first day of the week as a legal holiday, he had in mind not simply the resurrection of our Lord Jesus Christ. He belonged to a family very much addicted to the worship of the Persian Sun God, Mithras, the Apollo of the Latins, the Phoebus of the Greeks ; and he himself seems not to have entirely outgrown this devotion. He had a two-fold object in view, therefore, when he made the first day of the week the Christian Sabbath ; he wished, on the one hand, to overcome the Jewish practice, and, on the other hand, he wished to conciliate both heathenism and Christianity by making the chief central day of the Christians and the

central day of Apollos or Mithras to correspond. Now, I think, we should be inclined to say that little importance should be attached to the authority of Constantine for the transference. It seems to me that if we admit the principle of one day in seven as a divine institution, and the other principle that the resurrection of our Lord Jesus Christ is for Christians the great day of days, we have sufficient justification for making this one day of the seven coincide with the day of the resurrection; and here we are perhaps justified in making an appeal to Christian Conscience, or at least in saying that the final decision in favor of the Lord's Day as that which should be observed for church purposes was an outgrowth of the Christian Conscience of the time. I have no doubt that Christian Conscience had come to a very definite sense of the inconvenience of celebrating two days, had become thoroughly impressed that the Lord's Day was the day of all days, and had come to feel the necessity of rejecting everything that was distinctively Judaistic. On these grounds we can sufficiently account for the transference of the Sabbath idea, so far as it was transferred, to the Lord's Day. For those who demand a distinct scriptural authorization of this change, the problem is difficult to solve; but from a practical, common-sense point of view, the change seems to be abundantly justified.

Rev. W. C. BITTING, of New York, said :

I have a very little to say about the economic reasons which have been assigned for the proper observance of Sunday. I want, however, to take issue with the second appointed speaker in his position that we need more legislation against Sabbath-breaking employments. We need more legislation against the men who are grinding down their employees on week days. The question of Sunday observance is not one of Mosaic authority with me. I do not go back to the fourth commandment for my position. I take the stand of to-day. This is a practical matter in our great cities. One Sunday afternoon, about three years ago, I went to Central Park in New York City to see what I could see. I ran away from my Sunday-school for the purpose of investigating this question. It was a beautiful day, and thousands upon thousands were in the park. My attention was attracted to a man lying under a tree, who was enjoying the day with his family. A little child was sitting on his body playing with him, and another at his head was pulling his hair. They were help-

ing him to enjoy the day. By his side was his wife. They had been picnicking, and strewn around were the remains of their little spread. The wife was looking at *Harper's Weekly* or some such paper. I attracted the man's attention. I did not tell him I was a minister of the Gospel. I was a plain man, as I always hope to be when I teach my brother man, whether on week day or Sunday. When I asked him why he did not go to church, he said: "Well, do you know I am busy working six days of the week, from morning until night. Do you see these beautiful children whom God has given me? Look at their heads of magnificent golden curly hair! And do you see this wife of mine who sits beside me enjoying herself? When I leave home in the morning to go to my work these children are asleep in their beds. When I get home at night they are tired out, and fretful, and cross because of their day's doings, and I am too tired to play with them. And this woman has to dress and attend to those children, do the marketing, clean the house, look after all the little things that are necessary for us, and cook our food. I am not able to hire help. I never see God Almighty's sunshine on the faces of my children, or shining on their curly heads except on His Sunday. Now," he said, "I work for a corporation, the stockholders of which are church members, christian men. All the managers of that corporation are christian men. To-day they are sitting in their churches, or riding to and from church in their carriages. God will not damn me half so quickly for lying on His green grass, and looking at His sunshine with my family, as He will those men who so grind me down during the week that I cannot enjoy the pleasures He has given me." And I believe it.

There are thousands of men to-day crushed and ground by so-called christian men who desire to make money, and who, if they could find some creation of springs and levers and wheels to take his place, would turn a man away without a thought of loving their neighbors as themselves. Do you blame the street car driver who works sixteen hours a day for a dollar and a quarter, from Monday morning until late Saturday night, for getting his lungs full of fresh air on Sunday after being behind a team of horses all the week? There *are* two sides to this question. Until the Church of Christ shall grapple with this economic side which is presented six days in the week, all the legislation that may be enacted about a seventh day will not accomplish the kind of observance you want. You may try to make men moral by legislation, but it does not change the heart. I was whipped many a time when I was a boy, but it never made me feel good. Now

that I am grown I can see that it was all right, but I could not feel it at that time. You may try to *make* men go to church, and to keep them from having recreation on Sunday, but they will not love your christian Sunday simply because they are bound by some awful penalty.

In European countries, such as France, Germany, Italy, and Spain, where church and state have gone hand in hand, and have been bound together almost inseparably, you have the worst Sundays that are to be found on God's earth. Where do the Sunday-breakers come from? They come from Paris, from Berlin, from Rome and from Madrid. They come from places where religious sentiment has influenced legislatures to tell men how to observe Sunday. I have been told by a member in good standing in the Lutheran Church that in his fatherland home he used to go to church on Sunday morning, and in the afternoon he would meet his pastor in the bowling-alley, where they would spend the rest of the day.

It does seem to me that the only way in which the church can secure Sunday observance is by inculcating a love of it. If we could realize Brother Denovan's ideal as given to us during these meetings, as to what the church ought to be, and have an ideal missionary organization, every member of which would go everywhere preaching the Gospel, with the Divine love of Christ burning in his soul, we would soon obviate the need of Sunday legislation. We have laws enough which cannot be enforced. There is one against profanity. Does that keep men from swearing? Laws against Sunday-breaking will never keep men from breaking the Sabbath. The wretchedness, want and woe we see in all large cities is not the fruit of non-observance of the Sabbath, but rather because men are kept down all the days of the week by those who are crushing and grinding them for the sake of the extra work they can get out of them.

So far as I am concerned, I believe in being free. I do not believe it is any harm to whistle on Sunday. A theological professor told me that when he was a boy he did not dare to whistle from Saturday night until after dark on Sunday. We know that our Lord, during His earthly life, flew directly in the face of traditions concerning the Sabbath. He went to dine with people on the Sabbath, and walked through cornfields, and was busy the whole of the day doing acts of mercy. He insisted on the Divine principles He gave us, which appeals to every man, that the individual man is higher than all institutions, even the Sabbath, for "the Sabbath was made for man, not man for the Sabbath."

Prof. E. H. JOHNSON, of Crozer Seminary, said :

I take it for granted that no other name is in your hands, as I sent word that if there were no other after Mr. Bitting, I would continue the discussion. I do not remember having heard at any time concerning the spiritual uses of the Lord's Day anything so charming, anything to my mind so thoroughly delicious as the paper of Mr. Stewart. I love a man who can talk out of his experience, as he plainly did, about the Lord's Day in that way. And one of its charms was that he showed us how the uses of the day can be put on other grounds than the fourth commandment. He has showed us uses for the day which cannot be derived from the fourth commandment. But he did not discuss the question of how the day is to be observed ; and it seems to me that a little light may be thrown upon that question by the application of this principle :—the observance of the day is to be determined by the nature of the day.

What was the nature of the day as exhibited by the fourth commandment ? Simply, God rested from his creative work on the seventh day ; and the seventh day was to be observed as a day of rest, with the strictest correspondence to the nature of the day. And that is all that was prescribed. That covers the Old Testament idea ; we are to keep the day holy, to abstain from work as God did. Although the Levitical Law provided for an additional sacrifice on that day, there was no definite, or next to no definite, positively religious observance connected with the day by the Old Testament. But there were traditions, which great pains were taken to preserve. It was said yesterday by Dr. Castle that we Baptists do not accept the authority of tradition ; but at the same time it is true that we actually do to a considerable extent submit to the authority of tradition. A very large portion of our existing conceptions of the observance of the day are purely conventional. Well, for that reason some of them are the better, because they express the aggregated ideas of wise men ; but also they are largely hurtful, because they give a one-sided view of the case.

Now, when the synagogue was instituted, a definite religious observance was connected with the day set apart for a reminiscence of the fact that God had rested from His work on the seventh day ; but when Jesus Christ said : " The Sabbath was made for man, not man for the Sabbath," He declared an entirely new thought. It had never entered the mind of any Jew ; and if it had, he would not have dared to say it. The Old Tes-

tament Sabbath was for God, and every reference showed it was intended for Him. Now, Christ says the Sabbath is for man. Very well; if that is what it is, if it is a day for man, it can be for man only by making of it such a use as corresponds to the constitution of man. Now, if you will permit me to be absolutely open on this subject, I will venture to show you what that interpretation of the day indicates as to the observance of the first day of the week.

It is very well settled that a weekly rest from physical toil corresponds in some way to the needs of our constitution. Now, in point of fact, there has not been sufficient experience to assure us that it would not be just as well to rest one day in six. There has not been sufficient to assure us that it would not be just as well for the purposes of the body to abstain from labor one day in ten. But there has been abundant experience to show us that it is a good thing to abstain from it one day in seven. And that is all we need to know. We have adequate testimony that abstinence from physical toil is a good thing one day in seven. Now, so far as the interests of the body go, it does not follow that on the Lord's day we may not secure rest by change of physical exercise. If a man has been using his arms all the week, there is no physiological reason to forbid him stretching his legs on Sunday. But he ought at all events, if he consults the interests of his body, to abstain from fatiguing labor.

Now, it is equally certain, according to the constitution of human minds, that there ought to be a change of mental occupation once in a while. So far as that goes, there is nothing in the nature of the laws of the human mind to prohibit reading novels one day in the week. It is a change of mental occupation. It is simply a greater change in mental occupation if we do not read novels. If we indulge in the study of religious literature the outlook is much wider, and the position of the beholder more elevated. There is a far greater mental stimulus in the contemplation of things from God's point of view than in reading the most inspiring novels. So that it is clear that from a purely mental point of view a man can do nothing better than to devote himself to thinking of moral and religious matters one day of the week.

Now, every man ought to be a family man. If he cannot have a family of his own, he ought to get leave to become a member of somebody else's family. Sunday is a family day, and the only family day. It is just the one day of the week when a man can

be with his household ; and the day has a peculiar charm from the fact that on Sundays people put on clean linen, and what they call "Sunday clothes." It is a delightful thing, the clean linen and the best clothes associated with the family day. And the family is a part of society. The brother who preceded me spoke of the fact that our Saviour said the day was for man, and that on the Sabbath Jesus Christ walked through the corn fields, and went to visit people. But, after all, the primary factor of society is the family.

We shall not have private religion unless we have public religion, and religion must positively have one day to itself every now and then. I dare say that christianity would break down and end its rule in men's lives and hearts unless we had a day for public worship. Now, the christian religion must have a day to itself for this reason, that the laws of man's mental constitution correspond with the laws of astronomy. In the habitable parts of the globe the rule is that a part of every twenty-four hours the earth is in darkness, and during those hours man needs sleep. Now, here is this singular mental fact, that our mental and moral states are held sharply apart by these fetters of sleep. We make good resolutions at night and sleep them off before morning. You cannot hold a sentiment in one part of the day which is incompatible with the greater attractiveness of things you intend to engage in later in the day. Religion is not so attractive that religion itself can afford to have us doing things in the afternoon or evening which are more attractive than itself. Experience has shown that it is a mistake to go to church in the morning and to the theatre in the afternoon. We had a large experience of a similar error in Yankee land. My father, and perhaps the fathers of some of you, had in early life the habit of beginning the observance of the Sabbath on Saturday night and ending it at sundown on Sunday. How eagerly the children awaited the sundown of Sunday during the hours that preceded it, so that a large part of the hours called sacred were made secular by the anticipation of the indulgences which they were soon to enjoy. Here is a thing in the constitution of man which absolutely prohibits us using any part of the Lord's day for pursuits incompatible with the religious purpose of the day ; so that the observance of the day should correspond to the nature of the day.

But every man must judge for himself what he can properly do. Some men know they can speak of secular things, and they do. Some know they can take a walk and look into the sky,

and they do. If a man cannot, let him not sacrifice the higher interests of the day to the lower. But, whatever we think of the Lord's day, let us remember this, that it is not merely a religious day, not merely a christian day, but the day of the resurrection of Jesus Christ ; which means it is a day of life, not merely of spiritual life, but a day which assures fulness of life, bodily and spiritual, to those who are Christ's. The meaning of the day covers the whole of a man. The sentiment of the day should, therefore, be one of joy and triumph in Christ. But mark this : You are entitled to all the benefits which a day set apart for man's highest use can bring. No one can deny you these benefits ; you are not even at liberty to forego them.

Rev. LEIGHTON WILLIAMS, of New York, said :

With almost everything that has been said I cordially agree, but there is one point I wish to present, which is this : I feel that in considering the question of Sunday legislation we should remember that Sunday legislation ought to be framed rather with a view to making the day one of rest than with the view of enforcing any particular mode of observance of the day. My own view is that the best way of preserving or using the Sabbath Day are questions of my individual liberty, and that the old blue laws or anything like them which are enacted with a view to hampering my personal liberty, are injurious ; but it is a great question the securing for me or some other man a rest day. If Brother Avery or Brother Blackburn, who come in contact with large numbers of mechanics, would take the platform, as I hope some such men will, they can give us some facts as to how the laboring population do get the privilege of a rest day. I am myself a member of a society, started last year, called The American Sabbath Union, the object of which is to secure for as many as is possible the day as a day of rest. It is a crying shame that a christian man, himself enjoying the privileges of the day, a large employer, should pay little attention to the fact that hundreds or thousands perhaps of men whose lives he influences very strongly have not a day of rest. I talked with the railway agent at the station where I spend the summer, and he told me that he only got one Sunday out of every month, and that he got by an arrangement with his assistant by which the latter did all the work of that Sunday ; and the assistant in the same way got one Sunday by the agent taking all his work on that particular day. Through the influence largely of our soci-

ety, and of Mr. Cornelius Vanderbilt, and other prominent railway officials, several railways have lately done considerable towards lessening freight traffic on Sunday, and the result is that thousands of men in different States now enjoy a partial rest day, which they did not before. We know that here in Toronto you are a Sabbath-keeping people, and the observance of the day is something wonderful, but I want you to see that an opportunity of observing the day is given to all people whom in any way you influence, men and women alike, at distant points, perhaps. This is a question I particularly wanted to suggest, and I hope that facts will come out here to-day which will be of great use to us.

The Rev. A. B. CHAFFEE, of Seymour, Ind., said :

Mr. Williams has led up to a place, where from experience I can start. Now, brethren, we are preachers and ministers of the Gospel. Have we studied the whole truth to show that we can be perfectly independent. Is not there the question of personal influence which comes very closely to you and to me as leaders of thought and of people. When I take my own Sunday newspaper and ask some one else to refrain, has he not a right to say to me, "Physician, heal thyself." When I buy my morning steak on Sunday morning—I do not do it—the man whom I may influence to keep Sunday has a right to say, "Refrain yourself." When I ask my milkman to come to my door on Sunday morning, he has a right to say, "Refrain yourself." It is, however, not consistent to refuse to read the Sunday newspaper which is prepared on Saturday afternoon and night, and yet read the Monday morning newspaper which is prepared on Sunday afternoon and night. If we are going the whole length let us wait until Monday night for christian information, and thus we will give the employees of the printing establishment a chance to rest on Sunday. Now, I live in a railway town. One of my deacons is the agent at the O. and M. Station. Fortunately for him he has an assistant who relieves him during church service hours, and he is in his place always. I asked him the other day—"Deacon Fry, how large a percentage of the people who were on that vestibule train which passed through a few minutes ago are christian people, and ought to be at home with their families, or in their places in church instead of traveling on Sunday; would fifty per cent. cover it?" He said: "I suppose one christian man in a hundred, so far as I

am able to judge, of those who ride on Sunday, rides from necessity, and the other 99 from convenience." A good brother, not long ago, laughed at my idea of refusing an appointment to preach rather than run the risk of spending a few hours of Sunday on the railroad. "Oh," he says, "In the cities we all do it." But if I ride on Sunday I cannot consistently ask my brother not to do the thing which I do myself. Now, the difference between this position and the blue law or puritanic position is just this. I have a right to do as my conscience bids me ; but the puritanic law obliged us to make others do as we thought best ; of course I do not go to that extent. But unless we ministers of the Gospel stop this traveling on Sunday, this use of the Sunday newspaper, and this use of the street cars on Sunday ; unless we set the example, and urge our deacons and membership to set the example, we may legislate until we are gray without success. My brethren, let us be consistent and Christ-like in the use of Sunday. I am not altogether clear on Sunday amusements and relief ; I don't believe but that I could come into more intimate relation with my Creator on a beautiful green sward, surrounded by flowers and the beauties of nature, than in a stuffy meeting house, listening to a very ordinary sermon ; but I am perfectly clear on the fact that I have no right to impose upon others an obligation that I would not willingly assume myself. And so from the pulpit and the church must go out this influence of self-sacrifice if we hope to influence legislation and do our brothers good. Let us keep on in that line, and by our influence and example secure for many of those who now have to labor on the Lord's day an opportunity of resting on that day, and joining in its religious observance. "If judgment begin at the house of the God"—you know the rest.

The Rev. ALEXANDER BLACKBURN, of Lowell, Mass., said :

I did not expect to speak upon this question, because I did not perceive any particular heresy in anything that was said : I perfectly agreed with what Dr. Johnson said. This is a very practical question, however, and one that requires not only careful study, but careful light. I think there is nothing in regard to which the outside world is watching the christian world more than in this matter of Sabbath keeping. I believe when the Saviour said the Sabbath was made for man he thought that something had been made ; it was not a simple sort of saying thrown out, but that something had been made for man : this

Sabbath is something. It has been beautifully expressed this morning in the paper first read, and by the words following, the place of the Sabbath in our natural and spiritual life. Now, what is this Sabbath to the common working man? I do not think any of us have any objection to the man described by our brother from New York. The only question is whether a working man was quite so eloquent in his language, but I have no doubt Brother Bitting has correctly reported it. I think a man like that ought to have made a speech to the people around him; it would have been very delightful to them. Now, we do not object to a man going out with his family on Sunday, as that man is represented to have done, but I do object to the fact that instead of being able to go there quietly he should have been disturbed while there by a band of music, by a dancing platform and a lot of roystering that would destroy his opportunity of enjoying himself there. We have in New England our commons or parks to which the people go. I have occasionally gone out in the afternoon, sometimes to preach on the common, for they let us do that if we go at it in the right way. We do not want to butt our heads against the mayors, but if we ask for the privilege they are glad to have us go out and preach. I have had the privilege a number of times of going on our common at Lowell, where thousands of people were sitting on the grass, and, as far as I could see, decently enjoying themselves. I have not it in my heart to say these people were doing wrong in coming out from their tenement houses; places ill ventilated, full of all kinds of foul smells, and where they are compelled to spend their nights; I say for them to come out and take the fresh air is not in any way violating God's law of the Sabbath. But I did at one time receive a little abuse from our newspapers—which I enjoyed very much—because I said in my pulpit that we ought to say in our municipal law that there should be no band in our public parks. These bands and institutions that gather around them the hoodlum and the rough element in a mob destroy these places of retreat for those who want to go quietly on the Lord's Day. Our Secretary has asked me for some facts in reference to this. I am sorry he did not ask me before I came. Our population is about 75,000, and every morning at the hour of half-past six 25,000 may be heard on the street with their tramp, tramp, tramp on their way to the mills, on entering which the doors shut behind them, and they remain there until a quarter before twelve, when the bell strikes, when they pour out of these factories like bees from hives, returning again at one o'clock and

remaining until the closing hour. These people have very little opportunity to enjoy God's sunshine during the week. Now, we have a very large French-Canadian population, and a very large Irish Catholic population, and I have tried to watch what they do on Sunday. The women go to church; very few of the men go. They go once a year to the sacrament, so that they may be able to belong to the societies established by the Roman Catholic church—and that is the way they are holding their men in the church, through the agency of these Hibernian, St. Vincent De Paul and kindred societies. These men spend their mornings at home or on the streets; mostly on the streets. In the afternoon they have meetings of their societies in their hall, and they take every opportunity for having a parade on Sunday afternoon; if anyone dies during the week they keep him until Sunday, and then with bands and uniforms parade to the burying ground. And as I have looked upon these young men with their uniforms and music, marching, perhaps, to bury a dead comrade, and have looked upon the empty pews in my own and other churches that ought to be filled with young men, my heart has burned to get hold of them, and I do not know of any better way of getting hold of them than by advancing along the lines suggested here this morning. Show them that the Church of Christ is not a tyrant; that Christ sent something for young men; hold out this Sabbath day as one of his best gifts to humanity; hold it out to them by our loving it; make them see it so plainly that they will want to get the benefit of it. Now, in looking over our cities, our great manufacturing centres, this is an exceedingly practical question. I have had a little to do with railroad men; I had a man as leader of my own choir who was superintendent of a railway, and used to work a great many hours with him; a kindly man. Now this man, as I talked to him, said: "This railroad business that is done on Sunday is absolutely unnecessary, there is no use for it; it is all nonsense to say we have got to work our men seven days a week; we can do all our work in six days of the week." I believe that the thing for us to do is to get away from the old idea that the State has no right to compel the keeping of the Sabbath, and come up to the idea—whether old or new I don't know—that the State does have a right, aye, more, that it is the duty of the State to protect her citizens in doing those things that shall build up the very best possible manhood—physical, intellectual and moral. I would put State legislation right on that ground. I have not any trouble with some of these little questions. I think the best

thing to do with the dear brethren who are so anxious to keep the seventh day would be to put them all on one of the ships going out of our harbors, and say : " Now, Dear Brethren, start out eastward, and go around the world and keep your seventh day every time, and when you get back here you will be keeping our day, that is all." I have not found any law anywhere that said that immigration should be eastward or westward ; I don't have any trouble with that thing, it does not bother me a bit, but I do feel first of all that we are resting upon the fourth commandment which was given to man. Did you ever notice that in the fourth commandment, unlike the two which precede it, there is no penalty for those who break it ; he has left that for us to take care of. It is not said that God will punish the man that breaks the Sabbath, but he has laid down that beautiful Sabbath law, and he has said : " Thou, nor thy son, nor thy daughter, nor thy man servant nor thy maid servant, nor the stranger that is within thy gates." I am afraid, brethren, the fourth commandment goes just a little outside ourselves—I am inclined to think it does, it involves the idea that this Sabbath keeping shall reach beyond ourselves, and I think it is the only commandment in the ten that has that idea in it.

THE CHAIRMAN :

The grandfather of our Secretary was the first pastor of the church which I now serve. He preached away down town, by Chatham Square. The present church must be four or five miles above that old original location, which is one of the hardest localities in the City of New York. The old building is used as a mission station, and Brother J. F. Avery is doing very valiant work there. I introduce him.

The Rev. J. F. AVERY, of New York, said :

I had intended to keep quiet throughout this Congress. I have come from the pressure and strain of the kind of work to which our brother has so kindly alluded, mission work in lower New York, to enjoy a season of mental and spiritual refreshment among you. I am not going to attempt that which others have been doing so grandly and well ; that is, to discourse logically or with the flower of rhetoric, but shall, as it has been suggested I should, speak practically. My earliest recollection of Sunday is that it was a very sweet day to me ; it was candy

day. My father, a man of the world, was of good Baptist stock ; the influence of a pious father had so impressed upon his heart and mind—even though he was a worldly man—the importance of a day of rest and Sabbath observance, I remember observing that even at the risk of the loss of his position he would not himself work, or allow anyone under him to do any work on Sunday. He would read his newspaper, take a walk, and call by the way at a house of refreshment ; but you could not get him to do any kind of toil, or allow anyone else to do it as far as he had control. But my earliest recollection concerning Sabbath observance is in connection with the University of Oxford Paper Mills. The manager of that part of the concern was a big man, both physically and Pharisaically. He used to take his prayer book and go to church, and whilst there in his high pew boast that he made calculations for the next week. He was a man who took a special delight in employing men on Sunday, and the men had about as good a conscience as their master, for when the boss went to church they got their beer can, and knowing that they had double pay for the time, they put in as much time as they could, and did as little work as possible. Well, I remember my father talking about it, and saying : “ You see if that fellow does not pull up in a hard place, or there is neither God or Devil.” I remember observing all this as a lad. Well, that man apparently succeeded wonderfully. Although he ground every poor man that he could get under his heel, until his workmen hardly dared to squirm as a worm would when trodden on. I carefully noted all this, and have seen the end of it. I remember well my father saying : “ Now the judgment and reward is coming.” I said : “ What is coming ? ” It appears the very engineers and workmen he had about his factory doing repairs on Sunday, under the excuse that he might not lose a day in the week, had done their work carelessly, had done it with just about as much conscience as you might expect they would have under such a condition of things. Poor Mr. S——, I saw him well nigh crushed in spirit as well as financially, and heard him say one day when a big fly wheel had burst and the fragments flew around him : “ I would to God that it had smashed me.” Why ? Because the very machinery of that large factory cried out against him. Without any—to the worldly wise—perceptible cause, big shafts would break. It almost brought complete wreckage to the business as well as his mental faculties. I visited England a few years ago, and went to the factory, inquired for the men

whom I had known who worked for Mr. S——. I only saw one or two, all dwarfed out of shape by rheumatism, and who were perfect physical wrecks. I said to my father, who was a better preserved man than I am, for when I was at home this last time, people did not know which was the son and which the father; I said: "Where are these men." My father is well conserved, the years seem to rest lightly on him; he kept his Sunday, not so much in a spiritual as in a physical sense; he rested that day and took care of himself. Now, thank God, he is like my dear old grandfather, an ardent, earnest, zealous christian. But these other men who had served on Sundays for double pay were wrecked and broken, and the master, where was he? Gone to his last account. I remember when I first went into New York City—it was against my conscience—jumping on a street car, and a good Baptist brother looking at me, and knowing I was rather tender along that line, said: "It is all right, for I am going to pay;" and he paid. He said: "This is the saints using the devil's machinery, that is how I ease my conscience." But I cannot see it that way, and I do not think it is any justification for us to take advantage of another man's doing that which we would not do ourselves on Sunday. I do believe that the working man requires a day of rest, even apart from the spiritual side of the question. Some will argue that the real benefit will come to the working man by giving him that day as a holiday, as a day to go and take the fresh air and enjoy the wonderful works of nature and of God. This summer I was going out on a Sunday-school excursion, and as is my custom, I got into talk with a man on the boat, one of the hands. I asked him if the boat ran on Sunday, and he said it did. I said: "That is a kind of nice excursion day, is it?" "Sir," said he, "It is the Hell day of all the week: I am always glad when the boat ties up on Sunday night." I said, "How is that?" "Why," he said, "We always have the hardest crowd on Sundays." "Now, a crowd like you have here, with your singing and good behaviour, it is a pleasure to carry. But the crowd we had last Sunday night, they put the lights out, and gave us all the annoyance they possibly could." Brethren, let the poor man have the Sabbath merely for recreation, so called, and he is a tyrant, who will put his heel on the head of his fellow man, and squeeze as much out of him as possible. There is another thought, and that is this: God no doubt knew what He was doing when He laid the plan both with reference to moral, physical and spiritual law. The Sabbath is for the benefit

of mankind. The best way to get the truest rest is, as has been said much better than I can say it, man should think of his God. That this day of all other days should be a let-up day, and change of occupation. A day when man should be brought under other influences, and there should be special opportunities of hearing and thinking of God. If I had a longer time to speak of the facts gathered and seen in and around Chatham Square, New York, I would hardly know how to express the cruelty and hardship. But I believe if there is anything that is going to teach and help fallen, crushed, bleeding humanity, it is righteousness lived out by God's own children, and their actual and personal contact with these very people. I do believe there is a power and a charm in the simple preaching of the Gospel, and living like the once crucified, the now living, risen Christ. It touches their hearts, and elevates them morally, physically and spiritually. I have been trying for the last year and a half to do what is considered impossible in lower New York, to reach the masses, and said, I must touch these people. Their Jewish, Catholic and other prejudices are putting these working people right beyond me; I must and will touch them. To do this I went into their lodging houses; carried the organ out of the church, and on the top of that grand platform at the Mariner's Temple; got young people to stand there and sing, led by my own boy cornetists, one sixteen, the other twelve years old. The goodly sound soon draws a crowd, and I stood there and talked to them. The story of the father's love to the prodigal son has reached and won for Christ many a wandering boy. The best cure for Sabbath desecration is a positive "Thus saith the Lord:" and a showing of the Gospel good will to men.

Rev. G. D. BOARDMAN, D. D., of Philadelphia, said :

Why ought we to keep the Sabbath? Because God has bidden it in His fourth commandment? Partly yes, and partly no. For, although the Decalogue, in its spirit, is for all lands and ages, yet, in its letter, it was evidently for the Jews. The preamble itself proves my assertion: "God spake all these words, saying, I am Jehovah, thy God, who brought thee out of the land of Egypt, out of the house of bondage." Then follow the ten commandments, based upon the unique fact that Jehovah was the Covenant God of Israel. The fifth commandment is a striking evidence of the Hebrew character of the Decalogue—"Honour thy father and thy mother, that thy days may be long upon the

land which Jehovah thy God giveth thee." That is, "that thou mayst live long in the Canaan whither thou art going." And when we turn to the second account of the Decalogue, as recorded in Deuteronomy, we find that the very reason assigned for the fourth commandment is the gracious fact of Israel's emancipation: "Thou shalt remember that thou wast a servant in the land of Egypt, and Jehovah thy God brought thee out thence by a mighty hand and a stretched out arm; therefore Jehovah thy God commanded thee to keep the Sabbath day." Indeed, Jehovah directed Moses to teach his people that the Sabbath was appointed as a covenant-sign between Jehovah and Israel, and, as such, a badge of the Jewish nationality. Jehovah spake unto Moses, saying: "Speak thou also unto the children of Israel, saying; Verily ye shall keep my Sabbaths; for it is a sign between me and you throughout your generations; that ye may know that I am Jehovah who sanctify you." And when we turn to the New Testament, the Jewish character of the Sinaitic Sabbath becomes still more evident. It is a significant fact that the only full twenty-four hours which our Saviour spent in the tomb was the seventh day, the Hebrew Sabbath of the Decalogue. Indeed, if we base the Sabbath on the Decalogue, I do not see but that we are bound to inflict the Mosaic penalty of death for not keeping Saturday. Moreover, the apostolic disregard of the Mosaic Sabbath is strikingly significant, especially when we remember that by far the larger proportion of the early christians were converts from heathenism, and therefore needed special instruction in the matter of the Sabbath. The apostle Paul was wont to insist on a strict observance of all practical duties, often mentioning them in detail. And yet, in all his extant letters, there seems to be but one solitary allusion (unless we except Romans 14:v) to the Mosaic Sabbath; and even then he classifies it with the ceremonial ordinances which Christ had blotted out when He nailed them to His cross—"Let no man therefore judge you in meat, or in drink, or in respect of a feast day or a new moon or a Sabbath day; which are a shadow of the things to come; but the body is Christ's." All this shows that the fourth commandment, or the Sabbath as an ordinance in the letter, was Jewish, and, as such, local and temporary.

But, on the other hand, the moment that the Son of Man—the Lawgiver greater than Moses—speaks, saying, "The Sabbath was made for man, and not man for the Sabbath," we feel that he speaks, not as a Jew to Jews, but as the Divine Man to men, instantly raising the Sabbath from a Jewish ordinance to a human

necessity. And observe the authority which Jesus quotes : it is not Moses, but Man ; not Scripture, but Nature. The Sabbath is in the Decalogue, but it is in the Decalogue because it had been before in Nature ; and the Jew was a man.

Accordingly, the Sabbath, like every other ordinance, is a means, not an end. And man is ever greater than means. Ordinances go, man abides. Jesus Christ did not die for ordinances ; Jesus Christ died for man. Man was not made for the Sabbath, the Sabbath was made for man. The Sabbath is sacred, not in itself, but because man is sacred. Therefore man himself, in the arena or sphere of Jesus Christ—the Son of Man—is Lord even of the Sabbath. And in accordance with this principle the Divine Man Himself ever acted. Recall, for instance, His doctrine of the Sabbath in connection with the walk through the cornfields ; His restoring the withered hand ; His erecting the woman bowed with a spirit of infirmity ; His healing the man afflicted with dropsy ; His curing the long-suffering invalid of Bethesda. In view of these repeated instances of Christ's teaching and practice how resistless the conviction that He believed that man is greater than the Sabbath.

And yet the Son of Man was very far from meaning to lessen the obligation of the Sabbath ; He only meant to emancipate the Sabbath from the thrall of Pharisaic sanctimoniousness, superstition and gloom. Instead of destroying the Sabbath, He brought out its real meaning, as being a day of rest and gladness ; and so He kept in deepest sense the Sabbath. And just because the Son of Man has disenthralled the Sabbath, I am bound to keep it all to man conscientiously. Just because the New Covenant gives me liberty, it invests this liberty with a graver responsibility. It is the freeman, not the slave, who is really responsible. The only safe thing we can do here is to take care of our own personal consciences, without presuming to lord the consciences of others. Leniency toward others, severity towards ourselves—this is our Master's doctrine of criticism. Let us so keep the Sabbath that we shall glorify Him. For Jesus Christ Himself is our Sabbath ; alike its origin, its meaning, its end. In fact, the final cause of the Sabbath is to sabbatize all life. That is the best kept Sabbath which gives a Lord's Day tinge to Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, Friday, Saturday.

The consideration of this great topic is opportune. This Sabbath question is one of the questions of our generation ; a question which we ministers must look squarely in the face. The foe

is keen and powerful. Before such an enemy the question is not to be settled by *ipse dixit*, or citations from creeds, however venerable. If we would win the fight, we must wage battle on solid, abiding ground. How, then, shall we meet the question? I know no better way than that in which the Lord of the Sabbath Himself met it: "The Sabbath was made for man, not man for the Sabbath." That is to say, the basis of the Sabbath is not God's outward graven letter, but man's inward, personal need. Meet the foe on the ground of the Mosaic ordinance, and you are bound to lose; for Mosaism was local and transient. Meet the foe on the ground of man's need, and you are bound to win, for you have Nature and Nature's Lord on your side.

The Rev. G. T. WEBB, of Niagara Falls, N. Y., said:

The hour is too late for me to make any extended remarks, besides which the subject has been very thoroughly discussed already. I am from Niagara Falls, and as reference has been made this morning to railway towns in connection with this topic, and also to manufacturing centres, I may speak of Niagara Falls as combining the railway centre and manufacturing town, and as it is also a pleasure resort, and, unfortunately, the suburb of a great city, it naturally has drifted into very loose habits on this important question. Our factory men and mill hands have peculiar hours of labor, working from midday till midnight, and thus they require time to rest, as the proper hours for rest and sleep are broken in upon. Therefore we find them on the Lord's day absent from the Lord's House, and in our parks and about the Falls. What time our railroad men have from their work is certainly not spent in the Lord's house as a rule, and we presume that it is spent largely in the pleasure resorts. On the Lord's day particularly we are flooded with excursionists from Buffalo and other neighboring cities, and indeed from all over the country. When we come into the Lord's house what do we find? Four railroads within about fifty feet of our chapel, running from ten to eighteen trains whistling past our house while we are endeavoring to worship God. The people who come in on these trains are not heretics, nor infidels; a large proportion of them are Christian people, and to accommodate them, our men are absent from the Lord's house in order to bring them there, and to turn money into the coffers of the railroad system, and our women are absent largely because they have to provide for the guests that flow in upon them. Last

summer we took it upon ourselves to go down into the State Reservation, and by the kind permission of the superintendent we used the pavilion in which to preach the gospel. We noticed that those who attended were largely from the fashionable churches of the United States, and I presume they would go back and speak against Sabbath desecration at Niagara Falls, when they were in some measure the cause of it. Dear friends, what we want in this matter is to be honest ourselves before God. I believe that if the Lord's day is binding upon any one, it is upon *christian people*. I agree heartily with the words just spoken; I am delighted that Dr. Boardman has spoken as he has concerning this question of the Lord's day, and not the Sabbath day. Speaking for myself I do not regard the *Sabbath day* as binding upon me at all. I find repeatedly it is stated that the Sabbath day is for *Israel*, and it shall be binding upon Israel in all his generations. I am a Gentile Christian, and as such recognize the Lord's day, the day of life. Just notice this, that while with the Jew it was work first and rest afterwards, with the Christian it is rest first and work afterwards. It is the very principle of the Gospel; it comes to us in that light. It is binding upon God's children not as a law, not as with a lash held over the soul of the believer, but rather given to us as a day when it is possible for us as Christians to abstain from secular labor one day in seven, that we may worship God and be free from the worry of this world. And because God has made it possible let us reverence the day. Are we going to lay it upon the unbeliever? Are we going to bind him down to it? Will we as Christians disregard it? Never, dear friends. What is necessary is for God's people to recognize the Lord's day and stand by it as God's institution, to reverence it and to take advantage of the privileges that are ours in connection with it. And as the street car question has been brought up I want to say this, don't go into the street car on the Lord's day for the sake of those working men, who by its use are hindered from enjoying the seventh day of rest, which belongs to them. I for one will not ride in the railway or street car on the Lord's day, that I may be free from the charge of wronging a brother.

Rev. R. G. BOVILLE, of Hamilton, Ont., pronounced the benediction.

Third Day.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

Rev. Dr. CASTLE, of Rochester, N. Y., presided. After singing "Jesus, thou joy of loving hearts," Rev. ELMORE HARRIS, B. A., of Toronto, led in prayer.

THE CHAIRMAN: The subject for this afternoon is "The Disarmament of Nations." The writer of the first paper is Rev. Dr. BOARDMAN, of Philadelphia.

DISARMAMENT OF NATIONS.

BY REV. GEORGE DANA BOARDMAN, D.D., LL. D.

"THE BELLY AND THE MEMBERS."--When the plebeians of Rome, in their first great rupture with the patricians, angrily seceded to the Sacred Mount, the venerable and patriotic Consul, Menenius Agrippa, effected a reconciliation by his famous apologue of the Belly and the Members as follows:

"In times of old, when every Member of the body could think for itself, and each had a separate will of its own, they all, with one consent, resolved to revolt against the Belly. They knew no reason, they said, why they should toil from morning till night in its service, while the Belly lay at its ease in the midst of all, and indolently grew fat upon their labors. Accordingly, they agreed to support it no more. The feet vowed they would carry no longer; the hands that they would do no more work; the teeth, that they would not chew a morsel of meat, even were it placed between them. Thus resolved, the Members for a time showed their spirit and kept their resolution; but soon found they, that instead of mortifying the Belly, they only undid themselves; they languished for awhile, and perceived too late that it was owing to the Belly that they had strength to work and courage to mutiny.—*Livy.*"

"ONE BODY; MANY DIVERSE MEMBERS."—More than five hundred years afterwards, another Roman citizen, seeking to reconcile a schism in a certain community in Corinth, and doubtless remembering the apologue of old Roman Menenius, wrote as follows:

“As the body is one, and hath many members, and all the members of the body, being many, are one body; so also is Christ. For in one spirit were we all baptized into one body, whether Jews or Greeks, whether bond or free; and were all made to drink of one spirit. For the body is not one member, but many. If the foot shall say, because I am not the eye, I am not of the body; it is not therefore not of the body. And if the ear shall say, because I am not the eye, I am not of the body; it is not therefore not of the body. If the whole body were an eye, where were the hearing? If the whole were hearing where were the smelling? But now hath God set the members each one of them in the body, even as it pleased him. And if they were all one member, where were the body? But now they are many members, but one body. And the eye cannot say to the hand, I have no need of thee; or again the head to the feet, I have no need of you. Nay, much rather, those members of the body which seem to be more feeble are necessary; and those parts of the body which we think to be less honorable, upon these we bestow more abundant honor; and our comely parts have more abundant comeliness; whereas our comely parts have no need; but God tempered the body together, giving more abundant honor to that part which lacked; that there should be no schism in the body; but that the members should have the same care one for another. And whether one member suffereth, all the members suffer with it; or one member is honored, all the members rejoice with it. Now ye are the body of Christ, and severally members thereof, members each in his part.—1 *Corinthians*, xii; 12-27.

THE BODY A SYMBOL OF HUMANITY.—The political economist has never been born who has stated the philosophy of society so profoundly. For it is only when we conceive mankind as one vast body, having all its members or organs in mutual co-ordination and all its functions in reciprocal action, that we get the master key to the problem of society. It is as though the Apostle had said: As the human body is a single organism, consisting of many diverse members and organs and functions, balanced in common counterpoise, and working in mutual interaction; So the church, or christianized mankind, is a single moral organism, consisting in like manner of many diversities, balanced in similar counterpoise, and working in similar interaction.

PLURALITY OF NATIONS.—Not that the individuality of nations is to be extinguished. For each nation—Oh that all the nations

understood it!—is charged with its own divine mission. Viewed in this light, each nation is, so to speak, a single person. Recall how Jehovah, in proclaiming his Ten Commandments on Sinai, addressed the multitudes of Israel as a single personality, or corporate unity, saying :

I am Jehovah thy Elohim, who brought thee out of the land of Egypt, out of the house of bondage.—*Exodus*, xx:2.

The Jews, considered as individuals, were many Israelites ; the Jews, considered as a nation, were one Israel. In fact, it was this divine conception of the Hebrew people as one corporate unity, having a specific mission of its own, which gave to Israel so unique a position among the nations of the earth. But Israel is not the only people that is a person. Every nation worthy of the name of nation is also a person, having at least some of the attributes of personality. For example: each nation has its own idiosyncrasy; recall Hebrew subtilty, Egyptian massiveness, Greek aestheticism, Roman jurisprudence, Chinese conservatism, French *savoir-faire*, German speculation, Negro docility, English indomitableness, Scotch shrewdness, Irish impetuosity, American versatility. And each nation has its own role divinely assigned it in the great drama of history. Shem, ages ago, wrote, as with God's right hand, his Bible of Scripture ; Japheth for centuries has been writing, as with God's left hand, his Bible of Nature ; Ham, it may be, shall ere long join together the hand of Shem and the hand of Japheth, binding the Bible of Scripture and the Bible of Nature into one volume—the Book of God. What an insight into the philosophy of history the apostle to the Gentiles has given us when, addressing the proud Autocthones of the Areopagus, he announced :

“ God made of one every nation of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth, having determined their appointed seasons, and the bounds of their habitation.”—*Acts*, xvii:26.

SINGLENESS OF MANKIND.—But while it is true that each nation has its own individuality and mission, it is also true that all the nations of the earth are components of one common colossal nation, namely, Mankind.

“ Ah, this,” you tell me, “ is scholastic nominalism ; it is a mere abstraction ; there is—there can be—no such real thing as a general man, except in the sense of an aggregation of multitudinous individual men ; persons are facts ; your man is an idea.”

What then, I reply, will you do with the man and the woman of Eden, concerning whom God declared that he created them

in his own image, and blessed, and called their name Adam, Man (*Gen.*, v:1, 2)? What will you do with the Church of the New Covenant, composed of converted Jews and Gentiles, concerning whom Paul wrote that Christ is their peace, making both Jews and Gentiles one, breaking down the middle wall of partition between them, creating in himself of the twain—Jews and Gentiles—one new man—the Church—so making peace, reconciling all in one body unto God through the cross (*Eph.*, ii:14-16)? What will you do with this word "nation" itself. Is a nation nothing more than an aggregation of individuals, having no common bond or organic union? Is there no such a thing as a nation in the sense of its being a common organism or corporate unity? Yes, I confess that, in this regard at least, I am a realist. I believe that a nation is a real existence; not only in the sense of its being an aggregate of individuals, and also in the sense of its being an organic or corporate whole, whereof the individuals are, or ought to be, co-operative members. In like manner, I believe that mankind is a real existence; not only in the sense of its being the sum total of earth's populations; but also in the sense of its being one colossal moral personality, whereof all the nations' are, so to speak, general members, and all human beings special organs.

CHRISTIANITY'S CONTRIBUTION TO SOCIOLOGY.—And for this conception of mankind as one corporate organism we are chiefly indebted to the Carpenter of Nazareth. Without loitering amid minute classifications, it is enough to say that the various theories of society may be reduced to two. The first, to borrow a term from chemistry, is the atomic theory. It proceeds on the assumption that men are simply a mass of separate units, or independent Adams, with no common bond of organic union or international function. Pushing to the extreme the idea of individuality, its tendency is egotistic, disjunctive, chaotic. Its motto is, "*After me the deluge.*" It is the theory of the demagogue, the anarchist, the hater of mankind. The other theory, to borrow again from chemistry, is the molecular. It proceeds on the assumption that humanity is one colossal person, each individual member being a vital component, a functional factor in the great organism; so that membership in society is universal, mutual co-membership. Recognizing each individual of the race as a constituent member of the one great corpus or corporation, its tendency is altruistic, co-operative, constructive. Its motto is, "*We are members one of another.*" It is the theory of

Jesus Christ and those who are truly Jesus Christ's. It was, in an eminent sense, the theory of his chief follower and champion, the apostle Paul. Recall his favorite analogy between the human body and the church or ideal commonwealth ;—an analogy so profoundly philosophical that, I repeat, it will ever serve as the master-key to all problems of sociology. Even the great Comte, in whose elaborate system of religion the worship of humanity lies as the corner-stone, discerned, as though from afar, this splendid truth ; for he taught that the key to social regeneration is to be found in what he called altruism, or the state of being regardful of the good of others, the victory of the sympathetic instinct over the instinct of self-love. Would that the scales had fallen from this great man's eyes, and that he had recognized in the man of Calvary the true, infinite Altruist.

WAR A CRIME AGAINST HUMAN SOCIETY.—And now I come to the pivot of my argument.—From this divine conception of humanity as a bodily organism it follows that war is a crime against the human race itself. Indeed, it is just because we persist in conceiving society as a mechanical structure or at best a voluntary compact, rather than as a physiological organism, that we also persist in resorting to outward mechanics rather than to inward sympathy as our means for settling human quarrels. In fact, war is the culminating instance of what Paul describes as “making a schism in the body ;” that is, rending asunder human society. In other words, war is not only a crime against others, tending to national murder ; war is also a crime against self, tending to human suicide.

PAST WARS SOMETIMES RIGHT.—Not that this is true of every war in the past. For we must distinguish between absolute truth, or truth as it exists unconditionally in the infinite mind ; and relative truth, or truth as it appears to our finite minds, now under this set of circumstances, now under that set. In other words, God, in revealing himself to men, has been pleased to use the law of adaptation ; or, as the theologians say, the “law of accommodation,” or, as the philosophers say, “the principle of relativity,” or “law of parsimony of action.” That is to say, what is absolutely wrong to-day may have been relatively right yesterday. For example : Christ in his doctrine of divorce, admitted that Moses allowed his countrymen a bill of divorce for other causes than the one which Christ himself specifies ; but he immediately proceeds to declare that Moses allowed

this because of his countrymen's "hardness of heart;" that is, because of that moral obtuseness into which they had sunk as one of the sad results of their long servitude in polygamous Egypt; but it was not so in the beginning; in the primal estate of Eden no divorce was allowed (*Matt.* 19:3-9). And as it was with divorce, so it was with polygamy, slavery, retaliation, war. In the generations gone by God suffered all the nations to walk in their own ways, those being times of ignorance which God overlooked (*Acts* 14:16; 17:30). I may admit even more than this. In God's inscrutable counsels, even war itself has had its divine office; as, for example, when he used it as his minister of doom against the Canaanites. For aught I know, even heathen Attila himself may have rightly won the title given him, "The Scourge of God." Thus Jehovah makes the wrath of man to praise him; even the residue of wrath he girds upon himself (*Psalms* 76:10).

FUTURE WARS ALWAYS WRONG.—Nevertheless, we are living under God's government; and one of the fundamental principles of that government is progress. As the laureate sings:

"Yet I doubt not through the ages one increasing purpose runs,
And the thoughts of men are widened with the process of the suns."

—*Locksley Hall.*

Accordingly, what was relatively right once may be absolutely wrong now. Because war was right under the old covenant of Sinai, it does not follow that war is right under the new covenant of Calvary. I would speak advisedly and justly. No man can go beyond me in my profound admiration and reverence for the patriotism, the courage, the self-sacrifice of the thousands—I might almost say millions—who so sublimely braved every hardship and peril in defense of my glorious country. All honor to the illustrious dead. All honor to their illustrious survivors. Nevertheless, I do not think that I can ever defend another war. For even within the comparatively short time since our own desolating strife ceased, the conceptions of men concerning mankind have wonderfully cleared and broadened; the great problem of sociology itself has come conspicuously to the very front of human thinking. Believe me, the time is fast passing by when statesmen will any longer cherish the grotesque, savage fancy that a moral question of right and wrong can really be settled by gunnery, however elaborate. If we were materialists and really believed, for instance, that the national honor consists

in a peculiarly deft arrangement of molecules, then we could consistently defend the national honor by a molecular appeal. In fact, brute force is the animal's standard of ethics. For good Dr. Watts, in lines more remarkable for accuracy of observation than for accuracy of theology, sings :

" Let dogs delight to bark and bite,
For God hath made them so ;
Let bears and lions growl and fight,
For 'tis their nature too."

—Watts' "*Divine Songs.*"

But if we believe that right and justice and honor and truth are in their nature spiritual, then let the weapons of our warfare be also spiritual, not carnal ; so shall we become mighty before God to the casting down of strongholds (II. *Cor.* 10:4). In brief I nowhere read in the New Testament of a beatitude for the warrior ; but I do read of a beatitude which the Prince of Peace has for the peacemaker (him who is peacemaking as well as peaceful) ; " Blessed are the peacemakers, for they shall be called sons of God" (*Matt.* 5:9). Peace—it is Christianity's very watchword. Its founder began his earthly career with the peace-salutation of Bethlehem, and ended it with the peace-valediction of Olivet.

DUTY OF DISARMAMENT.—This, then, is my stand as a christian man. Believing that the time has come when war will be no longer justifiable, I also believe that the time has come when the nations should disarm. How they shall effect this disarmament—whether suddenly or gradually, whether separately or simultaneously—I do not presume to assert. But I do presume to assert, unhesitatingly and unqualifiedly, that the time has come when the nations should commit themselves openly to a policy of disarmament. I remember indeed that George Washington declared before Congress that " to be prepared for war is one of the most effectual means of preserving peace." Nevertheless I believe that Benjamin Franklin was, on the whole, nearer right when he wrote to Josiah Quincy : " There never was a good war or a bad peace." Never did our great soldier—Ulysses S. Grant—say a wiser or a truer thing than when he declared to Prince Kung :

" An arbitration between two nations may not satisfy either party at the time, *but it satisfies the conscience of mankind*; and it must commend itself more and more as a means of adjusting disputes."

Or, as the sententious Archbishop of York said to Lord Mowbray in the forest of Guattree :

A peace is of the nature of a conquest :
For then both parties nobly are subdued,
And neither party loser.

—"Henry IV." Part II, Act IV. Sc. 2.

Let our policy then be this : Let us disarm, substituting arbitration, or some other pacific policy, for armament. True, our American armament, compared with the armaments of the Old World, is ridiculously small, scarcely more than a national police force. Nevertheless it is an armament ; for we call it our Army Department and our Navy Department. And being an armament, however small, it takes its stand among the armaments of earth as such, ready to accept and, if need be, offer military challenges. Standing in this particular presence, on soil that is both British and American, my words must be considerably courteous. However, I feel sure that all of us, whether Britains or Americans, will agree that, if there is a nation on earth that can afford to disarm and be known as the great peace nation, it is the American people ; for its fortunes do not vibrate in the oscillating balance of European Powers. We talk about the need of a definite American policy. The definite policy which America needs—the definite policy which America, by the grace of God and her own will, can maintain, is this :

The Brotherhood of the Nations : therefore, Peace first, Peace last, Peace always ; in the name of God. Amen.

Nor is this by any means impracticable. The Geneva Arbitration alone has done wonders in shedding light on the feasibility and duty of disarmament ; for it has shown how war may be averted, and the national honor be kept still unstained. Since that Geneva Convention, in 1872, there have been more than a score of important cases of successful international arbitration. Do you say that Christ's precept of non-resistance is visionary ? Your own early Canadian policy of fighting barbarous aborigines with no sword but the olive-branch—the pacific policy of William Penn, peaceful founder of the great commonwealth which bears his friendly name—this is a sufficient answer. Talk about Utopia ! Obey Jesus Christ, and Utopia becomes Actuality—the land of promise becomes the land of heritage.

DISARMAMENT THE CURE OF WAR.—Here I rest my argument. I might, of course, have brought forth other considerations, more familiar, perhaps, but in my judgment less momentous. I might,

for instance, have descanted on the wastefulness of war—its frightful waste of money, of time, of strength, of health, of capacity, of love, of joy, of morals—in one great word, of life. Never producing, forever consuming—this is the very genius of that monstrous, pitiless, ghastly fugitive from the infernal abyss, whose name in the Hebrew tongue is Abaddon, in the Greek, Apollyon, in the English, Destroyer (*Rev.*, ix:11). Your own great Iron Duke, “foremost Captain of his time,” never said a truer or sadder thing than in his despatch from the red field of Waterloo: “Nothing except a battle lost can be half so melancholy as a battle won.” But while such considerations as these might perhaps have been more thrilling, I have preferred to take higher ground, appealing to a loftier principle. That loftier principle is this: The Divine conception of all mankind as one single body, one colossal moral organism. In this majestic conception lies the secret of reconciliation of the great schism in the body of humanity. The cure of war lies not in the suspicion and enmity and rivalry which are entrenched in armaments; the cure of war lies in the confidence and brotherhood and co-operation which are announced in disarmament. For in what proportion mankind feels itself to be what its Maker meant it should be, namely, one organic person rather than a set of organized structures—in that proportion race strifes will cease, nation saying to nation, “We are members one of another” (*Eph.*, iv:25). What society especially needs then is the education of itself into the perception of the possibility of its own moral equilibrium, the sense of its own social equipoise.

Were half the power that fills the world with terror,
 Were half the wealth bestowed on camps and courts,
 Given to redeem the human mind from error,
 There no need of arsenals nor forts.

The warrior's name would be a name abhorred;
 And every nation, that should lift again
 Its hand against a brother, on its forehead
 Would wear for evermore the curse of Cain.

—LONGFELLOW'S “*Arsenal at Springfield.*”

PACIFIC AUGURIES.—God be praised, the signs of the times are auspicious. Note, for example, this significant circumstance: The problem of Sociology is no longer a local problem concerning societies or men; the problem of Sociology is already a universal problem concerning society or man. How blessedly significant also such modern expressions as these: “International

law ; comity of nations ; Pan-American League (why should it not, rather, be Pan-Human ?) ; World's fairs ; international congresses for securing a common standard of time, of distance, of weight, of money, of signal ; a universal alphabet ;" and the like. And Jesus Christ is the secret of it all. With the Babe of Bethlehem began the true comity of nations, the first summons to that most august of Congresses

The Parliament of Man, the Federation of the World.

—*Locksley Hall.*

As a matter of fact, christianity—that is to say, Christ's own spirit—is the disarming force of the nations, the unifying principle of mankind, bridging the rivers of languages, tunneling the mountains of caste, dismantling the fortresses of races, incorporating all human varieties into the one majestic temple-body of humanity. For Jesus Christ is the true centre of universal gravity ; and it is only as the forces of humanity are pivoted on him that they are in balance. And the oscillations of humanity are perceptibly shortening as the time of the promised equilibrium draws near. What no earthly force—legislative, judicial, executive, academic, æsthetic—has ever been able to accomplish, or ever can accomplish, the Prince of Peace is serenely achieving.

Down the dark future, through long generations,
The echoing sounds grow fainter, and then cease ;
And like a bell, with solemn, sweet vibrations,
I hear once more the voice of Christ say, Peace !

Peace ! and no longer from its brazen portals
The blast of War's great organ shakes the skies :
But, beautiful as songs of the immortals,
The holy melodies of love arise.

—*The Arsenal at Springfield.*

WHAT HINDERS INTERNATIONAL ARBITRATION ?

BY J. E. WELLS, ESQ.

Every one who has read—and who has not?—that wonderful product of imagination entitled "Looking Backward," must, it seems to me, have gone about for some time thereafter with the one short question ringing in his ear, "Why not?" Why should not every boy and girl in the United States and Canada go to school and college until twenty-one years of age? Why should

not every man and woman over twenty-one, in either country, have a work to do for the good of the community, and be placed under such conditions as would ensure that that should be the exact work for which the individual was best adapted, and that it should be done cheerfully, energetically, ungrudgingly? Why should not the whole level of social and industrial life be lifted up to a plane in which there would be no monopoly, no poverty, no invidious caste, no demoralizing luxury? Why should not the labor necessary to the universal well-being be so minimized, so subdivided, and so distributed, that every worker with hand and brain, might, at the age of forty-five, have fulfilled his duty to society and be thenceforth *functus officio*, free to follow the leadings of taste and talent to the end of his days? That would be a new paradise, indeed! We promptly label the scheme "wild," "visionary," "utopian." But why? Can any man show that, granting the conditions postulated by Mr. Bellamy, the thing is physically or intellectually unattainable? Can any one show that those conditions are, in the abstract, impossible, that they are even unreasonable? Why, the chief conditions are simply that the idle be set at work, that all unproductive and useless work be eliminated, that all useful and necessary work be distributed on a basis of justice and equality, and that natural and lawful motives be brought to bear intelligently and persistently to insure that each shall do his best. That is all. Why not? Why not?

The reason is, unhappily, not far to seek. It is essentially the same reason which accounts for nine-tenths of all the thousand and one ills that afflict humanity in society, in business, in politics, in the family, the state, the church. It is the same cause which brings it to pass that even on this democratic continent twenty thousand men in the United States possess a larger share of the total wealth of the nation than all the rest of the sixty millions; the same cause which in every land enables the few to spend their lives in luxurious idleness while the many, so often designated by that hateful word, "the masses," toil and moil for the barest pittance that will sustain life, if the pitiable and purposeless existence dragged out by myriads can be called "life." It is the self-same influence which so hinders the upward progress of humanity, that all the vaunted intelligence and science of this wonderful century have as yet been able to apply no better method for the conduct of public affairs in a free state than the enormously wasteful and intensely vicious one of government by party; no better rule for the management of all

industrial and commercial relations than that deification of human selfishness and greed known as the "law of competition;" no better system of municipal and national administration than one which notoriously results in giving over these important concerns very largely into the hands of the shrewdest schemers, the most skillful wire-pullers, the most unscrupulous self-seekers to be found in the communities.

Something, it is clear, is radically wrong. The whole social system is terribly out of joint. What is the matter? It is not, surely, the lack of intelligence, of intellectual power, of scientific knowledge. It cannot be that the people of the most enlightened and progressive countries in the world, in the last stages of this marvellous century, are not capable of devising better systems.

No. The primary cause of all these evils is not intellectual; it is moral. It has its root not in the head but in the heart of humanity. It is not that we are not wise enough to arrange all these matters a thousand times better, but that we are not good enough. It is not that we are too shortsighted or too ignorant, or too stupid, or too slothful to reform out of existence the great bulk of these social and national wrongs, but that we are, individually and collectively, too selfish. It is simply because we persist in looking, every man upon his own things, and not also upon the things of others. Why, a schoolboy in his teens could demonstrate that our boasted methods in all these matters we have named are both wasteful and wicked to an appalling extent, and could easily formulate others which would be, theoretically, vastly wiser and better. But that, alas! is not what is needed. Manifestly the cure of all these inequalities and ills must come, if it ever come, in the shape, not of new discoveries in politics and sociology, nor of unheard-of intellectual development in any direction, but in that of a great moral uplifting. The one great desideratum is not a higher culture, or a wider intelligence, or a profounder philosophy—though all these desirable things would most surely follow in its train—but a larger infusion of the essence of the Sermon on the Mount into the primary source of human feeling and action. The evils to be overcome are moral evils, their causes are moral causes, the cure must be a moral cure.

I have spent too much time in laying the foundation of my argument, and must not, as I need not, stay to point out how all that I have said applies with ten-fold force to the matter under discussion. What a pitiable spectacle must the world—in spite of

all the achievements in which we so much pride ourselves—present to the eyes of all higher intelligences ! Nineteen centuries have passed since the Gospel of Peace was proclaimed. If on the coming Christmas morning the celestial choristers should again visit our sphere, what a disappointment would await them. “Christian” Europe dotted from end to end with military camps and everywhere resounding to the tramp of millions of armed men engaged in military drill. “Christian” England, already boasting such a fleet of war-ships as the world never before saw, putting her hand afresh into the chest replenished by the dreary toil of her sons—hundreds and thousands of them destitute of the comforts and almost of the necessaries of life—and taking another hundred millions of their hard-earned dollars to build more iron-clads and manufacture more Armstrong guns. The United States of America, the giant nation of this western hemisphere, by whose side all her neighbors are as pigmies, and who sits entrenched in the heart of this vast continent, protected by a broad ocean on either side from the great fighting nations of the world—even she, prompted by the same evil spirit, or enticed by the same bad example, is saying to herself, “Go to, let us build for ourselves a mighty fleet of war-ships, and equip them, if possible, with more terrible engines of destruction than any yet invented, that we may be like the old-world nations.” Nay, Canada, herself, ere the days of her colonial minority are ended, sports her Minister of War, and our own city of Toronto, surnamed “the Good,” can think of no better mode of expressing her gratitude to the Author of her prosperity, on a Thanksgiving Day, than by a military pageant and a mimic battle in High Park.

It would be superfluous, I am sure, for me to say one word by way of showing that war, as a means of settling international difficulties, is as illogical as it is barbarous. It is hard to conceive of any man, not to say any christian, attempting to defend it. If any one should do so, it must be on general principles akin to those which lead some social or political philosophers to see in protective tariffs, in trusts and monopolies, in life and-death competitions, with all the cruel inequalities of social and economical condition these bring with them, but so many means of grace to the individual and the nation. The privations and sufferings of the many are wisely designed to call forth the sympathy and charity of the few, to whom the whole scene also affords a fine field of observation and a series of picturesque object-lessons for students of sociology. On similar grounds it may perhaps be argued that war, with all its untold miseries and

horrors, is divinely ordained to teach the suffering and bereaved not to set their affections on earthly objects, and, at the same time, to afford their earthly lords and masters a sphere for the exercise and display of their condescending pity.

Be that as it may, war, as a means of determining the right and wrong in international disputes, is, in its very nature, a hideous mockery. A national duel is not a whit more reliable as a criterion of the right than a personal duel. Modern wars, especially as they must be conducted in the future, are not even a test of physical courage or prowess. They are mainly a question of money, of numbers, and of the relative efficiency of newly-invented engines of destruction.

Nor need I spend a moment in arguing that arbitration on a just and reasonable basis, such as might quickly be found were those who have the management of such matters to set about it in honest earnest, would furnish not only a vastly better means of securing all the ends of justice and fair play, but that it is a perfectly feasible and practical thing, were these really the only ends sought. My special aim is to point out, as best I can, some of the chief obstacles to the adoption of the principle of arbitration, and what is necessary for the removal of these obstacles.

Here, let me repeat, that as those are mainly moral obstacles, so the conditions indispensable to their removal must be, primarily, moral conditions. Centuries of experience have proved that it is not enough to demonstrate the injustice and barbarity of war, and the desirability and feasibility of devising a substitute. Some way must be also found of quelling the passions which beget war, and of disposing the hearts of rulers and people to adopt the substitutes, before any great change can be effected.

International arbitration, in order to do its holy work, must be based on righteousness. It must assume that the thing really sought is simply and solely that which is just between nation and nation. But in how many historic cases would this assumption be justified? If, in any given case, this were the real, sole, honest purpose of both parties, arbitration would hardly be needed. The matter would almost surely be settled by mutual conference. Failing in that, arbitration would be welcomed. Unhappily the moving causes in the great majority of national quarrels, ancient and modern, are of a very different kind. Most wars are the outcome of national jealousies, or racial prejudices and hates, or they are fought for the aggrandizement of a despot, or the perpetuation of a dynasty, or the acquisition of territory, or the grat-

ification of that poor, petty, narrow, nondescript sentiment yclept "national honor." The rule is, in national as in social life, that it takes two to make a quarrel, both usually in the wrong. Would the United States and Canada have continued to wrangle for long years over the question of the Atlantic fisheries had both of them—I had almost said had either of them—sought simply what is fair and friendly as between people and people—had they, in other words, been as intent upon acting in the spirit of the Golden Rule, as in securing each for itself, the most favorable interpretation of an old treaty? How long would the Behring's Sea dispute continue to be a source of irritation and danger, were a sincere desire to respect the rights of others to displace for a month the impulses of national greed? As a rule the policy of modern nations, even those called christian, is one of unmitigated selfishness. Not only so; it is one of avowed selfishness. A man of high moral character, above all an intelligent christian man, would blush to confess that in his dealings with his neighbor he acted on purely selfish principles, yet a so-called Christian Government will not only confess it and glory in it, but will make the success of the policy the basis of confident appeal for the support of its christian constituents. And when one christian nation has succeeded by diplomacy, chicanery, or war in getting the better of another, the patriotic multitudes will shout their pæans, and even the Christian Churches will chant their loud *Te Deums*.

I confess that I cannot be sanguine of the success of any system of international arbitration so long as governments continue to act on such principles. We are all agreed that better things are to be hoped for from Great Britain and the United States than from any other nations in Christendom. We fully believe that if ever the grand principle of arbitration between nations shall be adopted and observed, these two must lead the way. And yet are we not bound to confess that the two chief instances in which these two nations have tried the method have been far from successful in the highest sense? The arbitrations may have prevented worse results, but they failed to make either upon the two people concerned, or upon other nations, the best moral impression—such a moral impression as was needed to give a great impulse to the arbitration movement. Why so? Was it not because in each case the conviction was left that the one had succeeded by questionable means in getting the better of the other? Who can make an Englishman believe that his country was fairly dealt with so long as those millions of Brit-

ish gold lie unused, unappropriated, unclaimed in the national coffer at Washington? Who can persuade an American citizen that the award of the Halifax Commission, from the interest of which a handsome bonus is still being paid every year to the fishermen of the Maritime Provinces, was not an excessive and unjust award? I do not undertake to say whether the conviction is right or wrong in either case. What I wish to point out is that such were the impressions left behind; that these impressions derive a certain color and probability from the manner and the spirit in which the cause of the winning party was, in each case, prosecuted before the arbitrators, and that the existence of these impressions has done and is doing much to hinder the progress of the arbitration movement, so far at least as these two nations are concerned.

My contention then is that an essential condition of the successful extension and universal application of the principle of arbitration as a substitute for war, is a change for the better in the spirit of the national governments. If the motives and aims of the men who control the foreign policy and conduct the diplomatic intercourse of any two or more nations were of the highest, the genuine Christian type, the problem of perpetual peace and good will between those two nations would be solved. Men who mutually sought only what was just for their own people, and who had a genuine regard for the rights of their neighbors, would find it easy to reach a basis of settlement, in any international difficulty. There is a fountain of divine philosophy in that saying of the Teacher: "If thine eye be single thy whole body shall be full of light." Of course, I have in mind specially those countries which have responsible leaders and representative institutions, though the same principle would apply, *mutatis mutandis*, with equal force to oligarchies and despotisms. But in this, as in all other great reforms, the nations which have popular systems of government must lead the way.

The primary responsibility for wars, and the contentions which are only less harmful than wars, rests with our governments. But who makes the government? Do they not in these self-ruling nations represent the people? May we not say, "Like people, like government?" If not, why not? The stream cannot rise above its source. If our governments do not fairly and truly represent the nation, whose fault is it? Evidently the people's—ours. In a real and practical sense it must be true that the spirit and methods of our governments do fairly represent the spirit and methods of the people. That is to say,

they represent the spirit and methods of that portion of the people who, by a kind of tacit consent—a lazy or cowardly consent, if you please—on the part of those who are or should be moved by higher aims and ambitions, are permitted to elect our legislatures and congresses and parliaments. If our rulers are not, in their intercourse with those of other nations, actuated by a supreme love of righteousness and peace; if they rather are moved by the low impulses of national vanity, or prejudice, or grasping avarice, or some other unworthy passion, it must be because that kind of thing best pleases those who elect them and keep them in power. If our cities and towns give over the management of their municipal affairs largely into the hands of saloon keepers, ward politicians, and men of that ilk, it must be because we, the citizens, so will it, directly or indirectly, positively or tacitly, by action or by inaction. And as we sow so must we reap. If we allow the saloon and the machine to become the dominant forces in our politics, it is but reasonable and just that we should have saloon and machine rule. And so it is in the larger life of the nation.

Let me gather up the preceding links in this short chain, before proceeding to forge the final one. The primary reason why so-called christian nations continue to settle their difficulties by war, or, which is only less evil, by maintaining and constantly increasing mighty armaments, for the noble purpose, as we are constantly assured on the highest authority, of preserving peace, instead of relying upon righteousness and sweet reasonableness, is because the rulers and governments of the nations are not the kind of men who prefer justice and peace to selfish ambitions and national aggrandizement. And these national rulers are such as they are because the people as a national whole prefer and choose to be led by that kind of men. They do not love justice and peace better than aggrandizement and glory, and they elect leaders like-minded with themselves. If the Bismarcks and Salisburys and Blaines were men of the highest type—men who had gone in spirit up the mountain side and taken into their very hearts the principles of the divine philosophy, which says, "Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you do ye even so to them," how long before wars would cease to the ends of the earth? But had the Salisburys and the Blaines and the Bismarcks been men of that stamp, how long would it have been before they could have attained their present positions? What kind of politician does the average American or Canadian, for instance, seek out to represent him in the national councils?

How many really make moral, not to say religious, qualities, of the highest kind, a first consideration—a *sine qua non*?

Must I not go a step further? Why do not constituencies insist on having men of the very highest moral type as their rulers and representatives? Must I not answer, sadly but truthfully, because the Christian Churches have not yet effectually leavened the communities in which they exist, with the first principle of christianity on its man-ward side—that great law of love of which the Golden Rule is the God-given test and the Sermon on the Mount, the authoritative exposition. The salt of the earth has not yet permeated society.

Let us leave for the moment the outside world out of the account. Am I not justified in asserting that if the members of the Christian Churches in England, the United States and Canada, were all agreed in setting the highest value upon moral and religious character in electing representatives to their respective parliaments, war between these people would at once become a moral impossibility.

Am I not justified in assuming that the law of righteousness and love laid down in the New Testament, that law which teaches all who would obey it to cherish the same tender regard for the rights of others which they have for their own, is the only basis on which a system of international arbitration can be successfully built? Suppose that the Great Powers could now be induced to disband their armies, and agree to settle all future disputes by arbitration, how could the decision of such a tribunal be enforced, should some disappointed government wilfully disregard it? Arguments thus reached between individuals may be enforced by judicial processes. But what, save a profound sense of right, could coerce a great nation in such a case, without war? And what shall cultivate this sense of right, what shall develop this sensitiveness of national conscience, what shall bring the national character up to this high ideal, but Christianity. Surely the churches are not fully alive to their tremendous responsibility for their influence in moulding the character of their respective nations and governments!

I do not, of course, maintain that churches, as such, should enter the political arena even for the purpose of imbuing the people and the rulers with the principles of the gospel of peace. In this, as in all great moral movements, the unit of influence and power is the individual. What have the members of our Christian Churches done in the direction indicated? That they have done much I gladly admit. But taking them as a whole,

trying them by the law of averages, have they proved by their works their own faiths in the principles of the Royal Law? It is one of the most plausible and hackneyed cries of modern scepticism that the religion of Christ is not *practical*, and that those who call themselves His people do not attempt to follow His teachings in practical life. Sociologists and other scientists have written elaborate essays to prove the impracticability of Christ's precepts considered as laws for the government of everyday life, and a few years ago a somewhat clever author wrote a whole volume of fiction to show that a man who should attempt to follow those laws in the ordinary affairs of life would make himself a kind of Simple Simon, a laughing-stock for the matter-of-fact community.

Does not the average christian by his conduct afford ground for such a reproach. Does the average minister hold up the Royal Law in his pulpit and out of it, as one who has absolute faith in it as a workable rule in practical life? Does the average deacon or other church officer observe this law in a large, generous, unmistakable fashion in his conduct of either church or private affairs? Does the average private member, of whatever degree, as doctor, lawyer, merchant, manufacturer, farmer, mechanic, member of society, municipality or state, truly and unequivocally act upon it, substituting it for the common, worldly, rule of seeking first the interests of self in all transactions of whatever kind?

Let me suggest the application of these questions to the subject in hand by a single illustration. In these christian nations the members of the churches are largely responsible, not only for the educational influences thrown around their own children in their homes, but for those which do so much to mould the ductile minds of those who, in a few years, will give character to the nation, in the public schools. What is the tone and tendency of most of the vaunted patriotism inculcated in school and college exercises and text books? What is the influence of much of our Fourth of July and First of July orations and celebrations? What, to take a Canadian example, is the educational influence of the parades of the school boys, whom we are accustomed to see once a year marching through our streets in martial array, decked with their wooden swords and guns and other paraphernalia of mimic war?

Do these exercises tend to inspire the coming generation with a horror of war as a relic of barbarism, an outcome of unrighteousness? The young imagination is a tinder-box. We all

know how readily it takes fire at the touch of these suggestive emblems and evolutions. Can we hope that our children, trained thus from the cradle to regard war as something normal and altogether glorious, will grow up champions of the tame arbitrament of peace?

One more illustration. What is the general influence on the cause of international arbitration of our newspaper press—that mighty modern agency for moulding public sentiment? Passing by the secular let me take the religious press. What is its tone? Why it has often seemed to me when any fishery or other irritation arises between Canada and the United States, that some of our foremost denominational papers are often among the very last to admit that there may be two sides to the question, and among the foremost in stimulating bitter feeling against their neighbors. Is this a libellous impression? Are not our religious leader writers quite too fearful lest their nation should appear lacking in spirit to resent an injury or contend for a right? The most judicial fairness, the most conciliatory spirit, the frankest readiness to admit a wrong—these they may be ready to commend as the highest manliness in the individual, but in the nation—hardly. They do not often advocate the heaping coals of fire upon the head of a national adversary. How often do we hear such a sentiment as “Our Country—right or wrong!” held up as the very ideal of patriotism.

If these things are so, and to whatever extent they are so, must we not confess with pain and shame that the blame lies in a large measure at the door of the christian churches? Had churches and church members done their duty, had they lived up to their creed, had they caught and reflected the glorious inspiration of the-Sermon-on-the-Mount philosophy, the nations would have long since been inoculated with a better spirit. Some of us may not be prepared to go quite so far as did Dr. Thomas Chase, in his address before the Peace Association of Friends, in New York, in 1869, but none can deny that there is too much truth in his stern and impassioned arraignment. Let me quote a paragraph:

“But, my friends, this evil, war, would not continue to exist in christian communities a day, an hour longer, if the good christian men of every country were once to look at it in its true light, and to recognize and acknowledge its monstrous criminality. I therefore do now solemnly arraign the professed Church of Christ on the earth, in all its divisions and parties, save a few comparatively small bodies who have borne a faithful testimony

in this regard—I arraign the Churches of Christendom as guilty of all the crime and woe which the continuance of this barbarous institution entails upon the world. The white robes of the Bride of Christ should be pure and spotless; but they have been dragged in blood. The skirts of the visible church are polluted with the gore of the battlefield, and stained with the tears of the orphan and the widow. War, it has well been said, seems to aim at setting up the kingdom of Satan in the earth; and yet the church is its very bulwark. It says Godspeed to the warrior as he sets out on his mission of death. It asks God's blessing on the impending fight. It offers its thanksgivings at almost every shrine in the land, for victories bought by murder. On this subject it is not a Christian, it is a Pagan Church. Therefore I charge upon the professing church the responsibility for all the blood, the groans, the pillage, the rapine, the cruel waste and oppression which war inflicts upon society; for *one word from her* would stop them all. I make this charge with no bitterness, and in perfect charity; but I make it in all seriousness and solemnity."

In thus maintaining that the foundation principles, upon which alone we may hope to see a system of international arbitration successfully built up, must be laid broad and deep in the individual christian life, and patiently inwrought into all our educational agencies of every description, I would not have it thought that I deem it necessary or wise to defer all organized effort to secure the adoption of such a system until these foundation influences shall have wrought their perfect work. Far from it. I recognize in direct, persistent and organized effort to secure the adoption of the principle, first by Great Britain, the United States and Canada, and then by other nations, one of the most potent and promising of all educational agencies. I would that at every great gathering of the representatives of the Christian Churches everywhere, and of whatever name, this should be made a prominent topic of discussion. Why not? Can any man name a worthier one? Here, too, is a noble field for concerted action among christian denominations for a mighty, practical manifestation of that essential unity, that unity of love and loyalty to the Master, which is vastly more practicable and more desirable than any form of union, or any compromise in the direction of uniformity can possibly be. Why should not every Church Congress, Conference, Convention, Synod, in America and Great Britain, agree to make this one of the great objects to be unitedly sought and promoted? Why should not all the evangelical churches of Christendom, thus acting in concert, keep memorializing the gov-

ernments of the great nations year after year, year after year, on behalf of this grand world-reform? A great joint committee, constituted to secure uniform and united action for such an end as this, would have a sphere of operation much more hopeful and, may I not say, much more in accord with the spirit of New Testament Christianity than that of any which might be formed for the purpose of paring down the discrepancies of man-made creeds, and dove-tailing into each other discrepant dogmas about apostolic succession. In carrying out such a plan the organized effort and the individual faith and practice would act and react upon each other. The processes of individual and of national education would be carried on simultaneously, and the ultimate triumph of the peace-principle would be assured. There is not a government in Christendom that could long resist the pressure that could be brought to bear by the united influence of the Christian Churches of that nation."

There is no cause for despair or pessimism. The fact that so much remains to be done does not argue that much has not been accomplished. Far from it. The disarmament of civilized nations and the settlement of all disputes by peaceable arbitration is but a question of time. It is nearer to-day than it has ever been before. Influences many and mighty are at work to forward it. This Baptist Congress will add its quota to the momentum of the movement. It will do so most effectually if the discussion of the question leaves each one of us with a stronger faith in the efficacy and the applicability of the grand principles laid down by Christ, and with a firmer determination to do all in our power, individually, to widen the sphere of their application in our own localities and our own lives.

Let us have faith in the power of these great principles. Truth is mighty and must prevail. One of the hopeful signs of the times is the tendency everywhere manifest to make the Christianity of the day more and more an *applied* Christianity. Never, probably, since apostolic times, was the religion of Christ so intensely practical as it is to-day. The kingdom is coming in very deed.

The progress of a great moral reform, such as that we are discussing, is like that of the Atlantic tides. My boyhood was passed on the shore of an arm of the Bay of Fundy. I used sometimes while playing on the beach to delight to watch and measure the advance of the incoming waves. Ever and anon a great billow would dash upon the shore and roll its foaming waters a foot or two farther up the shelving shore than any

which had gone before it. I would mark the foam line left by its receding waters with pebbles, and wait for another advance. For a time it would seem as if the high water limit had been reached and the tides were receding. Wave after wave would in succession fall short of my row of pebbles. Meanwhile the mighty ocean was heaving and throbbing under the operation of a mighty unseen force. While it was seemingly receding the whole bulk of its great mass was being raised to a higher level, and its resistless energies were being steadily collected. Presently another great billow would sweep majestically shoreward and, dashing aside my petty landmarks, would send its foam-crested waters a foot farther up the sloping beach.

There was a time, after the close of the long succession of wars which came to an end in 1815, when the prospects of international arbitration seemed good. The minds of the people of various lands, exhausted and shocked with the terrible struggles through which the nations had passed, turned instinctively to inquire for a less barbarous method of settling disputes. Since that time, history records about sixty instances in which the principle of arbitration was more or less successfully applied. But during the past twenty or twenty-five years little observable progress has been made. The tide of the peace reform has seemed to be receding, until, to the superficial observer, in the presence of the world's vast, and still increasing armaments, the case just now seems almost hopeless. But the indications to which I have referred, the great ferment of thought and the unwonted activity in works of love and mercy, in the churches and out of them—the grand, growing tendency to apply christian principles in every-day life—what are these but prophecies of good things to come? The whole level of christian thought is, I fully believe, being uplifted. Possibly another great European conflagration must first come. But the unseen forces are at work. They must ere long send a great tidal wave of moral influence sweeping along the shores and up to the headwaters of all the rivers and rivulets of national life. May we not confidently expect that these great armaments and other paraphernalia of outrageous war shall be among the first of the old landmarks to be swept away into the oblivion of the great deep in which the dead past buries its dead?

THE CHAIRMAN :

I am very glad to be able to announce that we have with us now a gentleman whose presence we greatly missed yesterday—

Dr. Schurman, of Cornell. (Applause.) Will Dr. Schurman kindly come forward and address the audience ?

Dr. SCHURMAN came forward, and received a hearty welcome. He said : Mr. President, may I have the privilege of a word of personal explanation before I begin the address ?

THE CHAIRMAN : Certainly, sir.

Dr. SCHURMAN : I was on the programme to join in the discussion last evening, and broke my engagement. It is at least inconvenient, and to me always personally painful to do so, and I wish to offer an explanation which I believe will be taken by the audience as sufficient apology. A student of mine, who had done advanced work in Cornell University with me in Philosophy, who had become personally known, and to whom I was greatly attached, was taken ill during the summer, and his doctor told me that life, with him, for any long time, was impossible. Recognizing that the end was near, he made arrangements for me, and expressed a desire that I should attend his funeral and deliver the funeral address. By a sad and unexpected coincidence, I was yesterday delivering the funeral address at the very time when I was down on the programme to speak here. I had to break one engagement or the other. I preferred to remain faithful to my obligations to the dead. The subject on which I was to speak yesterday was a very different one from that which is now before the house, and on which I believe I am to have ten minutes to address you.

THE CHAIRMAN : Under the circumstances I know the Congress will be very glad to give Prof. Schurman the twenty or twenty-five minutes to which he would have been entitled yesterday—(applause)—and it is suggested that if the professor is prepared to speak on his original topic, and prefers to do so, he is at full liberty to do it. (Applause.)

Prof. SCHURMAN : I certainly cannot complain of the manner in which the Congress receives my explanation and apology ; but, confining myself to the subject in hand, some thoughts were suggested to me while the papers were being read, to which I will now give expression. I was delighted, and I noticed that the Congress was delighted, with the eloquence and profundity of the first paper ; and when the speaker had concluded, and his words were still tingling in my ears, I felt that Paradise was already near ; that we were in a world where every man's hand was not against his fellow, but joined with it in fraternal em-

brace. My friend, Mr. Wells, brought me back to earth again by his very thorough, exhaustive, and, as I think, dispassionate analysis of the facts of the case as they are on this globe of ours. For we are not, in this matter, dealing with disembodied spirits in other worlds, but with man as he exists here and now; and I was glad that Mr. Wells, in the last part of his paper called attention to a fact which any one versed in the movements of thought and politics in the present day cannot be blind to—that the principle of arbitration, which seemed to the first speaker a panacea for so many international ills, has already fallen into disrepute and discredit. The Americans are dissatisfied with the Halifax award, and the British are dissatisfied with the Geneva award; and, what is more, a great jurist who has had a long experience in Indian administration, and who made for himself a name among the foremost writers on Comparative Jurisprudence in his generation—I mean the late Sir Henry Maine—in a volume on International Law, published shortly after his death, speaks of the principle of arbitration with the greatest hopelessness—hopelessness almost bordering on despair. It seems to me well that that fact should be recognized, and that we should get back, where Mr. Wells so effectively, as it seemed to me, brought us back, to the hard facts of this hard human life as we have it here and now; and one of the facts that in this connection seems to me so important is this, that the principle of arbitration, as a means of avoiding war, has fallen, in modern times, into general discredit. Do I then lose hope? Am I then justified in concluding that the Kingdom of God, which is a kingdom of peace, is not coming in the world? God forbid. One means may prove unavailing; but the curious, ingenious mind of man can devise still other means which may hereafter be effective; and when I look back on the long history of our struggling race I am not discouraged. Every nation, so far as history will take us back—Greek, Roman, Jew, Oriental—every nation goes back to a time when every man's hand was against his fellow—when, if there was peace within a tribe or clan, war between clans was as much a recognized order of society as peace between nations is now-a-days recognized as the proper order of society. And the whole course of human history, as I understand it, had consisted essentially in the enlargement of that area within which war shall be forbidden; and so there have grown up in the course of, I know not how many thousand or tens of thousands of years, instead of an infinitude of petty clans with whom the normal condition of things was war, a relatively small number

of great nations with whom the normal condition of things is peace. That is a fact which encourages me when I survey the history of the race, and I think of the great wars which, in our own generation, have been waged on the earth. I can see, as I survey the course of mankind, that we have advanced from a very remote period in which war was the normal condition, and a matter of daily occurrence, to a status in which war is an abnormal condition, and a matter of unusual occurrence—from a period in which war was considered right, and the desire to avoid it branded as cowardice, to a time in which peace is considered right, and a desire to cherish and maintain it, and to avoid war, an essential part of our religion. (Applause.) That encourages me. And so I say, with that fact before me, though arbitration, or any other particular means which in the past has been helpful, may to-day or in the future seem unavailing, I for one refuse to lose heart in the complete moralization and christianization of mankind. But while I cherish that hope of a future—possibly a far distant future—when war shall be no more, I cannot with sincerity, with honesty, believe that that time is near, or that the most effective way of bringing it about to believe or to assert that it is near. So long as you have different grades of civilization—the northern people, let us say, believing in freedom and national unity, and the southern people believing—let me say it honestly—believing as sincerely in the institution of slavery and in the supremacy of individual States of the Union, so long is war inevitable. Did you, ladies and gentlemen of Toronto, who in 1885 sent your sons to the northwest—some of whom never returned—to maintain Canadian nationality in its unity, to maintain the supremacy and authority of your single government, did you for a moment think you were doing wrong, or that war was an institution which, at present, in your generation or the next generation, could be dispensed with? Far from it. So long—as Mr. Wells has put it—so long as the Golden Rule has not regenerated the heart of mankind—re-shaped it—so long as selfishness asserts itself against self-sacrifice and generosity and nobility of character—so long will war be needed within the area of States, to suppress rebellion, and so long will it be needed between different States to put down the lower civilizations that are always ready—in the past have been ready—to assert themselves against the higher civilizations. I cannot, therefore, Mr. President, for the life of me—though I should be glad to do it—agree with the first speaker, that the kingdom of peace is near, and might, without any inconvenience,

be set up at the present day, if only certain laws were passed or the principle of arbitration were accepted. Without a thorough re-casting of human nature, which it is going to take thousands of years, it seems to me, to bring about, war will remain what it is to-day—practically unavoidable. Am I then pessimistic? No. I would only seek to bring back attention to what seems to me the source of the evil—to bring back attention to certain practical arrangements which we can undertake now for the mitigation of war, cherishing a hope that in the distant future war may be utterly abrogated; and I have often thought—and as an Anglo-Saxon have been proud of it—that there is a glorious place reserved for all our Anglo-Saxon speaking people—Britain, the United States and Canada—in taking the great step forward in the mitigation of the evils of war. Let me illustrate. At the beginning of history, as I have said, every man's hand was against his fellow. Some individual in a tribe insults an individual in another tribe. Every man in the one tribe is at war with every other man in the other tribe, and the war continues until the evil has been avenged. In the course of history we notice the limitation of actual warfare to certain select proportions of the tribe, to what are called "combatants," or actual belligerents. In our own Christian countries, especially in later times, the proportion of individuals in any nation who take actual part in conflict is infinitesimal, almost, in comparison with the large number of the population who remain at home cultivating the soil and engaging in other pursuits. We have managed to restrict the range of warfare within certain ranges and classes; and we have asserted that the rights of the rest, even of the belligerents, are as sacred during the warfare as the rights of neutrals themselves.

Now, that limitation and restriction of range has been carried out most effectually in land warfare. Naval warfare is to-day very much nearer the savagery from which it and land warfare are both descended than land warfare is. England, the English colonies, and the United States in the future, if not to-day, are the great naval powers of the world. It seems to me open to those powers to take a step which will not bring in that millennium of peace of which some of you dream, but which will nevertheless restrict the range of war, and mitigate the evils of actual warfare. What are they? What is the practical step which may be taken? It is this, as it seems to me. In fact, some advance was made about a generation ago by the American Government, when it insisted, as a principle of international

law, that in case of conflict between two nations the commerce of the nations should be as unlimited as the commerce of neutrals; whereas, as the law now stands, if a war breaks out, let us say, between England and Russia, Russian cruisers may attack not only the man-of-war of the British navy, but every commercial or trading vessel of the British navy from London to British Columbia, and to the uttermost parts of the earth. If, now, naval warfare could be so restricted in its range and scope so that only the men-of-war should be actually engaged, and the trade and commerce might go on between the belligerents as it goes on amongst the neutrals, that, surely, Mr. President, would be an enormous step in advance, although it would be still far from that millennium which we all desire. I have said the United States took a step in advance a generation ago when it asserted that this principle of neutrality, not only of neutral commerce, but the neutrality of belligerent commerce, should be recognized as a principle of international law. England opposed it. Other European powers opposed it, and so the matter has been dropped. Meantime, the United States merchant marine has been almost wiped out from the seas, and the United States has no particular interest in urging the question; but you in Toronto, we of Canada, have interest in urging the question, and the greatest interest; and this is where, as it seems to me, Canada, although still not an independent nationality, might make its voice felt in the counsels of the nations, in the establishment of a beneficent principle of international law. I do not see why the Canadian Government might not reason thus with the British Government: "You oppose the neutrality of belligerent commerce. Suppose a war breaks out between you and Russia about the Indian frontier, then Canadian commerce is attacked—attacked just as completely as English commerce. Who knows what the results of such an attack might be on Canadian commerce when Canada is not at war with Russia or any other power?" Who knows, if the Canadian Government were to make such representations to the British Government, and insist that, as a matter of necessity, for the safety of Canada in the future, as a precautionary measure for maintaining the integrity of the Empire, this great principle of the neutrality of belligerent commerce which the American Government thirty years ago asserted, might actually become, through our instrumentality, a part of international law, or the law of nations. Would not that be a thing of which we should all be proud? It would be such a step in the morals of the race as will, at any

rate, prepare the way for the millennium of peace to which we are all too prone to make short cuts. Well, Mr. President, history is long, and Providence does not always take the shortest line—not always a straight line; and if by this curve or some other curve only a slight advance might be made towards that goal which we all have at heart, I, at least, should be satisfied, and still keep intact my faith that the Kingdom of God would ultimately come, but for us to-day not here, but a matter of warfare to bring it here. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN :

Before the close of the Congress, if we follow out the methods of former years, we shall hear from the Chairman of the Executive Committee an address in reference to all the subjects which have been discussed from the beginning of the sessions; and so we also shall have a response from some member of the Local Executive Committee. This being the case, it hardly seems prudent to open this question for discussion to-night, because the time would pass in discussion so rapidly as to compel an unseemly adjournment of this august assembly. Let us at once lift our hearts to the Prince of Peace, and at the same time rest our somewhat wearied bodies and minds,—both excited and wearied by the intense interest of the papers and the subject, by singing the 112th hymn, “Hail to the Lord’s Anointed.” Surely this hymn voices the underlying, and I think the triumphant, sentiment of this Congress from the beginning to the end.

After singing, the Chairman said: I will now call upon the Rev. Dr. ELDER, the Chairman of the Executive Committee, to address the Congress.

Rev. Dr. ELDER, who was received with applause, said:

Mr. Chairman,—I don’t wonder that people began to leave the moment you said I was going to make a speech that would touch all the topics we have been discussing for three days. It was a formidable suggestion; enough to scare everybody out of the house. It were a fine thing indeed if any man could stand here and settle all the vexed questions we have been over; but my duty is chiefly to say a few pleasant things that might lie in the minds of any one of you in reference to these meetings. I am sorry, as we all are, that we have had such inclement skies. We are used to it down in New York, where we have had a succession of rainy Sundays; but here I understand you

have had quite a pleasant fall. I am very sorry that we brought our unpleasant weather with us. But we have had some very enjoyable meetings, nevertheless, and the attendance, all things considered, has been quite encouraging. I don't think any one is going away with lacerated feelings unless, as, Dr. Hatcher said last year at Richmond, they have left their feelings lying around loose, for people to trample on them. The Secretary, to be sure, has rung down the speakers; but that is a thoroughly impersonal duty. The Secretary boasts, by the way, this is a Richmond bell; but if the rest of the Richmond belles do not speak up louder on leap-year, the sound of their marriage bell, I am afraid, will be a good way off. (Laughter.) The debates for the most part have been very well sustained. During two of the sessions, when I occupied the chair, there were nine or ten speakers following the regular appointees who opened the debate. Sometimes I began to tremble a little; but the barrel of meal and the cruse of oil did not fail. Some of those sprightly ushers went about the house, and they would come back with a handful of names, till I felt like saying to them, as Naomi said to Ruth, "Where hast thou gleaned to-day?" (Laughter.) Two or three of the brethren have come on rather frequently—(Laughter)—but then it has been pure good nature on their part—(renewed laughter)—and out of the fullness of their hearts. They have not been like the horse or the mule, which have no understanding, whose trappings must be bit or bridle, or else they will not come near to you. We did not have to use the halter, for they came right up willingly. (Laughter.) I was reminded of an inscription which I copied in Bunhill Fields Cemetery, in London, two or three years ago, from the sarcophagus of one Dame Mary Page, which set forth very pathetically that "In 67 months she was tapped 66 times; had taken away 240 gallons of water, without ever repining at her case, or even fearing the operation." These brethren certainly have shown great resignation in the way they have submitted to repeated tapping. (Laughter.)

It were well, however, if a larger number could be led to participate in the debates of these Congresses. I have no doubt that there were numbers of noble brethren here fully competent adequately to discuss these themes that would have been brought before us. Some of them were loaded to the muzzle, but they were afraid to pull the trigger. (Laughter.) So the time passed on, and others would step up and take their places; and thus, through their timidity, their eloquence and wisdom has been lost

to the Congress and to the world. I hope they will do better at another time. It does tax one's courage a little, though, to come upon the platform, because no man knows what may come after him. It is not as when we stand up in the pulpit at home, and there is no chance to "jaw back," as somebody says; we can say what we please with impunity—(laughter)—but the man who speaks here is likely to find somebody following him who is going to measure swords with him, and he may find himself worsted in the encounter of wits and of logic; the log that he is standing on may suddenly roll over, and he goes under. (Laughter.) The rapier thrust that he is giving may be parried and his own breast punctured. Some repartee may turn the tables on him, where he had hoped to gain a victory; and he will be very much in the condition of the Irishman who undertook to administer some medicine to his mistress' sick pony; he put it in the feeding trough first, "but the pony," he said, "ate all around it and left the powdther. And thin," said he, "I got a big glass tube, and I put the powdther in the tube, and I backed the pony in a corner; and thin I put one end of the tube in his mouth, but just as I was going to blow it down his throat, the knowin' baste he breathed first, and now the powdther is in me instead of in him." (Great laughter.) But, nevertheless, as one of the speakers said, it is by this collision of minds that the truth is elicited. I have seen it stated that the quarry of marble out of which the magnificent temple of Ephesus was built was discovered through the encounter between two goats, the head of one of them striking the side of the hill and breaking off the dull earth and rock and disclosing the inestimable marble beneath. And so in the collisions upon this platform; some quarry of truth may be disclosed which will furnish us valuable thoughts for a whole year to come. As we crossed the line the other morning, a mild-mannered man came through the cars and began to look over our baggage. We were ready for him. (Laughter.) Custom houses weary me. I was put to enough discomfort in New York two years ago to convert the most rabid protectionist into a radical free-trader. (Laughter.) But there was some baggage which that man could not search. There were some things more valuable than wools and cottons and codfish, that he could not find, and on which there was no duty. We brought them here to this house, and we have spread our mental goods before you during the past three days (hear, hear), and we are going to take back rich products which you have given to us; and no prying custom-house officer shall interfere. (Applause.) Whether we can

agree or no on a schedule of duties on cotton, or grain, or other goods, there must be, and, thank God, there is, a perfect reciprocity in ideas; and we will cross the border with the best that God has given us, and give it to you, and take back what you shall give to us. While they are curiously peering into baggage and searching up and down the line for forbidden goods, there are crossing back and forth ideas that will revolutionize nations. And may this Congress contribute to the time when ideas that make for peace shall be dominant throughout our land. (Applause.)

I take it that the object of this Baptist Congress is truth. Some people may have looked on it merely as a place for the airing of heresy. If that is the correct view, then count me out. I have no objection to the heresy, if any man wants to air it. Things certainly can be stated here that could not be said in our pulpits, and we invite men to say them. If they think that they have traveled a little farther along the road than their fellows let them come out with their advanced thoughts, and see whether they square with the eternal truth of God's Word as others see it. But I take it that the object of this Congress is primarily and ultimately to discover truth; and if there is any airing of heresy it is that the heresy may be condemned, so that the truth shall come out into the clearer light. If, however, we are to magnify truth we must magnify Christ. He is truth. "For this cause," He says, "was I born, and to this end did I come into the world, that I might bear witness unto the truth." That was a noble discussion we had yesterday morning on "Christian Consciousness," but, I take it, the only Christian Consciousness worth having is the consciousness of Christ in us—the consciousness that we are united with Him vitally as the branch to the vine, so that we can say, with the apostle, "I live, yet I no longer, but Christ liveth in me." When a man's own personality, as it were, shall sink in that of Christ, and Christ rules him in his inmost thought.

Now a man who occupies that position cannot go far astray from essential truth. The truth of God and his own consciousness will be as one. In doing the will of Christ he will know of the doctrine. In the words of Christ he will see the mind of God. In the person of Christ he will see revealed the essential nature of God. In what Christ feels and thinks and does he will know what God thinks and feels and does. His theology will be Christocentric and therefore symmetrical as well as systematic. Grant, for example, that there is nothing between the

covers of the Bible that tells us directly that infants are saved ; but when you look at the Lord Jesus Christ taking the little infants in His arms, and putting His hands upon them and blessing them, and know that He is God, will you believe that "there are infants in hell a span long?" That is the way God feels toward little infants ; and if there is anything in the Word of God that justifies your intuitions that all infants are saved, it must be found largely in that incident.

Or, when you witness Christ weeping over the doomed city, on whose inhabitants He had pronounced such dreadful woes, there you learn that God is merciful, and that if any man in christian lands, or heathen lands, goes down to death, he goes down to death in spite of the tears of God—that God will do all He can to save all men. But, mark, you must take Christ all around if you would know God, and not merely study His tenderer words. If you will accompany Christ to Olivet, where He weeps over Jerusalem, if you will look upon Him as He gathers the little children in His arms, go with Him also as He stands before men and tells them that they shall die in their sins ; stand by His side as He points us up to the Great White Throne and pronounces in advance the words of doom—"These shall go away into everlasting punishment." Take the words of Christ all around, and then you have the truth just as God intends you to hold it. Preach a sermon sometimes, brethren, on the Calvinism of Christ.

Much was said here with regard to the defaced image of God in man ; and about the image of God being obliterated ; that man was like a broken mirror, and so forth. Try another illustration. The most wonderful invention of modern times, perhaps, is the phonograph. On a hardened cylinder of wax there are inscribed by a needle fine lines which record the sounds, whether of eloquence or of music, which may have been uttered into the mouth-piece of the instrument. Suppose you take one of those cylinders of wax and put it into the hands of one who never heard or conceived of the phonograph ; he looks at these faint lines and wonders at their meaning ; he rolls the cylinder about, but it does not give up its secret ; he strikes it, but still the mystery is there. It is only when he puts it back into the instrument, where these lines had their birth, and properly adjusts its action, that their meaning is known. And so God made man in His own image ; he was conceived in the bosom of God ; and while man lay in the bosom of God there was inwrought into him a consciousness of God, instincts of filial affections,

yearnings for holiness, that are still there, in germ at least. But man has lost God ; he has been removed from the bosom of the Father ; he does not understand himself ; he looks upon all these instincts and yearnings of his nature, and does not know what to make of them. But put man back where he belongs—in God, through Christ, and all these mysteries of his seeing find their solution. Then his inarticulate groanings shape themselves into conscious cries of “Abba, Father ;” into definite yearnings for fellowship with God, and the soul is flooded with the melody of gratitude and peace. Let it be ours, brethren, to find God in Christ, that we may find ourselves, and know ourselves, and have fellowship with the truth. I know of no other Scripture phrase that is comparable with that little expression, “In Christ.” It is the Alpha and the Omega of our theology, the key of the plan of salvation. We may talk of being saved “by Christ,” and “through Christ,” but they are both “in Christ.” And when we are in Him we shall understand ourselves, and know the truth, and be able to give forth utterances that have no tinge of heresy, but which shall be recognized in every truth-loving heart as the very mind of God. Here is unity for ourselves and for the Church of Christ everywhere.

There remains but the pleasant duty which was assigned me by the General Committee, of extending the thanks of the Congress, first, to the Vice-President, who has presided with so much grace at several of our sessions—all that his engagements would permit him to attend—and who has furthermore contributed so largely to the interest of the meetings by his participation in the debates ; and to the pastor of this church ; and to the Local Committee, who have so nobly co-operated with him in making the arrangements whereby this Congress has been so successfully carried on ; and especially to the citizens of Toronto, who have entertained us with such royal hospitality. I suppose my case has not been exceptional ; and if not, then indeed have we been entertained like princes.

Southern hospitality is proverbial, and was most happily illustrated in our entertainment at Richmond last year. But this frosty latitude seems to have no effect on your hearts save to make them the warmer. And our Richmond friends might well look to their laurels if they could know how delightful we have been entertained in this goodly City of Toronto. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: I have pleasure in calling upon the Rev. Mr. **ELMORE HARRIS**, to respond in behalf of the Local Committee.

Mr. **HARRIS** said :

Mr. Chairman and Christian Friends :

Owing to the fact that at the beginning of this Congress the address of welcome most naturally fell from the lips of the honored pastor of this church, I was selected to say a few words on behalf of the Local Committee at the conclusion of these gatherings. I may say, frankly, that we as a committee were exceedingly nervous about what we might hear in connection with the discussion of these important topics. Just as Dr. Elder said, the impression has gone abroad that it was a place where heresy might be aired without let or hindrance ; but I think I am voicing the sentiment of every person who has attended these gatherings when I say that we have never, I think, in the City of Toronto, been privileged to listen to finer papers, or to finer addresses, on the themes that have been set down, than upon this occasion. (Applause.) I think I can say this without the slightest attempt at flattery. When the first session of this Congress was held in this place, when the first subject had been discussed, some of us were fearful that we had already reached the highest point in the interest of the Congress ; but I think that now the sessions are about closing, we can safely say that that interest has not only been kept up, but has been intensified to the very end. If I speak a word on behalf of those who have entertained the delegates at this time, I may say that it has been an intense pleasure on the part of the families in connection with this church and other churches in this community. I can say that we are pardonably proud of our American brethren who have come to visit us. (Hear, hear, and applause.) We possibly have had, during these few days, men who represent to the square inch as much brain as perhaps any other assembly that we have seen in the City of Toronto ; and we are proud that we have such representatives of our Dominion upon the other side.

I may just add one word with reference to the last subject that came before us to day. I may say to the members of the Congress that there are persons who see the bringing of peace into this world very definitely and very clearly—not from any arbitration of men or of nations, but by the appearing in glory of the great Prince of Peace. I say this simply because your meetings have been held in a city where, among all denom-

inations, there are eminent men, and some not so eminent, who perhaps have simply been following in their footsteps, who believe that whilst there shall be great outpouring of blessing on to the end, that the great consummation of peace on earth and good will to men will be ushered in by the coming of the great Prince of Peace. (Applause.) I simply say this, not as expressing my own views particularly, but expressing the views of a large portion of this community. Now, one word in closing. We are glad that you have been here. During the last two or three summers it has been my privilege to spend my holidays at a beautiful place called Bethlehem, in the White Mountains. I have had the privilege there of meeting many ministers of Jesus Christ, of our own and other faiths. I have had the pleasure of meeting many who were in the private ranks of the Church of Jesus Christ; and I can safely say that friendships have been formed with the United States brethren that I believe shall last sweetly and strongly throughout eternity. Now, not the least satisfaction have I in these gatherings is that we have met you personally; that we have taken you by the hand; that we have learned to love you; and my prayer is that God may bless you in your churches and in your work, and that when you are praying for your own special work in the great country from whence you come, you will remember our work here. Small we are in comparison with you. Many difficulties beset our pathway. We need much courage, and we need much strength. "Brethren, pray for us," is my parting word this afternoon. May God bless you. (Applause.)

Rev. Dr. CASTLE :

We have had a word of response from the Local Committee. I think it would not be proper to bring these exercises to a close without hearing a word from Dr. Thomas, the pastor of this church, in behalf of the Church in which the Congress has been held.

Rev. Dr. THOMAS said :

Mr. Chairman: My Dear Christian Friends:

It is altogether unnecessary, after what Mr. Harris has so well said, that I should say a word; and yet I feel it a privilege to express the most complete satisfaction of this church, and all with whom I am associated, with the work of the Congress. The ability which has been displayed in the discussion of these great questions, and the freedom of utterance that has characterized

them, has been most delightfully exhilarating to me, and I think to us all. Whatever doubts we may have entertained in regard to the usefulness of the Congress, I believe they have been completely and forever banished. (Applause.) The free interchange of thought—such an interchange as there has been here during these last three days—cannot fail, it appears to me, to have a mighty influence upon our Canadian Baptist life. We have spent a few days together that we shall never forget; and if these brethren at any time in the future have a desire to come back to Canada, I am sure that we will hail their coming with delight. (Applause.)

Rev. Dr. CASTLE:

After singing a closing hymn, we shall be led in prayer; and it occurred to me that I would look out for the veteran pastor—the one who in the Congress holds the longest settlement. So, after we have sung the 42d hymn, Dr. Boardman, who, I believe, is the Nestor among the Conference, will kindly lead us in the closing prayer. Usually on these occasions we sing some hymn in reference to the binding power of christian love. I know our hearts are thus knit together—so knit together that it hardly needs any other expression than the kindness, the candor, the readiness, to listen to sentiments with which sometimes we don't agree—the hearty brotherly love amidst clashing opinions. So we will not take for our hymn of parting to-night the old "Blest be the tie that binds." God calls us into the future. Let us set our faces toward the future. We have been gaining wisdom, gathering strength, warming our hearts in fellowship with each other and with the Christ; and now, out to the work. Hymn 42d, "Forward be our watchword, steps and voices join; seek the things before us, not a look behind."

After heartily singing this hymn, the Congress was closed by prayer by Rev. Dr. BOARDMAN.

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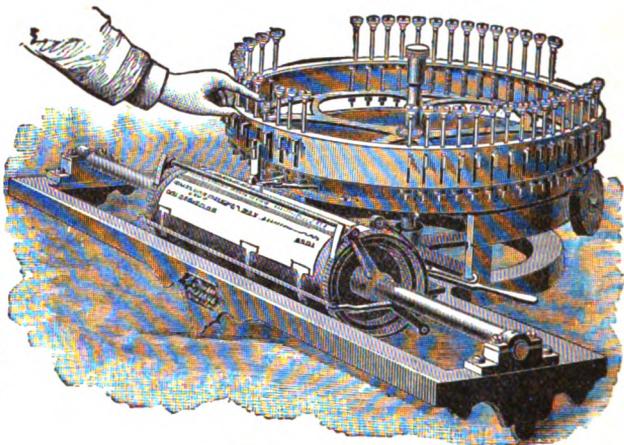
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PLAN OF ORGANIZATION.

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. This Committee shall be composed of persons who have consented to contribute five dollars or more annually towards 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 meeting 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 the 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-five minutes, and volunteer speakers ten minutes. The Secretary shall notify all participants by stroke of bell three minutes before, and also at the expiration of their time, beyond which no one shall be allowed to proceed.
6. NO resolution or motion shall be entertained at the public conferences.

PREFATORY NOTE.

It is with great regret that the Editor is obliged to ask the kind excuses of our members for the late appearance of this report of the Ninth Annual Meeting of the Baptist Congress. It is not necessary to mention the various circumstances which have combined to delay its appearance.

By pursuing a somewhat different course it is hoped that we shall in future be able to issue the report very shortly after the close of the session. The Editor hopes that the papers and discussions will be found to be faithfully presented throughout.

The session at New Haven was marked by increasing interest in the work of the Congress. A forward step taken this year deserves special mention. It is the participation in our programme of a visiting English brother. Last year we met with our Canadian brethren across the border. We have thus extended the sphere of our Congress to our denominational brethren in other lands, and given to it an international character.

The Congress has made this contribution toward a closer union among Baptists here and abroad.

It is now in its tenth year. Its sessions have uniformly made a good impression in the places where they have been held. The papers read before it have been of a high order and many of them have become permanent contributions to the literature of the topics treated. The debates have drawn out the views of all schools of opinion, and have thus furnished the only *forum* which our denomination possesses for absolutely free discussion. The results have not been injurious but helpful; erroneous views have not been encouraged, applauded, and disseminated so much as modified and adjusted to truer standards by courteous discussions, while the disputants, whatever their difference of opinion, have been brought closer together in fraternal feeling and fellowship. The discussions of the Congress have thus accomplished a work of value in realizing for our denomination what our principles inculcate; freedom for the individual to interpret the Scriptures according to his own conscience; and yet have furnished a new attestation of the justice of our claim that the result of such freedom is unity—not discord.

The Congress has also contributed in no inconsiderable degree to the discussion and settlement of topics of more than merely denominational interest, and thus called general attention on the part of the public to the work that Baptists are doing in a way that cannot but be beneficial to us as a denomination.

The Executive Committee desires to express its indebtedness to the presiding officers of the Congress at the several sessions for the very efficient discharge of their functions; to the Local Committee for their admirable arrangements for the conduct of the meeting and the entertainment of the large number from a distance who attended the sessions; to the Pastor and Trustees of the Calvary Baptist Church, New Haven, for the use of their building; and to the kind friends who opened their houses to receive the guests, and of whom want of space precludes more extended mention.

Copies of the four last reports of the Congress may be obtained from the Secretary or from the branch houses of the American Baptist Publication Society.

PROCEEDINGS
OF
THE BAPTIST CONGRESS.

1890.

First Day.

CALVARY BAPTIST CHURCH, NEW HAVEN, CONN., November
11th, 1890.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

The Ninth Annual Session of the Baptist Congress was called to order at 2 o'clock, by the President, the Hon. FRANCIS WAYLAND, of New Haven.

Hymn 1060 in the Calvary selection, "O God, Beneath Thy Guiding Hand," was sung, the President calling attention to its appropriateness as the work of Dr. LEONARD BACON. Rev. J. H. MASON, of New Haven, read a portion of the 24th Chapter of St. Luke's Gospel, after which prayer was offered by Rev. S. DRYDEN PHELPS, D. D., of New Haven.

The President said :

Brethren of the Ninth Baptist Congress, selected by the undeserved kindness of your Executive Committee to serve as your presiding officer, it becomes my first and not my least agreeable duty to welcome you in behalf of New Haven Baptists to our city. This, you will observe, is simply a preliminary sort of partial welcome. The more formal and more eloquent welcome will come later. I presume you best know New Haven as the home of a great and

growing university, cosmopolitan beyond any seat of learning in our land, sincerely catholic in spirit, where the rich man's son and the poor man's son receive equal consideration, and have an equal chance for college honors, prudently tenacious of inherited wisdom, and yet hospitable, always, to approved methods however modern, and where the fact that young men have a moral as well as a mental nature is never ignored either in theory or in practice. You also all of you know New Haven as the home of our own Harper, prince of good fellows and hard-workers (applause), who can awaken the wildest enthusiasm over a Hebrew particle (laughter), to whom no languages are dead, but in fact, for whom the oldest language is most alive, who, wonder of wonders! can actually inspire in the college undergraduate a love of Bible study, and who is every day drawing hither students from all parts of our country and from across the sea. Now it is only fair to add that if this Congress answers at all the expectations of the Committee, it will be largely due to the organizing skill of our *Semitician*, to whom no true son of the Orient will so far forget himself as to say "Go West." (Laughter.)

You are also aware that the distinctive truths which we profess neither dominate nor preponderate here. In fact, our oldest church is a spiritual infant beside that church of another faith that recently celebrated its 250th anniversary. But though not conspicuous for antiquity or numbers, or wealth, we are, I hope and believe, united, zealous, aggressive, progressive, hopeful; and just now we are looking to this session of the Baptist Congress for encouragement, for information, for inspiration. In fact, we should find it very hard to believe, with such a programme, with such subjects for our consideration as are offered, with men so eminent to present papers, and to join in the subsequent debate, that the whole session should fail to be fruitful of good results. I suppose the fact is that the best temper of our time has begun to demand, and who shall say unreasonably, that New Testament ethics shall not be excluded from the domain of public life and public duty, but that they shall have their place in the halls of legislation, on the political platform, in the Board of Trade, in the counting-room, in the sphere of the plough, the loom and the anvil, that into these and such as these shall enter (the words of an alleged statesman to the contrary notwithstanding) the precepts of the Decalogue and the spirit of the Golden Rule. Now if this meeting contributes in any material degree to the accomplishment of this most desirable end, it will justify amply, abundantly, its right to exist as a deliberative assembly, will disarm all fair and honest criticism, and will

confer a lasting benefit on our country and our generation. (Applause.) I have now to call upon the Rev. E. M. POTEAT, Pastor of this Church, to deliver the address of welcome to the Congress.

Rev. E. M. POTEAT spoke as follows :

Mr. President and Brethren of the Congress :

Those of us who are familiar with Mr. Wayland's presidency over Connecticut Meetings, I am sure, are ready to pronounce this the most elaborate and formal address we have ever heard from him. The fact is I never heard him when he was so extremely circumspect as he was to-day, and as for a more formal address, I do not know where it can come from. I think you already consider you are welcome. Welcome! Why of course. What did we invite you for? And I feel like saying, "Come in, and make yourselves at home and have a good time!"

As I understand this Baptist Congress, it is a sort of local laymen's and pastors' union raised to the 44th power, that is, made into a national affair. Its chief characteristic, if I understand it, is that it invites free discussion. It affords a platform on which a man may speak his utmost thought without the fear of denominational councils before his eyes. The only man in the world, as I understand it, who is not welcome in this meeting is Epiphanius, the man with a "long nose for heresy." The self-appointed censor with "critic's eye, whose feeble ray scarce spreads an inch around," is not wanted. Every man is responsible for his own opinions. Every tub stands on its own bottom, and especially in the Baptist Congress. It appears to me fit that such a meeting should be called to New Haven for reasons which Mr. Wayland has already suggested, and for other reasons. This strikes me as the chief reason. Every shade of theological and sociological opinion has its representatives in this city. New Haven boasts its followers of Karl Marx and Edward Bellamy and Henry George, and, *per contra*, she has her William G. Sumner. Last night Herr Most addressed an audience of 200 people in the city, and there is a full report of his address in the morning's papers. We have here the disciples of Dr. Taylor and of Horace Bushnell and of Dr. Shedd. A New Haven audience welcomes alike Prof. Briggs and Prof. Green. New Haven is proud to be called the home of the two most noted, not to say the two most brilliant expositors of the so-called new theology, a way of thinking nowhere more cordially contemned than here. The works of Theodore Parker and Calvin's Institutes

stand side by side in the library of New Haven's thinking. Boston at one time boasted of being the freest city in the country. In the reaction from Unitarianism she has lost that pre-eminence, and to-day New Haven will share the honor with only one other city in the country, the city of Cambridge. The fact is that ministers in New Haven can get together only on the terms which are the basis of the call for this meeting, viz., that there shall be utterly free discussion. The only qualification for membership in the New Haven Ministers' Meeting is that a man must be open on all sides, and that he lets in light from all quarters. We are therefore used to this sort of thing, and you can say anything you please and in the way you please. No New Haven man will feel like persecuting you because you do not agree with him. I welcome you to free discussion in this church, for my personal belief is that the truth of God gleams whitest when light from all the universe is turned upon it. We welcome you to a specimen of New Haven weather. [The day was wet.] It is too bad, but it is just what all strangers find in this city. It always happens so. The good weather was last week. It happens just so to-day. We trust you will not carry away a bad impression of the city from this experience of its weather, and that you will not carry away a bad impression of the city's Baptist forces from the comparatively small gathering here this afternoon. I suppose I ought to say by way of giving you confidence and re-assurance, that the Baptist Churches here are loyal, but for the life of me I cannot tell you to what. They are going ahead the best they know how, and I believe are doing good. We are very glad to have you here, and we shall profit by your coming. We trust we shall be able, before these meetings are done, to give you some yet more substantial tokens of our regard. (Applause.)

At the call of the President, Prof. E. H. JOHNSON, of Crozer, responded to the address of welcome. He said :

Mr. President and Brethren :

It is the first occasion I have had, at the Baptist Congress to say anything nice. Always a breeder of bad weather, I have now to fancy myself catching a welcome on the fly and tossing it back, and to speak for you, brethren, who are welcomed here. The Baptist Congress gives a chance wherever it goes for the illustration of one of the finest of our modern virtues, the illustration of what the social conscience can do. For a man who takes you into his house, stands up and without any qualms tells you how

welcome you are, while he is looking you over and wondering whether he could welcome you honestly if it were not for the laws of modern society. He himself is good-natured, and by his cordial welcome is merely saying, "I am good natured, I am hospitable;" and so you from that point of view are welcome here. But before the Congress gets through with its visit to any place where it has not been before—and it has rarely been twice in a place—we are pretty sure to be told by somebody we were not exactly welcome when we came. We go into Canada, or into the South, and they question us as if they were suspicious of us when we make our appearance. "We are conservative people," they say, "we do not know what to make of you. You wanted to come, and somebody wanted us to want you to come, and we said, well, yes, come." And then they are always so cordial about the farewell. (Laughter.) We believe at this Congress in what I am astonished to hear the New Haven people believe in—freedom of discussion. I have lived in one or two university towns, and it has always seemed to me the presence of a university with its bold thinking as well as its conservative teaching, which go together very often, that there is on the part of the Baptist churches in such a town a settled attitude of conservatism, and a sense of acquaintance with what our dangers are if we give the people a chance to think and talk. I really imagined this would be the last of places where the Baptist Congress would be cordially welcomed when it came, as we are assured by the Pastor of this Church it is welcomed. But he has not lived here very long, and does not belong originally in this part of the country. I would like to know, if it were possible to know, whether the New Haven people do not think this Baptist Congress a doubtful experiment, and whether all the places we go to for the first time will not think it a doubtful experiment until 100 years have rolled over the Congress. But we believe in winning fair weather through storms. And may the good Lord give us fair skies out-of-doors and confine all the tempests to these four walls during the time we are here. The vomiting volcanoes and grinding glaciers make the fertile plains, and so it is not because a majority of those who come to the Congress are sound that we get trusted after a while, but because there is something wholesome in discussion. We fairly go in for an exposure of our secret thoughts. We believe in it. We believe in our sweet heretics. We believe it is best for them and us to speak out. The net result is that we are truer and better in our own views by contact with those who do not agree with us. The most valuable books I ever read, and the most valuable preaching I hear, are the preaching and books of those I cannot agree with, and who

force me to take up with new ideas. And so the Baptist Congress comes here to *make* itself welcome. If you cannot give us a warm welcome, I hope you will be able to give us a cordial farewell. (Applause.)

Professor W. R. HARPER, of Yale University, Chairman of the New Haven Committee of Arrangements, announced that at 2.30 o'clock on Wednesday afternoon, President Dwight, of the University, and members of the Faculty, would give the members of the Congress an informal reception at Dwight Hall, and extended to all a cordial invitation to be present. He also invited the members of the Congress to a supper to be given by the Baptist Social Union of New Haven, at 5 o'clock the same afternoon, in the lecture hall of the Calvary Baptist Church, and to a reception at 9 o'clock the same evening, to which the Baptist laymen and ladies of the city had been invited.

The PRESIDENT announced the topic for the session.

In the absence of the author the first paper was read by the Secretary.

PROPOSED BASIS OF CHRISTIAN UNION,

BY REV. T. T. EATON, D. D., EDITOR OF THE WESTERN RECORDER, LOUISVILLE, KY.

That it is desirable and important for Christians to see eye to eye and to speak the same thing is generally conceded. People differ about religious truth because and only because some believe what is not true. "The faith once for all delivered to the saints," was one definite system of doctrine. If all Christians believed that faith, there would, *ipso facto*, be perfect unity among them. To say that it is just as well for people to differ on important religious truth is the same as saying it is well for people to believe what is false on important matters. Christians believing the same things, would remove all friction and strife between opposing faiths, and would avoid a great waste of strength and material.

Three propositions have been made looking toward union. 1st. It is proposed by our Episcopalian Brethren that we all unite under the "historic Episcopate." Differences of belief are to be freely tolerated and made no bar to fellowship, so only we all submit ourselves to episcopal authority and jurisdiction. On this proposal, I venture to say two things. 1st. It is contrary to the teaching of the Bible, which all Christians recognize as the standard of faith and order. Leading scholars of all denominations frankly declare that diocesan

episcopacy is nowhere taught in Scripture. To accept the "Historic Episcopate" would be to go contrary to God's Word and to practically repudiate that as a standard. 2d. This "Historic Episcopate" has been abundantly tried and found wanting. That was exactly the sort of Christian union which existed during the dark ages, and the overthrow of which was one of the chief objects of the Reformation. To return to that episcopate now, would be to turn the world back for half a dozen centuries.

Our Presbyterian brethren propose a confederation of churches, each church is to recognize the validity of the ordinances and ordinations of the rest, and to make no issue over matters of doctrine or polity. In reply to this it may be said that nothing should be recognized as true which is not true. If for example infant sprinkling is not taught in the Bible as valid baptism, it must of necessity be wrong to regard it as valid baptism, if the Bible be the standard, Then to agree to make no issue in matters of doctrine or polity, is to agree to let whatever views are peculiar to each denomination die out. If any of these peculiar views are taught in Scripture they ought not to be allowed to die out. Even a very small minority holding to important truth as against the vast majority of Christendom should not lessen their hold upon the truth, nor fail to duly emphasize it because the odds were greatly against them. It is all the more needful for them to stand firm lest the truth they hold should perish from the earth. It is certainly much better that some should be right, than that all should be wrong. Then, too, the differences between denominations are so serious that any attempt at confederation, with those differences existing, would necessarily result in friction and finally in an explosion. "How can two walk together except they be agreed?"

The third basis proposed is the simple, plain teaching of the Bible, which all Christians declare to be the standard of doctrine and polity. But a difficulty arises just here. The various bodies of Christians claim that the Bible justifies their peculiar views, and each insists that it stands on the Scripture platform from which the rest have wandered. Every student of the history of doctrine and polity knows that the differences of belief between denominations have not arisen from differences of interpretation of Scripture, but rather the reverse. The differences of interpretation have arisen from the differences of belief which had other sources.

Assuming that the denominations are all equally honest and intelligent, the only thing to do, that I have been able to see, is to make an earnest and honest effort to reach an agreement as to just what the Bible does teach in the matters of difference between the

denominations. For one denomination to ask others to accept its interpretations is both impudent and foolish. To attempt to compromise differences on the give and take principle is to be disloyal to the Bible, which will not shift in its teachings as men may give and take. The only road to the only Christian union either possible or desirable, is to earnestly seek to agree as to what the Bible does teach.

At the recent session of the Southern Baptist Convention resolutions were unanimously passed (and the same were unanimously adopted at the late session of the American Baptist Home Mission Society) inviting the general bodies of the different denominations to select representative scholars, who should meet and seek to determine just what are the teachings of Scripture in regard to the differences of doctrine and polity involved. The results of this conference were to be widely published in the religious papers, in the hope that in this way progress might be made toward real Christian union. All the Baptist papers published these resolutions with more or less comment; but so far as I can learn, and I have tried to learn, only two Pedobaptist papers, the *Independent* and the *Christian Union*, have printed these resolutions, and even they made no sort of editorial comment. Copies of the resolutions have been sent to many Pedobaptist editors, with requests for editorial comments, but so far not a note has been sounded.

This persistent and wilful silence goes to show that our good Pedobaptist brethren, while not willing to oppose this effort to reach agreement in regard to Scripture teaching, are yet not willing that such an effort should be made. It is true no denomination would be bound to accept the results of the conference, but it is certain that great light would thereby be thrown upon what is the real meaning of the Bible upon the questions involved, and that much ground will be cut away from under erroneous doctrine and polity while the field of operations would be cleared of much obstructing rubbish.

This then is the position for Baptists to occupy on the subject of Christian union. Let us firmly maintain what we believe to be Scripture teaching, recognizing our liability to err, and the sincerity and intelligence of those who differ from us, and let us ever be ready, in the spirit of true disciples, to receive whatever light our brethren of other faiths may be able to throw upon the Bible, and patiently wait for the time when they will be willing to unite with us in an honest effort to learn the mind of the Holy Spirit as expressed in the Word of God. That time will surely come. And whenever Christians are in earnest in striving to learn what the

Bible teaches on these matters, they will be led into the truth, and all believing "the faith once for all delivered to the saints" there will be no doctrinal differences, and the prayer of our Saviour will be answered, "that they may be one."

The second paper was read, on

PROPOSED BASIS OF CHRISTIAN UNION,

BY REV. C. D'W. BRIDGMAN, D.D.; PASTOR OF THE MADISON AVENUE BAPTIST CHURCH, NEW YORK.

When one of the oldest and stateliest of Christian Churches makes overture for unity, the fact is most significant and impressive; and when others so far respond to the appeal as to appoint committees of conference, it is evident that Christian unity has become one of the absorbing questions of the day. Men have grown weary of the alienations and strifes of the past. After the discords of Babel, they wait for the music of Pentecost.

There are many things which are co-operating to push this question to the front. First is a sense of the waste of resources which is a consequent of denominational rivalries. Charity is strained to meet the demands of a hungry, ecclesiastical ambition. Even missionaries are not wholly sanctified men and women, and with great, eager societies urging them on, each zealous for its own progress, fields are contested and committees burdened with churches which they cannot sustain. We pour out of our resources to provide for the needy; but East and West there are villages where the most needy are the churches and preachers we give them. Sober, clear-headed men are pondering the question whether it is worth while to put money where it will generate strife and multiply unbelievers and atheists. There is, further, a sense of the obligation of unity, in view of the social interests and the social conditions with which the Christian men of this time have to deal. Emergencies arise when the safety of city or State is secured only through the union of those who recognize the obligations of citizenship; and in an age such as this, big with all issues of good and evil, and in a land where the problems of generations are pressing to settlement, it is not strange that some effective co-operation between the several churches should come to be regarded as a social necessity. Still another influence operating in this direction is that gracious spirit which is winning its way into the churches, pressing them into a kindlier attitude and suggesting larger views of the Gospel and of the function and end of the church than have ruled

in the past. It is a spirit that is impatient of traditions which hinder the interchanges of brotherly love—a spirit of catholicity that sweeps over irrelevant distinctions, and before which unnecessary walls of partition must crumble and fall down. If it be not yet very broadly apparent, it has certainly been revealed in very many of those who are foremost in all the great Christian churches.

LITURGY NO BASIS OF UNITY.

But what is the unity in which all these vague aspirations and longings shall be perfectly realized? To find its ideal let us turn to the words of the Divine Teacher—words solemn as words ever can be, and which came to His lips as He prayed on the night of betrayal. “Neither for these”—the disciples then gathered about Him—“Neither for these only do I pray, but for them also that believe on Me, through their words; that they all may be one; even as Thou, Father, art in me and I in Thee, that they also may be one in us.” This expressed His idea of the unity of His people,—“that they all may be one;” one in Him and the Father. But what was implied? What is the unity of which He had a prevision, and which He yearned to have realized in His people? Before trying to answer this question let us look at some of those forms of unity of which men have been dreaming—some of the conditions of which it is hoped a broad and true fellowship can be had. We hear much at times of the beauty, of the persuasive force there would be in the spectacle if all churches should agree in the same forms of worship; and the idea is fascinating even to many who are outside of liturgical churches. It is pleasant to think of the same Scriptures being read, the same prayers being uttered, by the myriad voices of Christendom at the same time; the same order of service observed in abbey and chapel, in church and cathedral, and on the toiling ship in mid-ocean, bowing and rising as if itself under the impulse of the spirit of worship. But lines of longitude have to be reckoned. Europe will have ended her prayers before ours are begun; and until there be more than one sun in the heavens such a spectacle is impossible. Still were it possible, what would there be but a mere show of unity, unless all hearts were conjoined in a common experience? Enemies bow at the same altars. Alienations are not conquered by any enchantment lurking in prayer-books, and souls flow together no more readily where the ancient liturgy is repeated than in the meeting where friends are assembled in the stillness of their silent worship.

UNIFORMITY OF CREED NOT A TEST.

Still less is any real, any permanent unity to be reached through any formal agreement in doctrine. Never has creed or confessio

been formulated that was more than a compromise, or did not soon furnish, in some article or expression, "a stone of stumbling and a rock of offence." Protestants think, and thinking differentiates and divides. They refuse to recognize an authority that assumes to define the boundaries of their thought; and whilst the Roman Church maintains the integrity of her creed by dialectical skill and through the thoughtless subjection of those awed by her power, Protestantism from the energy of that Divine Spirit which was the secret of her protest and life, "searcheth all things, even the deep things of God." She is not content to accept doctrines in bundles; she must have a consciousness of the truth she affirms. This thoughtfulness, this spirit of inquiry, is constantly probing and devitalizing the ancient formularies of faith. Take the history of confessions, and after ages of debate and explaining, after revision and reshaping, what perceptible advance has there been toward some exact, comprehensive statement of doctrine in which all can unite? Where is the denomination whose interpreters do not differ? After the Pan-Presbyterian Council, one of those who had led its discussions spoke to me of the impressive attitude of that Church in re-affirming her faith in the Westminster Confession in this day of unsettled and shifting beliefs. And yet, already the historian is telling of revision committees on both sides of the Atlantic, and of the possible rending of ecclesiastical gowns if that creed be enforced in the sense which its language implies. Men can be brought to see some things alike. In the truths that represent what is material they may come into approximate unity. But as they bring more of their faculties into exercise and rise into the realm of the great moral truths, less and less is it possible, as they ascend, to bring them into perfect accord. Every seer has his own vision. The very structure of each compels him to see things in a different aspect or shading of color from which others behold them. His own vision changes with the fuller light of the heavens. "The thoughts of men are widened with the process of the suns;" and to expect unity, any permanent unity, on the ground of universal accord in what one council or another has formulated seems against the very genius of Protestantism and to assume that the ultimate statement of truth has been reached.

It is the same in respect of the Bible. Here, surely, is the basis of unity if any document can supply it. Here is a voice of sovereign authority, uttering divine counsel as to ordinance and doctrine and life; and this, it is said, is the end of all controversy; that as men make the Bible their standard, they will come into perfect accord. But whose Bible? The Romanist's or the Protestant's?

Calvin's or Wesley's? The Bible of Rochester or of Andover, of Princeton or of New Haven? What doctrine can be named about which theologians altogether agree? What one does not provoke controversy between men equally God-fearing and wise, all making appeal to the same Book, and each claiming its sanction for his own view? Does the past encourage the hope of a unity whose only bond is the Bible? Does history, does observation, warrant us in concluding that what we believe is its teaching as to baptism or government will be the universal belief of the future? Alas! even where there is agreement as to these things, there is sometimes a sore lack of unity. Most of us, I believe, would be more in accord with churches that differ from ours in the matter of baptism than with the anti-mission communities with whom affiliation is counselled. Brotherhood is assured neither by bowl nor baptistery; men dispute and fall apart over texts; and in seeking for the basis of union we cannot find it in a common acceptance of the Holy Scriptures as "the rule and the standard of faith," precious as they are to us all, and clear and emphatic as their voice seems to us with respect to the essential principles of our faith.

EPISCOPACY AND THE INDEPENDENTS.

Now, if these things do not furnish the bond of a unity which is anything more than formal and transient, what could be gained by accepting the proposal of our Episcopal brethren, and entering into a relation that would hardly be more than a relation of contact, but which would imply the surrender of a principle with which our name has been linked since Baptist history was begun? The proposal is expressive of the large Christian spirit of the Episcopal Church—a token of her yearning for unity; and because the idea of "the historic episcopate" is so entrenched in the minds of her communicants, because, for them, it is the distinguishing note of the Church, it could not be otherwise than that this should be named as a necessary condition of unity. But the idea of independency is just as deeply established in multitudes that will be strenuous in its maintenance because of their conviction that it is one of the leading ideas of the Bible. They believe that independency is one of the oldest and most sacred things of the world; they feel that they are in an illustrious line of ordained teachers reaching back to "the world's gray fathers," whose traditions they inherit and whose witness they have to maintain before the eyes of mankind. They believe in no "sacred class"—no "sacred order of priests," whose ordination is valid only because carrying the touch of Episcopal hands; they claim that their right to speak and be

heard is none other than that of every man who is moved of God's Spirit to give his testimony for Christ, and they are sustained by a vast following of those who prefer the word "pastor" to "bishop," and who recognize that the only substantial distinction in the various classes of Christ's servants is the degree of completeness with which they devote themselves to His work and the power which their self-devotion implies. Such men and such churches cannot accept a proposal that is so out of accord with their history and traditions and faith. Independency seems better to them than to be subject to a "historic episcopate." They see less of beauty in the robes of the priests than in the mantles of prophets. They know but one Bishop, and His diocese is the world.

Such proposals, such prescribed conditions of unity as have been named, have in view a relation which is merely formal and transient. They do not allow for the free spirit which never, as now, felt the charm and the joy of its liberty. And in this they fall short of the idea of our Lord, "That they all may be one." It was unity, not sameness, He contemplated in His prayer. There is no unity in a unit. It implies manifoldness and variety. The oneness of a body is in the community and concurrence of its differing parts. "That they all may be one; as Thou, Father, art in me, and I in Thee, that they also may be one in us." There are manifest differences in the unity which our Lord here sets forth as the type of the unity of His people. The Father, He Himself, said, is greater than He. He was localized on the earth, the Father was everywhere. The Father was the Sender, He was the Sent. He was in the body, the Father was the spirit. Yet, He repeatedly said, "I and the Father are one." That was the unity, but a union of will and of love. "I am come," He says again and again, "to do the will of the Father;" "Whatsoever things the Father doeth, these also doeth the Son;" "As the Father bids, so I speak." There was a will of the Father with regard to mankind, and it was His. The Father was not willing that any should perish, but that all should come to repentance; and He loved all and was giving Himself in the effort to save them. The infinite love of the Father was having its expression and outlet in His own life. This is the type of the oneness of His disciples which our Master contemplated—oneness in spirit, oneness in consecration to the Divine will, oneness in ardent and passionate love of mankind. So in the rapture of that solemn hour of communion, there came upon Christ a vision of His disciples in the joy and power of a unity like that of His with the Father, not that of a vast fold within which all His sheep were included, but a flock scattered about over the meadows and uplands

of the earth with Him as the Shepherd ; not a single organized Church dominating the whole world, all peoples confessing the same creed and observing the same ritual before her myriad altars, but a myriad of Christian communities, each with its own formularies and methods, but all reconciled and united through their common union in Christ with the Father, and all possessed of the same divine passion for the deliverance of mankind. A unity, in a word, of desire and of will, and whose characteristic is action.

TRUE UNITY GROWING OUT OF DEVOTION.

Now, if this ideal of unity be kept ever in mind, and there be any longing such as is signified in the prayer of our Lord, two things must result.

First, there will come into the various Christian communities a larger idea of the nature of fellowship, and a less rigid insistence on things of subordinate interest. The religious perspective is becoming more truly adjusted. Those who are spiritual are growing more tolerant as to matters of opinion ; and whilst the great truths embodied in Christ's person and doctrine are exercising an increasing power, a broader range is being claimed for the exercise of individual judgment. Churches cannot fix what God has not fixed, without challenge. If they withhold fellowship from those they acknowledge as Christians, simply because some mere inference of ecclesiastical tradition is not recognized as of equal authority with a positive command of the Master, the growth of such churches will be hindered by the growing intelligence of the people, and by the Christian spirit which more and more is affecting the thought and the life of the age. Dogmatism only tends to disunion. The more tightly church bonds are held, the more deeply is individual opposition excited. Alienations and rupture will be prevented only as the conditions of fellowship in each individual Church are adjusted to that large, that Divine idea of unity, which is set forth in the prayer of our Lord. Turn to the epistles of Paul. They were written for churches in which there was a strange mixture of superstitions and enlightened convictions. Never were there such differences as prevailed in those Christian communities ; and they had reference to all forms of habit and religious usage and feeling. But Paul does not counsel them to bring about unity by any method of sameness and agreement. It was to come through the exercise of a generous, tolerant spirit. "Receive ye one another," Paul says, "as Christ received you." The bond must be more comprehensive than that of the same views or the same conscience. Within the general denominational

boundaries space must be made for differences of taste and opinion and culture; and as love keeps a household united, notwithstanding its dissimilar members, as it is more central, more unifying, mightier than anything else, the Apostle says, "Let men hold together by love."

Another thing will result, and it will show itself in two ways. First, the denominations will come to regard one another with mutual respect, and each, whilst maintaining its own truth, will do it without impugning the sincerity of those who hold different views. Even this will be a great gain. Platform orators have been too often applauded when they have decried others as indifferent to truth who were at least as intelligent and reverent as themselves. Sectarian pride tends to make one incapable of recognizing the good which is outside its own boundaries. It seems sometimes as if Christians had never read of the rebuke which came upon John when he said of the one who was casting out devils: "We forbid him, because he followeth not us." How beautiful, how full of the true Christian spirit, are the words of one of the noblest of poets, in memory of his friend:

Thy own loved church in sadness read
Her solemn ritual o'er thy head,
That church, whose rites and liturgy,
Sublime and old, were truth to thee.
Even I, of simpler views, could feel
The beauty of thy trust and zeal;
And, owning not thy creed, could see
How deep a truth it seemed to thee.

So the Christian spirit carries with it mutual respect; and in the measure in which it is possessed will be the fervency of the prayer: "Grace be with all them that love our Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity."

ECONOMY OF FORCE FOR THE CHURCHES.

And it will show itself, further, in co-operation—in some method, some plan, whereby the resources of the churches shall no longer be wasted, but economized, and directly employed in bringing the poor and sinful and wretched to know how much there is for them in the Gospel of Christ. Day by day the need of such concert of action grows more apparent. Villages are everywhere to be found where there are more churches than there is any real need for, and which men far and near are asked to help to support; and because of the rivalries between them communities are divided, and the very Gospel is made an occasion of strife. Sectarian propagandists are encouraged beyond those whose one purpose is to bring men to

Christ. All over the land the zeal to make proselytes is out of all proportion to the zeal for the improvement of the moral and spiritual life of mankind. Is it strange if society is growing weary of hearing more of the differences between the different denominations than of the truths in which they agree? Is it strange that Christian men and women, impatient of the narrowness and sluggishness of ecclesiastical leaders, are organizing societies to do what united churches should do, but what no one of them by itself can accomplish? And this is going on every day because we are dreaming that our duty is mainly to bring men to our way of thinking, and that it is on their acceptance of our doctrines and ordinances that unity must depend. It is the folly and sin of all the denominations in Christendom. Great enterprises demand massed efforts; and if the churches are to conquer the evils which are involved with our social conditions, it will be done only by their acting in concert, under the direction of the interdenominational wisdom in the several communities, and with something of the high purpose and passion of Christ. The aspirations and struggles of labor point to a time when co-operation shall be established as the relation between masters and workmen for the advantage of both; and the movement of the Christian spirit as expressed in such proposals as I have referred to, intimates that the time is at hand when the inner, spiritual union of Christians will be made visible to the world in forms of united endeavor for the renewal of the life of society. In some way the work has to be done. The denominations that do most to bring about this practical unity will have most of the blessing of God. They will find that strength comes, not through the glorifying of sect, but through oneness in the spirit and purpose of Christ; and then they will wonder that men and money and opportunities were wasted for so long where the law of life was so plainly declared—the law for churches as for individual men—“He that loseth his life for My sake, the same shall save it.”

The third and last paper was then read, on

PROPOSED BASIS OF CHRISTIAN UNION,

BY REV. E. T. TOMLINSON, PASTOR OF THE CENTRAL BAPTIST CHURCH, ELIZABETH, NEW JERSEY.

I take it, that Jesus Christ prayed that his followers might be one. What it is to be one, is our practical study to-day. The aroused interest and proffered suggestions all point towards a

common desire and one aim. To a student who has watched the trend of religious life and religious thought for a century past, a change is clearly to be seen. The polemics of our fathers are as much ante-dated as their clothing. That men are walking in the right path, few can doubt. That the journey's end will be reached in our day, none believe. But the prayer is on our lips. The desire is in our hearts. The invisible line of church life divides families. It separates men in worship who are one in aim and in thought. And although denominational lines are no longer the bars to fellowship between Christians of varied names as once they were, in the aggressive work of Christ's followers, they still stand as obstacles to the united advance of the army of the Lord into the stronghold of a common enemy. The puzzled Chinaman shakes his head and asks for Christians to agree before he agrees with them. The cultured Japanese asks why the Lord we serve does not unite his nominal followers in Christian America, before they unite in a crusade of righteousness in Japan. The little community in our own land which struggles to support several churches of various creeds, where only one strong church could possibly exist, asks relief from the burden. Strength is wasted and money is spent which in other places and in other ways might accomplish its purpose and bring to pass desired results. Co-operation of churches is not a solution, but a compromise; desirable perhaps, but still a compromise. It is not cohesion but adhesion. Cohesion is unity, adhesion is still diversity.

Church union is not to be gained by the withdrawal of differences in opinion. That is a truce, not peace. Unity is not to be found in the absence of differences, but in the presence of similar desires. We cannot ask the man who conscientiously believes in the doctrine of the Apostolic succession and in the priestly office to sacrifice his conscience on the union altar. We cannot ask him who believes in the baptism of his children to withdraw his belief or withhold a practice he believes to be right. Others cannot ask us who conscientiously disbelieve in all such to keep silence as to that which we believe to be an error and to have wrought error largely in its flower and fruit. These men are like those socialists, Christians many of them, who believe that socialism consists in the division of externals instead of a sharing of heart and soul. All trees are not made alike by a shearing of leaves or a trimming of branches. The leafless oak is still an oak. The branchless pine is still a pine. Nor is the nature changed by having the fruit of the apple upon the peach tree. I remember when I was a teacher, how, one night just before the Christmas vacation, the students gathered the pails

and jars of our building and tied them like so many Christmas presents upon the trees on the lawn. The first I knew of the prank was the smiling faces of the people passing by the street, early on the following morning. The incongruity, the element of surprise, which Sidney Smith said was at the basis of a laugh, was the uppermost thought. On pine and fir and elm the same "fruit" was to be seen but it did not unify those trees. Nor can the church be made one by the shearing of one article from the creed of one, and the tying of an ill-fitting "credo" upon another body of believers.

I find this prayer of Christ's for the oneness of believers is not a sentence by itself. It is an object clause. "Holy Father, keep through thine own name those whom thou hast given me, *that they may be one.*" "That they may be one" is the object of the Father's keeping and the method is "*through thy name.*" "*In thy name.*" "Keep them *in thy name*" is the clearer reading of the Revised version. The name of Christ is the medium between the Father on one side and the unified body of believers on the other. Progress towards church unity is not to be found then in the forward look but backward. Christians sometimes strive to walk to heaven backwards, it is said. But they must walk towards unity backwards. There is to come a time when human nature shall be perfected, but it is to be found only as the human Christ, who, nearly 2000 years ago, walked the shores of Galilee or taught the people in the city's street, is approached and appropriated. History moves in cycles. The completed circle of manhood is not in the man who shall come, but in him who has come. And the unity of the church is not to be found in the future, but as with one mind we walk towards the true conception of the church as formed. Not that the New Testament churches were better than ours, for ours, in the presence of the Christ-life, are infinitely better than theirs. The divisions at Corinth, the troubles at Ephesus and Thessalonica, bear everlasting witness to the imperfection of these bodies. But as the divisions of the church are not chiefly found in the sects but in the spirit of sectarianism, a spirit which, as Mr. Robertson said, is not one that says so much "this is the truth" as "*that is not the truth;*" so the true conception of the great church of God is not to be found in the realized church of the New Testament so much as in the idealized church of the Apostolic times.

So we come to the Baptists' position regarding church union. And that is, 1st, a truer conception of the church. For one I am not a Baptist because I am not a Presbyterian or an Episcopalian. I am

not driven by negatives into the Baptist fold. It is not that I minimize the positions of other Christians nor indeed that I magnify our own position towards disputed points. It is, that for one I try to take the "broad church" view of the church. I believe in magnifying "the church." Why we should insist upon being called the "Baptist denomination" instead of the "Baptist church" I never could see. I believe in the church, the holy catholic Baptist church if you please, but the church of the Living God. If they thrust the word Baptist upon us, all very well. We will not quarrel. The name will not degrade us. We will honor the name. The word Nazarene was once a reproach. Surely it does not lack in honor now. Puritan was once a name of ridicule, but judging from the pride with which the Puritans apply the word in our homes to-day, the name is not so ridiculous as once it was. And if others thrust upon the church the name "Baptist," we will not quarrel over a name, but strive that the name be filled with the glory of the true church of God. It is true the New Testament places special honor on the individual church. The independent, local organism may be supreme, yet that does not destroy the New Testament conception of *the church*. President Wayland was something of a Baptist, and he said, "The universal church comes before the particular church." Peter, who, judging from his work at Jerusalem after Pentecost, was something of a Baptist, made a declaration at one time upon which Jesus himself said he would found *his church*. Paul seems to have been somewhat affected by what are ordinarily known now as Baptist doctrines (and his shell does not seem to have been very soft either), and he wrote to the Ephesians of one who had put all things in subjection under his feet and gave him to be head over all things to *the church*. And in the same letter he writes of Christ who loved the church and gave Himself up for it; and surely he means more than the little body of brethren who composed the Ephesian church. Apollos, who perhaps wrote the Epistle to the Hebrews, seems to have something of this idea of *the church* when he wrote of the general assembly and church of the first-born who are enrolled in heaven. Our position should be one to not dethrone the individual church in enthroning the broad church, any more than our country in magnifying individual rights destroys its national rights. America is more than an aggregation of individuals. That is adhesion. The church is more than a collection of individual churches. The individual churches are cathedral windows through which the light falls upon us in prismatic splendor. The first step towards the unity of Christians is to be found and made in that advance

towards a clearer and truer conception of the church, the true church, the broad church, the holy catholic church, the church of the living God. The old Apostle said the only way to dethrone error was to enthrone truth. The only way to overcome evil was not merely to overcome evil, but to overcome evil with good. And unity is to be found not in breaking down differences, but in building up likenesses and the first step is not in combating error but in presenting the truth as to the church.

2. And that brings us to a conception of what the essential elements of the true church were and are, not to a narrow view of the New Testament but to the New Testament narrow view. That line is exceedingly narrow, clearly defined, but easily crossed. Yet sometimes the difference between the church and the world seems not to be a line at all, but a wide stretch of land, and many are not sure that they are beyond its borders. Now the essential elements of the Baptist faith are not the doctrines of election, nor restricted communion, nor Calvinism, nor positive knowledge as to the probation in another world. The church at large may be agreed as touching these things, and they are not cardinal, basal doctrines. Paul did not teach nor touch these matters until long after his conversion. They grew upon him as a church member, not upon him as an outsider. Peter had very different doctrinal positions later in life from those he held when he left his nets to follow Christ. But Peter was a churchman before he was a doctrinal controversialist. I do not attempt to belittle the great truths of God's word. But I do draw a line between truths essential to the church and truths that are the flower of church membership. The *basal* element of our (Baptist) church, is what we need to emphasize in our study of the problem before us.

And the conditions placed by the great Head of the church are, *faith in Christ and baptism as the public profession of that faith.* What faith in Christ is and what baptism is are to be learned from the author of both and there alone. Backwards to these the problem of church unity goes. Founded upon these is the church of God. Based upon them there will be creeds which will vary as men vary and truths divergent as the temperaments of men. Paul's faith is that mystic union of the soul with Christ in God. Peter's faith is that confidence of the child in the promise of his father. The Apostle to the Gentiles will magnify the justification by faith. The devoted James will magnify the faith that manifests itself in a godly life. And yet all were members of the same church, and their hearts were united to fear One name. It seems to me the great step forward is a long step backward. And the problem of

the unity of believers, which unity Christ prayed for here, not hereafter, will be much simplified when stripped of all but the essential elements.

But you say this is our stand now. Is it? We have a word which interferes with this stand. The word is "Baptist usage." Which is the true standard in most of our churches—this of the New Testament, beautiful in its very simplicity, or the one that "Baptist usage" has set up? Before what board of deacons did the Ethiopian eunuch appear? What creed did he subscribe to? Who sounded him as to his faith in Calvinism and the comfort he derived from his doctrine of hell? What catechism did he learn before he entered the church? O how many weak brethren are taken into the church to disputations that are not at all doubtful, and how many weak ones are kept out of the church by man-made barriers inherited from the fathers. There is many a Calvinist ignorant of the faith that is child-like. There is many a man whose dictum as to baptism is heard louder than the trembling cry of the weak and frightened soul, "Lord, I believe. Help Thou mine unbelief." There is many a man so loudly crying his direct apostolic succession from Peter that he never hears the tender voice of Christ saying to the wondering Peter that upon his perception of the Son of God within the Nazarene, the true church was to be established.

The Hon. ALEXANDER S. BACON, of Brooklyn, opened the debate, and said :

It is an unusual privilege for us laymen to have an opportunity to "talk back," and free our minds to the clergy. It is a harmless amusement. If the clergy don't approve of what we say, it don't matter, for we are only ignorant laymen at best and not expected to know all about the nice distinctions between creeds.

I believe with the late lamented Josh Billings that "it is a great deal better not to know so many things than to know so many things that ain't so." We laymen are of the opinion that all denominations (except our own, of course), believe in a great many things that are not so, and that are immaterial if they are so. I know very little about creeds, and care less. I can't tell much about the New Jerusalem; indeed I don't care whether its streets are paved with 14 or 18 carat gold; it is enough for me to know that it will surpass all my fondest dreams; I will do my best to get there. The nice distinctions between Calvinism and Arminianism trouble us but little. Should the eminent divines now before me attempt to ex-

plain their own infallible beliefs, nothing short of the dinner bell would arouse most of us poor laymen from a profound sleep.

I have but one creed—the latest revision of the Bible. The object of preaching is to save sinners, to tell them the answer to the all important question, “What shall I do to be saved?” Some years ago a Chicago reporter being out of sensations, asked all the prominent clergymen of the different denominations for an answer to this question. He published their replies. No two were alike and no two college professors could tell exactly what any one of them meant. But our enterprising reporter went to work and analyzed these replies in the light of the New Testament answers to that question. He drew from the answer to the Philippian jailor—who was a heathen and did not believe in the God of the Jew—that the first thing to do was to believe in the Lord Jesus Christ; from the answer to the Pentecostal *believers* he discovered that the next things to do were to “repent and be baptized,” and from the examples of the Ethiopian eunuch and the act of the repentant believer Saul, after he received his sight, he drew the conclusions that first, faith; then repentance; then baptism; and lastly, a godly life. These four make a certain New Testament answer to the greatest of all questions, “What shall I do to be saved?” It has struck me that the reporter had it about right, and that a large majority of laymen would agree with him and if we could lop off the non-essentials, as we find them in all the different denominations, we could all agree upon a basis which should include these essentials and nothing more.

Let the different denominations and different individuals have as many non-essential “cranks” as they please, I will not quarrel with my neighbor even though he does believe that the door knobs in heaven are diamonds, while my æsthetic tastes would prefer emeralds. (Laughter.) We might have a little trouble about the meaning of the word baptism, but *all* admit that immersion is a correct method. If that is so, there can't be any mistake in coming to the Baptist belief on that point. I am advised that all very learned men now-a-days whose fame is sufficiently established to make them independent, admit that our Saviour was immersed. Can we not then all unite in the essentials of Christianity—belief in the Lord Jesus Christ as the Son of God—repentance for sin and the immersion of penitent believers—and let the other things slide? (Laughter.)

This is the superficial view of a layman who deals with the practical side of life, but is it not about right? and isn't it a fact that now-a-days you ministers preach theology less than you did, and

preach Christ more? Haven't the denominations stopped fighting one another and joined hands to fight the Devil? and are not the results marvellous? and is not Christianity spreading as never before?

A few weeks ago five young strangers appeared at our Friday night prayer-meeting. They had traveled from Minneapolis, I think they said, through the South, and now turned up in Brooklyn on their way to the Congo. The first one to speak said that they belonged to the Students' Movement, that their motto was, "The world for Christ in this generation." I set him down as a crank. The second spoke in the same strain and with the same earnestness. I set *him* down as an enthusiast. After the third spoke the congregation began to ask them questions. After the fourth got through, I think it safe to say that we were all enthusiasts; and by the time we heard the fifth we were a congregation of fully developed cranks. Nobody knew what creeds those young missionaries believed in; I don't think they knew themselves. They did not talk theology; they talked Christ. I believe in Christian union, and let us give up anything not founded upon an express command of the Bible in order to get it. Let us give up our theological pets. I firmly believe that if the Christians of the world would give up their non-essentials and become Christians—not Baptists, Methodists, Presbyterians or Episcopalians—if they would stop wasting their strength in fighting one another, and would present an unbroken front to the enemy, we would conquer the world, and our young student enthusiasts would see their motto fulfilled, "The world for Christ in this generation." (Applause.)

The Rev. W. D. MCKINNEY, of Ansonia, Conn., said:

Mr. President, brethren, this is a new discussion on a very old subject. It has been discussed in every century of the past by many of the ablest men that then lived and loved and served the Lord Jesus Christ. Some of them devoted their lives to the great work, and many of them travelled over all Europe, and not a few of them have travelled in this country for the purpose of influencing their Christian brethren on the great subject of Christian union, that it might become a reality. Now, before we can come to any definite conclusion upon this subject, I think it would be well to follow the wise dictum of Archbishop Whately and try and secure some definite meaning to be attached to the terms we use in the discussion. We hear union spoken of and then unity, and the one becomes interchangeable with the other. We hear the term church spoken of, and denomination, and they become interchangeable. Are they so? What is the meaning of the term church as used in

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the New Testament? It stands out there in two simple meanings, and in only two meanings, and any person who takes it from one of these two meanings, and applies it to the word denomination is not using the word in a proper sense; and no matter what argument he may construct, or conclusion he may come to, will always be logically wrong, because he is using the word equivocally. The word church means in the New Testament any body of professed believers in the Lord Jesus Christ gathered together in one place to serve the Lord. We read of the church at Ephesus, at Jerusalem, at Antioch, at Corinth, meeting together in those places and made up of those believers who live there. Then comes the meaning of the word church as used in the Epistles. The term is there used in the sense of the whole body of the Lord Jesus Christ that He has purchased with His own blood, and that He makes alive and inhabits by His Spirit, which is confined to no time and bounded by no space. The Church which the Lord Jesus Christ has redeemed and saved, all true believers belong to, by the very act of their faith in the precious blood of the Lord Jesus Christ. For when a man believes in Christ as his Saviour and substitute before God in law and in judgment, that moment he becomes one with the Lord Jesus Christ, by the indwelling of the Spirit of Divine Life in his own soul. And then he becomes one with every one who has that faith and that spirit, no matter where they may have lived, or what they may have heard, or seen or believed, if they only believe in the Lord. In this sense all believers are one in Christ no matter where they may be. And we brethren who are here to-day, and believe in the precious blood of the Lord, and who have the Divine Spirit, this we are certain of, that we are all one with the departed of the Lord's family, one with Abraham, one with Isaac, and Jacob, and with the Holy Prophets, one with the Apostles, and with all that believed in the Lord in early times; one with the great body of God's servants in the Mediæval Ages, and one with all the glorious men of the Reformation, and we are one with such men as Howe, and Charnock, and Bunyan and all such. And are we not one with all who have the same faith and life now? And if we be one with them now, how can we show our oneness with them? Upon what basis of union can we unite? We can sing the same hymns they sing, and worship and serve the same Lord they worship and serve. And it makes very little matter what mere outward denominational differences there may be if we all have one heart and one faith in the Lord Jesus Christ. It will produce no real unity to seek to bring our differences into the same kind of liturgical service, or the same particular phases of doctrinal belief, on the

same method of work. These things can all come in due proportion just as we realize our oneness with Christ by the indwelling of the spirit of love, and then recognize the same thing in all who possess it. This is the unity our Lord prayed for, the unity God's people now possess. And this is the unity which in the grand and glorious future which is before us, I believe the Lord will make manifest, when all God's true people upon earth will realize they are one with each other, as well as one with those who went before, when they will stand close to each other in love, bearing testimony to Him, it may be under different names, or wearing different regimentals, but all animated by the one spirit of love, and all living in unison with our glorious Lord. (Applause.)

The REV. W. P. ELSDON, of Waterbury, Conn., said :

When Prof. Harper first asked me to say a word on this subject I declined, but later I gave my assent because I had a little story I wanted to tell you, and not any argument to make. I have a profound conviction that there are some things you cannot tie together. I had two years' struggle to obtain the position, denominationally, I now hold. The thing that made me a Baptist was the underlying principle of the denomination—"the Bible the all-sufficient rule of faith and practice." I felt that that was a position I could stand firmly upon, and I could stand upon no other. I think nothing other than a consensus of faith will ever bring to pass the church unity that I am sure is desired by all. But I want to get at the little story. (Laughter.) It illustrates the radical difference between unity and union. When I was pastor in Chicago, at Englewood, a good Methodist brother, a very brotherly man, came to me one Saturday afternoon to ask if he could have the use of my baptistry the next evening. He said there were two young men who wanted to unite with his church, but were only willing to unite by immersion. He was perfectly willing to immerse them, but had no facilities. I said, "Certainly. I am glad to see you fellows have to come to it." (Laughter.) We sat talking awhile. At last he said, "I tell you what would be a good scheme: if we could have a union baptismal service. Your church and my church come together and have no sermon, but a love feast; you baptize and I baptize." I said, "That would be a charming thing, but I cannot do it to-morrow night. I have two young men to baptize a week from to-morrow night, and if you could wait till then we might do it just as well as not." We came together, the church was crowded to the doors, many went away as they could not get in. There was a live meeting, a real love feast. We knew

no difference in the real Christian unity of that meeting. I had one of his brethren, a Methodist layman, who was a good singer, in front to keep the meeting going while we were concerned with the preliminaries for the baptism and what followed it, that there might be no break. The meeting went on uninterruptedly and gloriously until toward the close, when one good Methodist brother got well warmed up, and got on his high-heeled shoes. He at last stood up and thanked the Lord for Christian union, and :

“If our fellowship below
In Jesus be so sweet,
What heights of rapture shall we know
When round His throne we meet.”

He then burst out into an apostrophe : “ Praise God for one Lord, one faith, one wa-wa-wa— well, we’ve had a good meeting, anyway.” (Laughter.) That was all. And there is the dividing line, brethren. Up to that point there was real Christian unity. When we can get the Christian world to finish the Lord’s words, we ought not to suffer anything outside of Christian faith and Christian baptism to divide us. But there are some things you cannot tie together. The botanist goes abroad into nature, and divides flowers and grasses, and trees and vines into classes. The astronomer puts his telescope up among the stars and divides them into clusters and groups, and there are things that differentiate us. We have certain affinities, we run along the line of our predilections, and come together very largely, I think, by our tastes and our prejudices. Why, there was a good Methodist sister who came to me awhile ago and wanted to know if I would baptize her. I said, “ Yes, you can come before the church, and when the church receives you I will baptize you.” “ Oh, I cannot come before the church.” “ Why not ?” “ I cannot be anything but a Methodist. I am a Methodist from my head to my feet, and cannot be anything else.” “ Then,” said I, “ get your pastor to baptize you.” You see it is prejudice, and the only ground of real church union is agreement in Christian doctrine and practice ; and, while I love all the Lord’s children, and would be glad to unite in all possible ways with all the Lord’s people, I personally have no faith in church unity until the millennium comes. (Laughter and applause.)

Rev. H. M. SANDERS, D. D., of New York, Chairman of the Executive Committee, said :

Mr. President and Brethren :

There are two kinds of unity—frozen unity and molten unity.

The frozen unity is that of sticks and stones and the mud congealed into something that approaches solidity. They may be heterogeneous, they may be antagonistic, but they are solidified by the laws of congelation into a condition of oneness. There is a molten unity in which metals, for instance, liquefied by laws of affinity flow together and become one. We must ever keep in mind these two kinds of unity. The one is artificial, constrained, arbitrary, hateful; the other is internal, consistent, and promises to be permanent. There is the unity of a State's prison, where every man wears precisely the same kind of clothes, and his hair is the same length as that of all the other prisoners, and he keeps step with them all when he walks. There is nothing that is so magnificently unified as a State's prison. Oneness is supreme. Then there is the unity of the home, in which love, mutual confidence, consideration, kindness, reign. We must always keep in mind, when we talk about church union, this difference. We think the Roman Catholic Church is one; it is as diverse as Protestantism. There is an outer boundary that surrounds all Catholics, brings them together, but the points of contact are those of two circles that touch each other at a point, but not planes that touch each other at every point. What mean "Dominican" and "Jesuit" and the various other names, but that they stand for essentially the same differences that characterize Protestantism. I know a man with whom I had much to do in the hour of his mental crisis, when he could no longer remain as he was, a professor in a Jesuit college, and kicked against the restraints of Jesuitism, who is to-day a happy and successful priest among the Paulists. Why? Simply because he could not stay in one denomination of the Roman Catholic Church, but could in another. Let us not be deceived by this splendid hierarchy which is always taken as the model for Christian unity. There cannot be absolute identity of belief among men who think; and just so far as that church has any cohesion and unity, it is just so far as it suppresses thought. Men are always separated through the head and united through the heart. Men always begin to differ the moment they begin to think on any subject, and men come together the moment they begin to feel. One of the speakers showed us that tying things together did not make them one, and I was reminded of that story of the husband and wife who had fallen out and between whom, unfortunately, all intercourse had stopped. They were sitting one night in the reception room, and in front of the fire near each other lay the dog and the cat in peace. The wife spoke up and said, "John, just see; there are the dog and the cat; they can live together in peace and harmony, why cannot we?" He

replied, "Yes, but you tie them together and see if they would." (Laughter.) External ties create no true unity. But Christian unity is making rapid progress. Within the memory of some of us younger men there has been most startling progress made in the way of essential and spiritual union, and we greatly rejoice at it. Walls that were heaven high and impossible to scale and even to look over, have become hedges, and the fires of love will soon burn them up. As the fences have gone down from our lawns, so the great barriers which a generation ago existed between denominations have become so low that men now easily clasp hands and interchange courtesies over them. We have to-day in all essential respects and purposes, Christian union. The organic, the external, the visible will come in time; for schism in Christ's body is a sin and to be deplored. But that which must precede it and condition it, is the real union of heart and heart, of fellowship and of friendship, among Christian brethren of different denominations, and that we have to a substantial degree to-day. And I believe the time will come when, as the shell of the insect adapts itself to and grows with the growth of the thing inside, so whatever is essential to outward and organic unity will adjust itself by the increasing spirit of fellowship and friendliness which prevails among Christian bodies in our time. I do not think it an altogether fantastic idea that sees the plan of the progress of Christ's kingdom run in the groove of the great apostles, those "pillars of the church." We have had the Petrine period. Peter stands for the hierarchy, and a millennium and more of years have been taken to perfect it and make it the massive and colossal thing that it is to-day. Then comes in the Pauline period—of thought, investigation, speculation, if you will, issuing in rationalism, issuing in denominations and sects, and insects, for that matter (laughter), for some of them are so small, not to say pestiferous, you cannot possibly tell the difference between them, and men have gone on dividing on matters of doctrine. Then we have had in more recent times, the last one hundred years, the Jacobean period, of which the Apostle James is perhaps the patron saint. Good works, missionary enterprise, philanthropic effort, humanitarian work are characteristic of this period. But there is coming a time, and we begin even now to see the purple dawn along the horizon of that day when John, the Apostle of Love, is going to dominate in this world, and Peter and Paul and James shall all be taken up and absorbed in that great apostle and the doctrine which he represents. And it seems to me what we want to-day most to do to hasten that glad time is simply to go on as we have been going. As for that matter, you cannot stop it. You may as

well try to stop time elapsing by tying the pendulum, or to put a bandage on your eyes and think it is sunset, as to stop that which God in His good and gracious Providence and by His all-loving Spirit is pushing on with powerful pressure. We feel to-day the throb of Christian oneness with brethren of every Christian name, if they and we be real Christians. If I am in Christ I am more at one with the man who is in Christ, even though he call himself a Roman Catholic, than I am with the man who, out of Christ, has nevertheless been baptized as I have been baptized, and as I believe Christ was baptized. Our Lord once asked, you remember, "Who is my mother and my brethren?" And pointing to those brawny disciples said, "Behold my mother and my brethren." He repudiated natural ties in favor of the spiritual. Even sex has gone, even natural affection for the time being has been lost in view of the more permanent and important spiritual union. "Behold my mother and my brethren in those men who are one with me in sympathy and love." Therefore let us not juggle with words—unity or union—but get down to the bed rock of it all. If I feel toward my brethren of other names the affinity which binds us together in Christ, then all other unity is of no value, comparatively, or rather, all other unity, organic and external, will follow in due time, and there shall be one fold as there is one flock. (Applause.)

Prof. E. H. JOHNSON, D. D., of Crozer Theological Seminary, said :

Mr. President :

It is rather too late in the afternoon to make a great amount of trouble. I would have been glad to make it a little earlier in the debate. (A laugh.) However, I can send you away in disorder, perhaps. I noticed that those among us who are conspicuous for liberality, like Dr. Boardman and Dr. Bridgman, lay the emphasis upon unity and not upon church union. It is a strange thing to me to find myself more liberal than those brethren, but it is because I am stricter than they. To my mind ecclesiastical separation and antagonism are schism and sin. The present condition of the churches of Christ is directly against every purpose and every principle made known to us by the New Testament. We start at the wrong end in most of our considerations of this subject. The church ought to be one externally. All who are in Christ ought to be ecclesiastically united. Every other arrangement is an impropriety, a breaking of the body of Christ. Those who are one with Him in spirit

ought to be one with Him in body. There can be nothing more sad than to be forced to seek excuse in the necessities of the case.

Nor can we justify ourselves by pleading we do not agree in doctrine. It would be impossible for me to agree with the layman who has spoken. It is my professional business to teach theology, and my whole heart is in it, and whole mind given to it; but, nevertheless, I say theoretical differences ought not to keep us apart. It was never contemplated that they should keep us apart. No word in the New Testament justifies their keeping us apart. Every word in the New Testament upon this subject is an exhortation to ecclesiastical union, except the saying of John, "They went out from us because they were not of us." But this was written of the many anti-Christians who were already in the world. Those who are not anti-Christians, but in Christ, ought to be ecclesiastically united, and doctrinal difference furnishes no excuse, or nothing more than an excuse, for the separation of Christians. It is not true that we cannot walk together unless we are agreed. We do not agree, but we walk together, nevertheless. We could at least do as Episcopalians do with their differences. There are three sets of views among them—the high church, the low church, and the broad church views. But those who hold these widely different views are in ecclesiastical union. In the large cities they distribute themselves according to their affinities between local churches, but they remain ecclesiastically united. Broad high-churchism is the legitimate attitude of the Episcopalian. He should be a high churchman, because he values the church; and by an associated necessity he ought to be a broad churchman, because he would extend the benefits of the church to men of diverse views. And broad high-churchmanship is as true to the genius of the New Testament as of the Episcopacy. We ought not to be rivals of one another. We ought not to be divided into hostile camps. We ought to commune together, and to co-operate in all our work. And I who say it am a close communion Baptist. I tell you it is a sin this want of co-operation in all our work.

Nor is there really any fundamental and lasting necessity for separation in ecclesiastical differences, so called. Differences of organization and order would seem to necessitate permanent separation, but they do not. We find that the old school and the new school of Presbyterians got together recently, although up to that time they had not merely theological differences, but differences as to the kind of Gospel that ought to be preached. They came together after awhile, and who did not rejoice? The Methodists went out from the Church of England simply because they were forced out,

not because either of the Wesleys wanted to go out. They were fairly kicked out. It was wrong to kick them out. It was a shame to kick them out. It has proved a disaster to the Church of England to have kicked them out. If it had kept them in, what a different history the Church of England might have had. There is no reason in these days why a Presbyterian might not, if he pleased, be a low church Episcopalian; for the low church Episcopalian does not believe in the Divine right of Episcopacy. He is a Calvinist ordinarily, and thinks Episcopacy is only a fitting thing. I wish the Presbyterians would become Episcopalians. Any day almost the whole popular sentiment may shift, and we may wake up some morning and find ourselves saying, "After all, are we responsible for everybody that communes with us? May we not invite them in, letting them say whether they are baptized?" I cannot myself say it, you know. (Laughter.) But some morning a generation of Baptists may wake up and say it. It won't be done in my time if I can help it. (Laughter.) But there is absolutely no guarantee that it will not happen. Although I am a close communion Baptist, I pray the Lord to make His people one, and am willing to take the chances for my doctrinal position and for yours. May the day speedily come when Evangelical Protestantism shall no longer be chargeable with the sin of schism. (Applause.)

This concluded the afternoon session of the Congress, which then adjourned until 8 P. M.

*First Day.***EVENING SESSION.**

The President presided.

The proceedings commenced at 8 o'clock with the singing of the hymn, "Jesus shall reign where'er the sun," after which Rev. A. S. HOBART, D. D., of Yonkers, led in prayer.

The President announced the topic of the evening, and called for the first paper on

MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT.

BY THE REV. FRANCIS BELLAMY, OF BOSTON, MASS.

The Senator who said that the purification of politics is an iridescent dream, only said bluntly in public what multitudes believe and say in private. We meet it constantly in discussing municipal affairs. We are familiar with the daily recitals of the misdoings of city governments. We are scarcely less familiar with the undertone of pessimism which men betray in private conversation when the possibility of permanent reform is suggested. We are reminded of a hopeless lack of homogeneity in our city population, owing to the overwhelming increase of foreigners. Popular government is made the scapegoat for the municipal evil. It is urged that while universal suffrage gives ignorance and poverty the ballot, we can expect nothing better.

It is in precisely the opposite spirit that the subject of municipal government should be approached.

Democratic government is not a failure even in cities. Failure has come rather in not giving to the democratic principle a sufficient confidence, and in not recognizing the new applications of that principle which modern conditions require. I shall try to show that in the purification of municipal government hope lies in the fearless extension of trust in the people. If we name some of the chief causes of municipal misgovernment we shall see how large a part distrust of the people plays in them all.

One of the undisputed causes of city mal-administration in recent years is the inferior grade of men in city affairs. It is often averred that in former years official positions in the city were the ambition of the most substantial and honored citizens. It is now the case in Germany and many English cities that citizens of the highest character and culture are proud to manage the civic affairs, and for no other compensation than the honor. In the American city of the period, however, there is not enough incentive offered to make it worth either the while or the dignity of our most esteemed men to serve their neighbors in city governing. The aldermanic stipend is no motive to men of large business capacity to whom private business, or perhaps monopolies depending on the city franchise, are fields of gold. And the honor of sitting nightly in a distrusted body, whose functions are restricted to confirmations and appropriations, is scarcely of ~~port~~ sort to summon the ambition of the eminent citizen. We have arranged our municipal constitutions so that mediocrity is all we can command. An English journal's reflection on American politics is particularly applicable to our municipal situation: "The absence of great figures in the United States is not due to democracy, but to the craftiest combination of schemes to defeat the will of democracy ever devised in the world."

Another cause of municipal misgovernment is the uncertainty of responsibility, especially in its executive branches. Various departments, which should work in closest harmony, owe their appointment to as many different authorities; and often, not only do not co-operate, but actually pursue cross-purposes. At one time Philadelphia was found to be possessed by four boards with power to tear up the streets at will, but none whose duty it was to see that they were properly re-laid. Or here is an example of a composite officialdom which may happen any day: a "citizens' ticket" Mayor, a Republican Street Commissioner, both elected by the people; other appointments filled by men acceptable to a Democratic Board of Aldermen; a Police Commission named by the Governor, together with the State Legislature interfering on occasion; with such a mixture it is not easy to fix responsibility for mal-administration. Non-partisan commissions of four members, two from each party, is another favorite and specious arrangement by which the people are prevented from calling either party to account. This non-partisan contrivance is also an open door for the most unblushing division of spoils in the department between the "workers" of both parties.

This scattering of responsibility is in part one of the results of the frequent tampering with city charters by the State Legislatures.

It has been the custom, when startling exposures of municipal corruption have been made, for the invincible distrust in local popular government to show itself in packing off a delegation to the capital to secure some special legislation for the city. So it has come that many city constitutions are a patchwork of unrelated provisions which often tend to thwart one another, and certainly make it most difficult for the citizens to find who is to blame. The indefiniteness of accountability is due also, and perhaps chiefly, to the village idea, which still survives in most city charters. "City," in America, means simply numerosity. In European cities, size and numbers are only the accidents. Here they are the essentials. City, in America, means a settlement become a village; and, in turn, a village swollen to such an extent that a city charter is a necessity. But the town meeting surrendered its prerogatives with a jealous eye. It was accustomed to think the American system of counter-checks as needful to the municipal organism as to the nation. It forgot that it was the bigness of the nation which afforded safe play for counter-checks, while the smallness of the city would make their presence a source of disorder. Nevertheless, we have insisted on giving to our city officials as little power as possible. But while we have thus kept them from doing much harm, we have also prevented them from doing much good. We have given them a business corporation, in which we are all shareholders, to manage. But we have limited its operations; we have made the managers feel we distrusted them; and to crown all, we have contrived a system by which the managers can shift responsibility with the greatest ease, while we shareholders can express our disapproval with the greatest difficulty. And the real cause has been mistrust of our own resoluteness in calling them to account.

This suggests, perhaps, the most important cause of municipal abuse: the irresoluteness and indifference of the people themselves. Some are apathetic. It has been estimated that the stay-at-home vote at city elections amounts to one-fourth of the number of registered voters. This stay-at-home vote carries the balance of power. It carries also hidden in its pocket the power of rebuke for misgovernment, for it is composed of the more intelligent of the citizens. There is not so much to fear from the Irish vote, or the German vote, as from this absentee vote. The foreign vote is susceptible of disintegration; it may negative itself. But the abstaining vote is solid against good government. At intervals, after some particularly atrocious conduct, this vote is invaded by indignation, and some fraction of it shakes off its languor and makes itself felt at the polls. But it is only a spasm. It is the rush of raw volun-

teers against regulars. The regulars may be broken, but they can wait. Their turn will come again presently. Meanwhile the stay-at-homes return to their habit, imagining that by earnestly doing their duty for two or three years they have conquered the power of corruption, and that it is not necessary to continue the fight till it is driven from the field.

The people also show their indifference to pure administration by their blind partisanship in city elections. Mr. Henry C. Lea makes this scathing indictment against American obedience to party sway in city politics: "The most dangerous enemies of reform are not the poor men or the ignorant men, but the men of wealth and position, who have nothing to gain from political corruption, but show themselves as unfitted for the right of suffrage as the lowest proletarian, by allowing their partisanship to enlist them in the support of candidates notoriously bad, who happen, by control of the party machinery, to obtain the regular nominations." This is not too severe. Year after year rational men suffer themselves to be led to the city polls, like a procession of children, by the party managers. They allow themselves to be frightened with unknown evils to the nation, if a Democrat should be elected to the common council from a Republican ward. At all other times they conduct themselves with clear-sighted judgment; but at charter election time they throw cool reasonableness to the winds; they imagine that street cleansing and sewers and fire department and health department have a bearing on national politics, and that patriotism demands that they help their party through the crisis, which is always arranged for that special period.

When we come to look for remedies for our municipal evils we must take care to walk on the ground. Doctrinaires, with ballooning theories, are numerous just now in the arena of municipal discussion. Every proposed theory must stand the test of sheer practicableness: "Can the thing be done?"

The most obvious need is the separation of municipal politics from national politics. In England, where the civil service is quite out of politics, this separation is not needful. In Birmingham, for instance, the "best governed city in the world," Mr. Joseph Chamberlain told me the other day that the three national parties—Conservative, Liberal and Liberal-Unionist—each ran their own candidates; and he believed in that way secured the best choice of men. But in America, where the civil service is still the reward of the worker, as great a separation as possible ought to be sought. It is, of course, too much to hope that there will be any permanent sacrifice of the convenience of party machinery for the ideal of a divi-

sion into city parties upon city issues. But it is quite possible to remove the city election so far from the November elections that it will neither be construed as a straw nor used for vengeance. Yet, even then it cannot be made independent of national partisanship, except as it is made more engrossing than at present by fresh and additional city interests being brought forward for the people's decision.

Another remedy is imperative, and not unattainable: It is possible to introduce a substantial civil service reform. This in itself would do more to divorce municipal from national politics than any other one step. Real civil service reform is impossible, so long as terms of office are limited by revolutions of the astronomical bodies. For, grant that a Democratic bookkeeper may not be ejected by the newly-elected Republican Mayor until his term expires; yet, when his term is out, it will be a Republican bookkeeper who goes in; and it is too much to expect that it will not be in recognition of some political service. But let two cardinal principles be established: 1st, That no one in the civil service shall be allowed to take any further part in city politics than to cast his vote; he suffers no serious abridgment of his liberties; he is kept from campaigning by his business, and so are nine-tenths of our business men kept from campaigning by their business; and 2d, That the term of office be unlimited by chronology, but be during good behavior and efficient work. Why should it not be so? This is the logic of civil service reform. If the service be not spoils for the victors, then it is simply a line of business, and owes no obligation to the public except efficiency. There is no more reason why a city official should yield his place to an office seeker than that a good railway conductor should be expected to step out because a railway shareholder wished his position. What successful private business was ever attempted on the principle of hiring its important clerks and other employees for a term of service, at the close of which they must expect to give place to others, no matter how efficient they had been? The Boston Police and Fire Departments are organized upon the principle of service for good behavior, and are admirable specimens of efficient civil service. It should be only a matter of time when all appointed officials, except heads of departments, should expect to hold their positions as long as they serve well.

Again, it is imperative that responsibility be defined and located. The people must know where the trouble lies, and whom to call to account when things go wrong. There must no longer be a dissipation of responsibility between Mayor and Aldermen and Councilmen, and then through executive commissions, for whose composi-

tion and actions no one can be held strictly accountable. The people of Boston, for instance, do not know, even with their recent charter, where to lay the blame for many municipal disorders. Mayor and Street Commissioner, School Board and the two Chambers are elected by the people. Treasurer, Auditor, Superintendent of the streets, and 104 other officials are appointed by Mayor and Aldermen together. There are forty distinct executive departments which depend on Mayor and Aldermen. The Police Department is controlled by the Governor and his council. The State also appoints a Fire Marshal to investigate fires, while the city-appointed firemen put them out. The various departments are headed by commissions of three or five men, and, by another ingenious contrivance, these men are appointed by the Mayor singly, only one each year; so that the Mayor can never control any commission of three until his second year, nor any commission of five until his third year, if he lasts so long. But these are not all the obstacles the people meet in finding out who is accountable. If seven of the twelve Aldermen are not in sympathy with the Mayor, they can, by dictations or bargains, put such a restriction on his appointments that he finds himself without control of the executive departments of which he is the nominal head. It is indeed, as the English journal said, "the craftiest combination of schemes to defeat the will of democracy ever devised in the world." Yet but few American cities are better.

The city of Brooklyn has given us the example of a progressive city constitution. The Aldermen are elected by the people; so are the Mayor, the Auditor and the Comptroller. The Mayor then appoints, without any confirmation by the Aldermen, the entire train of officials, who man the executive departments. Each department is headed by one man, instead of an irresponsible and changing commission. This one man is entirely responsible to the Mayor for the conduct of his whole department, and the Mayor is responsible to the people at the next election. There is no doubt where to locate approval or blame. This is simplicity itself. It also follows the models which have always secured the greatest efficiency. The successful business house, the mammoth corporation, the national administration at Washington, are alike in this respect; we find one responsible man at the head of each great department, and responsible for its conduct. These heads of departments in Brooklyn form the Mayor's cabinet. They are all in accord with him and in co-operation with each other. Such an administration can move on as a single mind. If it is pure and efficient, it can be endorsed as a whole. If it is a failure in one part, it suffers as if

guilty of the whole. Everything depends on the central figure which the people place at the head of the city. Thus, while a clear-brained, strong man will make his administration distinguished for its integrity and thoroughness, a Mayor who is timid or irresolute or morally weak, will be sure to plunge municipal business into disorder and discredit. But even this result under this system has its advantage; the people know it was their own fault in not insisting on having none but the best for the high office, and the remedy at hand is effectual and without complications.

In the endorsement or condemnation of such an administration there is interest enough to attract the languid vote. President Seth Low, the ex-Mayor of Brooklyn under this system, testifies that its effect in bringing out the inert voters has been especially satisfactory. An issue like that is engaging. There is one responsible man to hit or to defend.

Is there not, however, reason for further advance in this same direction? For the sole power at present which the Mayor has upon the city legislation is to interpose his veto, while the Aldermen alone have the right of initiative. Thus the Aldermen, by their appropriations, to say nothing of other methods of attack, can directly interfere with the executive; and if hostile, can seriously impair the service it would render the people. Might not common sense suggest that these prerogatives of initiative and veto change hands, giving the Mayor the right of moving legislative measures and the Aldermen the duty of rejecting them if unwise? True, it has never been done in America; but it has always been done in the British government; and for effectiveness in financial administration that government has been unsurpassed. It is about the only thing, however, in municipal experiments which we have not tried. Done in the small circle of a city government, it could do little harm at most. It could be so easily relinquished, as other experiments have been, that it need not be feared as the entering wedge of foreign institutionalism; while its advantages would be in the desirable direction both of attracting better men to office and in calling out the hitherto uninterested voters.

For, first, we would be enabled to call on our distinguished men to take municipal office. The Mayoralty would be a position of such opportunity and dignity that it would be attractive to men of eminent character and disinterested purpose. The Aldermanic position would also enjoy an enhanced responsibility, together with a relief from the possibility of jobbery, which would make it worth the acceptance of a superior grade of men. And secondly, as a final step in simplifying political issues so that the dullest can com-

prehend whom he wants to vote for, it has a clear advantage. Here is a sharply cut issue at election day : Shall the Mayor be supported in his views, or shall the Aldermen be supported in their views ? Shall we return a new Mayor in sympathy with the former Aldermen, or shall we return new Aldermen in sympathy with the former Mayor ? There is a concentrating of interest which would be likely to attract the most inveterate stay-at-home voter ; and a concentrating of issues which would require but little mental exertion on the part of the most absorbed citizen in making up his mind where he wanted to strike. It is utterly useless to declaim about the civic sin of the man who does not vote. He has been appealed to times without end, and spasms of earnestness have been the only results. He can never be made to appear regularly at the municipal polls, until municipal politics are made as simple and interesting as national politics.

This leads me to suggest one more remedy for our municipal evils : Give the municipality more business to do.

The city is in reality nothing but a business corporation in which all the citizens are shareholders. It emerged from the town-meeting methods and assumed city powers, not for sentiment, but for business ends. The city is not a mere aggregate of the Smiths and Robinsons and Joneses, and its government should not be a machine whose chief advantage is the ease with which it may be made to stop itself. The city is a social organism in which the individuals are related to each other in certain common needs. It is time the American city became conscious of itself, and of its mission as a business enterprise for the good of its citizens.

The city ought to extend its business into the absorption of certain natural monopolies. There are many cogent and intrinsic reasons why the municipality should operate its own public lighting system, and at least control its own street-car system. As city life enlarges, its complexities increase, and what may be called its necessities of life become more numerous. The light supply and rapid transit have become as much necessities of life to the modern city as ever schools and fire engines and water-works have been seen to be. If, therefore, the citizens find that by co-operation they can supply themselves with these necessities at cheaper rates and with better results than by buying them from another corporation, they owe it to themselves to enter upon the undertaking. If it be accepted that lower rates and better service can be got by the municipalization of gas and electric lights and street cars, there is no argument against them that will not apply equally well against city water-works and city fire department and city schools. It has been

satisfactorily demonstrated in America, as well as abroad, that gas and electric lighting can be done by the city at immensely lower rates than it is done by private corporations. Without going further into detail, I will only repeat the startling figures that Professor Adams, of Michigan University, gives us: That to-day "the people of this country are supporting in the price they pay for gas a ten per cent. dividend on \$150,000,000 of fictitious stock." No American city yet owns its own street cars. But the experience of foreign cities, especially Glasgow, warrants the conviction that not only would city taxes be greatly diminished, but a prodigiously better service be secured, if our cities had a *quasi* control of the rapid transit system.

My limits forbid the development of these intrinsic reasons for the absorption by the city of certain natural monopolies. I have named the measure rather as a means to better government. I urge further municipalization in the conviction that it will work for purer city politics.

When Mr. Joseph Chamberlain became Mayor of Birmingham nearly twenty years ago, its city government had been corrupt and inefficient. One of his first acts was to move the purchase of both water-works and the gas-works. His argument before the people was, the profit that would accrue in the health of the town and the comfort of the inhabitants. But he perceived quite as clearly that the large measures he was undertaking would operate to save the town from its indifference to municipal misgovernment. The result proved his sagaciousness. When the government began to involve itself in momentous ventures, the city began to take a new interest in its motions.

Similarly in America, the enlargement of municipal functions should be expected to lead the way to municipal reforms, and not to wait to come after them. Suppose, for instance, that we should diminish the business done by the municipality from its present standard; suppose the water-works were sold to one private corporation; care of the streets consigned to another; the fire department relinquished to a trust composed of all the fire insurance companies; and, finally, the schools sold to the religious denominations. We will not here query as to the effect on the city life and comfort. But what would be the effect on the city government? None will doubt that it would lose a proportionate amount of the people's respect; it would lose self-respect. Further, no one will question that the people would also take far less interest in its management than they do now. The people would say, What if it is corrupt and the officials are said to steal? The stealings are too small for

busy men like us to feel like taking the time to producing the necessary agitation to turn one set of rascals out for another set as bad to come in. Should we diminish the business of the municipality, we would find we had lessened our chances of getting efficient men to take office, and also lessened the care of the citizens whether the city was well officered or not. The small interest taken usually in village elections for president and trustees, and the ordinary men who will give their time to serving, are an instance of this rule. But on the other hand, let us suppose our city business largely increased. Where we now give our officials one million annually to handle, let us give them two millions. As we realize the prodigious power we are giving them, will we not take a keener interest in what kind of men they are, and how they manage the trust?

To interest the citizens, and to maintain their interest, is, we must not forget, the great thing to gain in working for municipal reform. Let all the citizens become permanently interested in city politics, and the purification of city government will take care of itself.

Why is the municipal government of Berlin or Birmingham or Glasgow so much less corrupt and more efficient than ours? Certainly not because their citizens are more intelligent or more moral than Americans. One reason certainly is that the machinery is more simple and direct. But the deepest reason is that the functions are so much more extensive that not only are the most capable men led to take office, but the people generally are attentive to the problems which the many-sided business of the city presents.

If it is objected that monopolies should be kept out of politics, we can only reply that monopolies are in politics. They depend on legislatures and city councils, and on politicians and lobbyists for their very existence. Private monopolies have debauched our politics, and are a continual menace to uncorrupted government. Our recent West End Railway scandal in Boston is only less than the Broadway Surface bribery of New York Aldermen; but both go to show how terrible is the pressure which great natural monopolies can bring to bear to extort franchises. The interests of such immense enterprises as elevated railways, surface railways, gas-works, electric lighting plants and water-works, are necessarily antagonistic to the interests of the public. They serve the people, but their motive is dividends, and not the comfort of the people or the improvement of the city. They absorb the best business talent and the best legal shrewdness into their service that they may secure privileges at public sacrifice. They employ a candidate for Gov-

ernor of Massachusetts to defeat in legislative committee the natural petition of Danvers town people that they may be allowed to do their own electric lighting. And they employ an ex-Governor of Massachusetts to lobby for the passage of an elevated railroad bill, which gives fullest freedom to the company without the public receiving a dollar of compensation. Monopolies will be in politics in a bad sense until the people take them into politics in a good sense by undertaking their operation themselves. In this way, too, municipal reform is more apt to follow extension of the city's business than to go before it.

To sum up the remedies I have suggested for municipal misgovernment :

1. Separate municipal politics from national politics as much as possible.

2. Establish substantial civil service reform on the principle of tenure of office during good behavior for all appointees except heads of departments.

3. Simplify the administration so that the responsibility can be located, and the people can easily correct abuses by treating the executive as an entirety.

4. Give the municipality more business to do as a means (1), for bringing the best men to the work ; and (2) for keeping the people alert in city politics. Inaugurate at once the municipalization of natural monopolies as a means to municipal reform.

But, before all, after all, under all, trust the people. Trust them with an undismayed, invincible trust. Make the people trustworthy by putting more trust in them.

Mr. Bellamy's paper was followed by one on

MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT,

BY THE HON. A. S. BACON, OF BROOKLYN, N. Y.

"All theory is smoke." Were this a proverb of Solomon, instead of an alleged utterance of the devil in a modern classic, we might take it for a text. Until we began to examine critically into the subject of municipal government we had several pet theories, any one of which would convert Sodom and Gomorrah into Athens and New Haven; but we find that each of our theories has been put into practice in American cities, and each of these cities has condemned its own system as the most unsatisfactory of all. Professor Agassiz once wrote a paper to show that speckled brook trout could not be found to exceed four pounds in weight. Senator

Frye thereupon sent him two speckled beauties weighing together nineteen pounds, which caused the professor to exclaim: "The theory of a lifetime has been kicked to death by a stubborn fact." Inductive philosophy is the only true reasoning. First collect your facts, then deduct your theory. But even this method is found to miss fire nine times out of ten, because the discovery of some new fact upsets the target.

"All theory is smoke"; nevertheless let us sweep together enough facts, if we can, to bolster up a theory that may be practical for American cities in 1890. The analogies of history give us the shortest cut to very pretty theories, but they are least satisfactory of all, because ancient and modern conditions are widely dissimilar. The analogies drawn from model modern cities in Europe are more satisfactory, but the conditions entering into their problems of government are also dissimilar to ours. Let us first consider known qualities that enter into our own problems.

The inhabitants of all large American cities are not homogeneous; they are not bound together by ties of race, religion or history. According to Mayor Hewitt, 20 per cent. of the people in New York city do not speak English. An overwhelming majority of the votes are of foreign birth or parentage. A large proportion have little knowledge of, or sympathy with American institutions. They are not susceptible to public opinion, for they neither go to church nor read the newspapers. A military authority has estimated that 200,000 people in the city of New York may be denominated "the dangerous classes." A property qualification of \$250 would disqualify 75,000 voters in New York city, as shown by the jury lists. Our native voters are not homogeneous, because they carry state and national politics into city affairs; the foreign born voters are not homogeneous because they have no common ties of religion, race or history.

Let us assume the following as established facts, substantially true of all large American cities: Adult male suffrage is universal; voters are heterogeneous, bound together in municipal affairs by no common tie; the majority rules, while the minority pays four-fifths of all the taxes; the majority is not composed of those who are thoughtful and intelligent concerning municipal expenditures. We have drawn the picture the mildest possible. We would be justified, doubtless, in assuming that the machinery of city governments is in the hands of the careless rich, the thoughtless poor, the ignorant and the vicious. These classes have no sympathy with each other, but act together through the manipulations of leaders who are interested in politics for revenue only.

American cities are governed extravagantly and corruptly; people say they are plundered. Their miraculous growth and increase in taxable values enable the people to endure temporarily tax rates of 3 per cent., as in some Brooklyn wards last year. After the boom bursts—the deluge. Everybody knows that the contract system, as carried on under our municipal governments, leads to all kinds of irregularities; extravagant profits are reduced by gifts to officials; clerks under the city government are gentlemen of leisure; the most responsible positions are often held by ignorant figureheads, who can neither read nor write, while an irresponsible ring, who own them, divide among themselves the princely revenues of the offices. Speculation is rife; rascals go unrebuked; the public conscience is seared and the effect upon public morals is vicious; the plundered public seem to resemble less the innocent countryman who is “buncoed” on Broadway than the dishonest countryman who tries the “green goods” game on the Bowery. Boss Tweed was re-elected Senator, with increased majorities, after his plunderings were open as the day; as a thief, he was no less a hero to his constituents. We are reminded, however, that Mr. Tweed projected and carried through gigantic improvements, while Mr. Croker conceives no such admirable improvements; and yet the city budget steadily increases and the city debt has grown more than 50 per cent. Draw your own conclusions between the city government of Tweed in 1870, and of Croker in 1890. I make no comment.

The extravagant and wicked mismanagement of cities is shown by the following illustrations. Two years ago, the New York city register's office gave a net profit to the register of a fortune in fees. Under a new law he gets a salary of \$10,000 per annum; there is less work to be done, yet the force of clerks has been largely increased and there is an annual deficit of about \$10,000. Is anything more eloquent than such facts? Do not think New York is the only American Sodom. Of two houses—one in New York the other in Brooklyn—each of the actual value of \$10,000, the taxes on the Brooklyn house will be about twice those on the New York house, and my inquiries lead me to believe that maladministration in all large American cities varies in degree, not in kind. The Brooklyn Aldermen have taken junketing tours for several years to Gettysburg. They see the sights, drink the wine and sleep off the headaches, while the people furnish the picnic money. That esteemed Brooklynite, the Secretary of the Navy, met with a distressing affliction. The hearts of the nation went out to him in tenderest sympathy. Letters and telegrams from every corner of

the land expressed promptly the heartfelt sorrow of friends and strangers. But no sorrow compared with that of the Kings county Board of Supervisors (Brooklyn); it was slow, but sure. They passed resolutions of sympathy containing 170 words; they were engrossed—whether on a plate of gold in letters of precious stones we do not know, but it cost the county \$543.75. It took two members of the board and one messenger (a clerk of a committee) to convey this precious condolence to Washington. Their bill was \$413. Total cost of Kings county sympathy, \$956.75. What a mercy to the country that the Board did not vote themselves a committee of the whole to convey their grief; the country would have had to issue more bonds. If we allow \$43.75 for the engrossing, we have a profit of \$500; railroad and parlor car fares to Washington and return, and board for one day at the best hotel for three persons are \$66, leaving \$349 for sun-d-r-i-e-s, with accent on the “dries.” If the whole Board had gone, Washington might have had a famine in “extra dry.” Yet Brooklyn has what the theorists call a model government, where the people can fix the responsibility for every misdeed or incapable act. The people of the City of Churches are certainly of average intelligence and morals. Yet they re-elect year after year the same public servants whose unsavory records are continually exposed by the press.

Many cities have already become practically bankrupt, noticeably many in New Jersey and Maine. In 1870, Bath, Me., had a debt of \$216.69 per capita; Elizabeth, N. J., \$195.28. Under universal suffrage Washington was notoriously misgoverned and nearly bankrupt; under a non partisan commission of three persons it is one of the cleanest, healthiest and best governed of cities.

“All theory is smoke,” but do not the facts warrant us in saying that the government of cities in America, under present conditions, is a flat failure? Are there any signs of a change for the better? In 1790 one-thirteenth, and in 1890 one-fourth of the population of the United States lived in cities of 8,000 and over. The percentage of foreign born population has steadily increased till, in 1880, 88 per cent. of New York and 91 per cent. of Chicago were of foreign birth or parentage. Three times as much liquor was sold per capita in 1883 as in 1840. Saloons have increased till in 1880 New York has one saloon to every 171 of the population, and Cincinnati one to every 124. Between 1870 and 1880 the population increased 30 per cent., the number of criminals 82 per cent. Sabbath desecration has increased, and the ratio of churches to population has decreased. If the financial condition of our cities has been bad in the past, what is the prospect of the future? What

will be the verdict of history on municipal governments of the people, by the people, for the politicians?

Is there any other country or city now existing under similar conditions that may be useful in this discussion as an example? We think of but one. The Turk is a small minority in Turkey. His government is not government at all; it is a gigantic mercantile swindle. Judges get no salary, but pay for the privilege of bleeding suitors. Judges and tax gatherers alike pay the Sultan for a chance to make a fortune. As a mere money getting machine it resembles city governments by political halls. The Arabs, Christians and Jews of Turkey all hate the Turk and, by uniting, might easily dethrone him, but their want of homogeneity, their hatred of each other, prevent any concerted action, and the Turk plays one faction against the other and thus keeps the reins of government. Just so in American cities the injection of political issues into municipal affairs, which are of a business character only, enables a compact minority to balance itself upon the political prejudices of political opponents just as the Turk balances himself upon the religious hatreds of Arabs, Jews and Christians, and thus maintains his supremacy.

What is this compact political minority that shows such shrewd skill in controlling American city governments? A certain business depends upon politics for existence. Those engaged in the business are joined in associations that bind them to vote together. No person is allowed in the business unless he can control at least, say, five votes. These societies have a central committee with full power to direct how all votes shall be cast, and they are always cast with an eye to business exclusively. Sentiments of religion, race or politics do not swerve them. They may be nominally of any party; it is their policy to have representatives in all parties. The obligation assumed in the organization covers the point that business interests must dominate political inclinations. In 1883 there were 206,970 of these concerns thus banded together. They represent from one to one and a half million of voters with but a single purpose—business. Tariff and election laws are nothing to them. Their governing committee, like the Sultan, balances itself upon political issues, throws its solid votes and fat campaign funds on one side or the other, or divides it up, according as one or both parties come to their terms. This keeps the favored business on top. It is a powerful tool that allows political bosses to run city governments "for revenue only," and as long as suffrage is universal and National and State politics remain a force in munic-

ipal affairs, there seems to be no hope for improvement till we shall come so near the "dead line of vice" that God will raise up either a Julius Cæsar or a John Brown for our destruction or regeneration.

"All theory is smoke." The consideration of cold facts would lead us to the conclusion that most of the cities of the United States are hurrying towards ruin; that some of them, at least, will some day become bankrupt like Elizabeth, N. J. The patient is very sick and the medicines administered by our theoretical doctors are only salves or blisters for local treatment. The malady is blood poisoning; and the remedies must be blood purifiers. You don't apply ointment to a red nose to cure the delirium tremens, neither will juggling with the relative powers of mayors and aldermen make a moral people; officials will be what a majority of the voters are. Nevertheless, I believe so thoroughly in the inherently good qualities of the American race, and the strong constitution of the patient, as to be confident that in time he will recover in spite of both his disease and his doctors.

Is there any consolation to be found in the analogies of history? There were Sodom and Gomorrah; they had homogeneous populations, but they were homogeneously bad, and they were destroyed; beside, they were not, probably, democracies, and our analogy fails. There was democratic Athens, that scattered her civilization in the trail of Alexander's conquests till the whole world was Athenian. Her record is to be envied. What was her municipal government? She had a senate of 500—50 chosen from each tribe. There was no central executive like a mayor; the functionaries were divided and independent; officials were chosen by lot, but all had to pass an examination before the senate as to character and citizenship; they had to show that they were Athenians, both on the father's and the mother's side—how would New York dignitaries stand that?—that they worshipped Apollo and Zeus—that would do for New York by substituting Mammon and Bacchus—that they showed filial piety toward parents (hard on young America); that they had performed the requisite military service and possessed the requisite property. The generals were asked if they were living in legitimate marriage. We fear that a civil service examination that included good morals would noticeably change the complexion of modern city officials. However beneficent may have been the influence of Athens in the world's history, and however desirable may have been many of the results attained in her city government, we are aware that her conditions of homogeneity, with property qualification of voters, do not maintain here. We learn too, "that

in later times even Athens became degenerate when the incomes of the rich were almost considered public property to be used for the pleasure of the community," and finally Athens went down.

Modern Glasgow is held up to us as a model. It is a self-made city of 560,000 people, with a growth as rapid as in our own cities. It is more densely populated than London; 25 per cent. of its families live in apartments of one room. It has all the conditions that tend toward disease, filth, ignorance and vice, yet the city government is so perfect in all the departments that the people are healthy, the children educated, the streets clean and vice at a minimum. The city furnishes the water and gas, baths and wash houses, and owns the tram lines. The appointing power is in the city council—corresponding to our unsavory boards of aldermen—yet the heads of departments are practically permanent, and, as a natural consequence, Glasgow is governed as though it was a private business. What is the secret? The same qualifications do not maintain for national and municipal suffrage. Of the 89,750 stockholders (voters) in the business corporation called Glasgow, all own shares (pay taxes on realty), 75,000 of them are men, and 14,750 are women, *and they all vote.* As a result the slums are disfranchised and the ward politician is unknown. Birmingham is another model city. Its conditions are practically the same—a homogenous population and a property qualification for voters without distinction of sex.

From the consideration of many historical examples we deduct the following: All successful self-governing municipalities have been small or homogeneous cities, where there was a strong sense of fellowship and identity of interest, and where the qualifications for municipal and national suffrage have been distinct. These conditions do not, nor are they likely soon to, exist in any American city, and we are able to glean no ray of hope from any sign of improvement now in the firmament. The tendencies seem to be downward rather than upward. This is true unless "all theory is smoke."

Homogeneous we are not, and cannot be, for several generations, at best. A property qualification we cannot get in the present state of public opinion—unrestricted suffrage is too thoroughly American to be given up—even as applied to municipal affairs, before one or two more large cities shall have gone to financial smash; then public opinion will turn upon itself in short order, for nothing changes so rapidly as public sentiment in a crisis.

"All theory is smoke." Nevertheless, let us theorize a bit. "Life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness" are equally dear to the loafer tramp and the loafer millionaire. All State and National

affairs that concern the making of laws are equally important to each ; and, as "all men are created equal," suffrage should be universal. But the laws of our land and the decisions of our courts do not recognize city governments as sovereignties. Cities make no laws and keep no armies ; they are mere corporations for business purposes. State legislatures make and unmake city charters with even less deliberation than they amend the laws relating to manufacturing corporations. And as long as the legislature holds the reins so as to preserve to the humblest citizen "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness," there seems to be no good reason why everybody should vote on matters relative to the disbursements of city moneys any more than that visitors in a home should vote on the quality of dress goods to be worn by the hostess. The sole object of municipal government is to give the inhabitants of a city comfort and safety in their houses and streets, to wit: good schools, hospitals and jails, efficient police, good drains, light at night, etc., and economic disbursement of funds. These are business matters and nothing else, and the people who own the city (own property, or pay rent) ought to run it. Nevertheless, any restriction of the suffrage in the present state of public opinion is absolutely impracticable, and we but waste our words if it be true that "all theory is smoke."

The race problem in the South is a simple one compared with the problem of the government of large cities with their multiplex races ; there are indications of restricted suffrage in the South along property and educational lines, but none here. Our phenomenal growth, which allows constantly increasing valuations to keep down tax rates and cover up increased extravagance, will some day come to an end. Let any great city cease to boom for ten years and it will be bankrupt. There will come a day of reckoning and a dawn of common sense and changed theories. A few years since any man rash enough to proclaim that America was not to be the home for the oppressed of all nations, would have been suppressed as a traitor to America and a vassal of kings. To-day we are closing our gates and praying to be delivered from a thirteen course dinner till we have had time to digest a nine course lunch. And the day is not far distant when a revulsion of public opinion will place municipal governments on a plane with business corporations—when municipal elections will take place in the spring, and be divorced from National and State politics—when property holders and rent payers only shall vote on matters relating to the disbursement of city moneys, when streets shall be clean, death rates low, city employees industrious, city contracts fair, aldermen respectable and honest,

the people wearing a perpetual smile and the millennium within reach.

Let us speculate a little—may not some genius of the future “Looking Backward” over a fraction of a century only, perhaps, tell in beautiful and fanciful language a story founded in fact, about the great moral earthquake that freed the slave—tell how King Cotton was dethroned and burned with all his cruel courtiers upon a great national funeral pyre (fit emblem for the barbaric past)—tell of another moral and financial earthquake that overturned our enslaved cities; tell how, when the smoke of false theories had cleared away, the people swept up the debris into a great national crematory (a fit emblem of the enlightened present), and laid away the ashes in public urns for a warning to the people; tell how all men burned their family trees and forgot their ancestry, for every family ran back into some one of those urns of dishonor, containing the ashes of political bosses, “ward statesmen,” aldermen and non-voting saints—all representatives of a past imbecile and corrupt system, denominated in history the scum that rose on the surface of the nineteenth century sea—tell how, when that scum was swept away, revealing all the moral and material beauties of the age, history had accorded to that century the palm of progress, not only in science, literature, art and invention, but in moral reforms as well—tell how, following the example of America, the world became homogeneous after American models; all nations became republics, and all peoples worshiped the God of Israel.

The preceding papers were followed by an address on the same topic of

MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT,

BY REV. LEIGHTON WILLIAMS, OF NEW YORK.

It is with reluctance that I take a position on the printed programme, while occupying the position of Secretary of this Congress, but it seems necessary that I should do so. On one occasion Mr. Travers, the witty banker of New York, was talking on the floor of the Exchange to the disturbance of business. The President was reluctant to call Mr. Travers' attention to the fact, and abstained for some time. Next he said, rapping gently with his mallet, “Mr. Travers, I shall have to fine you.” Mr. Travers kept on talking. Finally he said to the clerk, “Fine Mr. Travers one dollar.” Mr. Travers continued talking, and again the President said to the clerk, “Fine Mr. Travers.” Mr. Travers still con-

tinned, and a third time the President said, "Fine Mr. Travers one dollar." Mr. Travers then looked around at the clerk and said, "Mr. Clerk, fine slowly, for I have a slight impediment in my speech, and I have a good deal to say." I find myself in Mr. Travers' predicament, not that I have an impediment in my speech, but the impediment comes from the many arguments presented in the admirable address from my friend, Mr. Bacon, which I have to roll out of the way.

In the first place, Mr. Bacon set out with a proposition which is to me very distasteful, and that is that the people are not to be trusted. The summer before last it was my privilege to spend a week in the camp at Peekskill, not as a military man, but though unfamiliar with their tactics yet greatly interested in the effect of the drill on the soldiers. The Colonel said to me on the last day of the camp but one, "I am going to give the men a hard day to-day," and he did. Before breakfast they had a battalion drill, a mock combat in the morning, and another battalion drill in the afternoon. Finally some of the men began dropping out of the ranks, and I heard even some of the non-commissioned officers complaining considerably. I told the Colonel, but like a good true man he said nothing, but bore it. In the evening when the men were at supper in the mess hall, there came word from the Adjutant General that the best day's work had been done that day that had ever been done in the camp. Then you should have heard the cheering from those men for the Colonel. It is that Colonel who has addressed you to-night, the Hon. A. S. Bacon, one of our most distinguished officers in the State of New York. He had confidence in his men right through, and appealed from their false judgment to their truer judgment, and that is just what I want to do. That is what every patriot is seeking to do to-day, to appeal from the selfish motives dominating men in times of peace and prosperity, to the deeper, truer motives which are in every man's soul if you can only reach them.

The Colonel also said, "All theory is smoke," but the method I shall have to pursue is largely theoretical. While the Colonel was referring to his parallel I had in my mind the old city of Rome, with its world-wide empire, its limited citizenship and great wealth. In that one city there was a great amount of corruption and a large amount of neglect on the part of the wealthy classes of their poorer neighbors, and the end was ruin, but it did not come from universal suffrage. He pointed out the possible outcome, a Julius Cæsar or a John Brown, and it seemed very much more probable that it would be a Julius Cæsar than a John Brown. And I

thought of a remark made to me by my father many years ago. He said that he feared that history would repeat itself in this country, if we were not on our guard. As corruption grew in our cities the men of wealth would be the first to cry security at any cost and welcome any dictator who could promise it. Property rights must not stand above life. Property rights are secondary to those of life and liberty. I do not know whether this sentiment will find an echo at once in every heart. I do not know whether it will put me in the position of a crank or not, but I think of this, "The life is more than meat, and the body than raiment." What shall a man give in exchange for his life? And is not the life of the meanest, poorest factory girl worth as much as mine? It is; and as I walk through New York and meet such a figure as I did yesterday, when I saw an old man with shuffling gait walking through the square with no object evidently before him, munching a piece of dry bread, I felt there was a human soul. And what was the city of New York doing for that man? Had he no rights? Is it true that only the property class should have any part in the government, and that for them alone the government should exist, or should it exist also for that man? Should it not afford also some relief for the poor woman who in the City of New York threw herself from the window and left behind a letter, that she had evidently written to her husband in a distant city looking for work, that she had vainly sought work here and there but found it impossible except on conditions of dishonor which she could not accept, and therefore preferred death to that dishonor? Such scenes go on in a big city like New York, and we are now quite familiar with the saying that the tramp is the corollary of the millionaire.

In the next place, I desire to speak as a Christian. I have found a good many who criticize the introduction on our Baptist Congress platform of such topics as this. I am reminded of a remark of William Arthur's, the author of "The Tongue of Fire." He said that those who looked for the conversion of individuals must recognize that there was also another element in Christianity, and that was the redemption of Society; that it was true institutions were moulded by individuals, but the opposite was also true that corrupt institutions degrade men who were better than their institutions. And I find that the same opinion seems to run through all the prophets. How Nehemiah was stirred to the depths of his soul because young Hebrew maidens were sold as slaves to Hebrew landlords, and vineyards passed from rightful owners into the hands of others. I read again how Jeremiah was stirred, because

those once free were brought back to bondage, and as I look down the centuries I see the Saviour himself weeping over a city.

I shall not deal, as my predecessors have done, with the rapid growth of cities or picture their present decline. De Tocqueville gloried in the town system, but the town system is certainly on the decline and is now rapidly disintegrating. The tendency now is toward centralization. Here we have to meet the final test of democracy in such cities as New York, but there is an old Roman saying that it was not the part of a patriot to doubt of the republic. It is not due to universal suffrage or democracy that we have failed, because we find that in monarchies and in oligarchies corruption is greater. It is rather the presence of great wealth with its selfish and corrupting influences. A friend of mine told me that a wealthy man of his acquaintance said that if he had been on the jury in Jacob Sharp's case he would not have convicted him because, as a man of wealth, he knew the Broadway scheme must be put through and could not be wrung from the Aldermen except by corruption; ergo, corruption is necessary. This will serve as an illustration of the corrupting influence of wealth. Again, corruption is due to constant legislative tinkering with municipal affairs. There is also a great want of centralized responsibility. Mr. Andrew H. Green found in the government of New York some years ago not less than eighty different boards or individuals who could create debt independently of one another. There is a limitation of functions which has been alluded to by the first speaker, so that a good mayor can do but little. We had an excellent mayor in Mr. Hewitt, but what could he do? Many things that he proposed were not entered into. But the growth of corruption in great cities is not due to minimization of functions alone, but to the farming out of the public revenues to private corporations as well as to donations of public property and franchises. These are some of the defects in our present system of government which produce corruption.

The inadequacy of attempted reforms, and the occasion for their failure is largely the want of any sufficiently lofty motive capable of inspiring enthusiasm. Many of the reforms of our day seek only material well being. There is also a lack of hearty co-operation on the part of Christians. There is also the opposition of privileged classes to improvement. In London, the great mediæval guilds coming down to our day have been the opponents of good government, so that while smaller English and Scotch cities have good government, London has not until recently secured anything like it. In Philadelphia, I am told, the street car lines oppose good

pavements because it will make traffic by omnibuses and carriages more frequent. In Brooklyn recently, a new school was needed and about to be built, but the erection was prevented by property owners because of increase of taxes. There is also a lack of a definite programme. Mere exhortation will not reform a city, you must propose something definite. There is also the dependence on selfish motives. You must have something more lofty than the simple proposition to turn the rascals out and put our friends in.

In regard to the reconstruction of government, my first suggestion is that we should have a general municipal government act passed by the States prohibiting legislative interference in local concerns. My proposition is that there should be a concentration of power in a large municipal council of two chambers, and a mayor with large appointed powers and the dependence of all appointive departments on the will of the mayor and this body combined. I cannot stop to argue these propositions, but they are not untried proposals by any means. There are good names of high position for all of them, and I have simply to put them before you in this brief way. Let there be no split into ward governments or government by guilds. It is objected, perhaps, that it is the proper object of government simply to secure well being. In reply I say no; it is to seek the moral elevation of all the community, life more than property. In the second place, on the necessary extension of municipal government, I would note the remarks of Mr. Goschen, in reference to the traffic on streets. He used this illustration: On a country road you have nothing but the custom of passing in England to the left, but when you come to the traffic in the city you have to limit the individual liberty and make a more fixed law, and have a policeman there to carry it out. In this way it is necessary in all departments of municipal work to extend the municipal functions, not against individual liberty but with the idea of securing equality of individual liberty. As an illustration: Why is there no railroad on Fifth Avenue? why no Sunday omnibuses? My good friend Colonel Shepard urged, because it is a street of homes. But some mischievous reporter asks, is not Avenue A a street of homes? Are there not about ten or fifteen or twenty homes there to one on Fifth Avenue? The difference must lie in something else. It is because of the greater property value of the houses on Fifth Avenue, and the care is not to injure property. Property again before life.

And now a word as to some specific measures. I shall only have time to indicate them. First in regard to education. We need free kindergartens, manual and industrial schools, evening schools,

museums, libraries, and free school-books. Birmingham has gone so far as to provide free lunches. In our city of New York fifteen thousand children could not be received into the public schools because there was not room for them. There should be supervision of private institutions for the children, sick and dependent classes, but no financial aid to them. The work-house system should be made honorable. It is now a principle of common law that every citizen is entitled to food and to work from the municipality or district if he cannot obtain it elsewhere, and that is the foundation of the work-house system. But there is a dread of the work-house in New York, as if it were a kind of penal institution, and it is generally regarded as such. The question of the unemployed is a great question. One writer says it is the presence of one million of the unemployed that is constantly cutting down wages, and honest labor cannot stand out against it. Methods for relieving this pressure are now frequently discussed. General Booth promises to provide for the unemployed in London. Inspection of factories is an important requirement and the enforcement of laws against child labor, and the regulation of female labor. In regard to the housing of the poor, in London they have tried the experiment of building houses. This we do not propose to do, but we do propose by our building department to regulate what kind of homes should be built. The regulation of the liquor traffic is also demanding attention. We should have personal or income taxes. The latter are paid principally by small salaried men. This change would force us to the single tax or land values for cities. Public sources of revenue can not only be made to pay a large part of municipal expenses, but in some cases could pay the whole. Paris hopes to be entirely self-supporting by the year 1920. Berlin pays a large portion of her expenses in this way. Docks, franchises, gas, water, and street railways, could easily provide a very large and ample revenue, hence the success of certain experiments in this direction. Public regulation of private enterprises has been found in American cities to be valuable in a number of ways. We have our paid fire department, our paid police, our water supply in New York, our building bureau, health bureau, all found to be excellent even in a corrupt city, and even in a corrupt city have been adopted.

And now a word as to the regenerative elements in the community, and the means of amassing and wielding them. The general trend of thought is from the limited franchise to the universal franchise. This we have. It is now in the power of the body universal to express itself. Our first need is therefore a popu-

lar assembly where this public opinion can make itself felt. This is the reason why I asked for a large municipal council such as the county council of London, where leading men will take part. They will not go into our Board of Aldermen, who have little power except to pass by a *pro forma* vote estimates and appropriations determined by a small commission. A large popular assembly with a smaller upper house and a mayor of full executive power would begin to attract the attention of the newspapers, and as soon as the attention of the newspapers is aroused and reports are given of debates the whole community will be interested, and we will see some of this apathy begin to break away. There should be also the extension of municipal territory. Western cities are doing this in a marvellous way, New York is just proposing it. It ought to be done.

I suggest also the feasibility in the future of some system of municipal savings banks and industrial insurance and pensions. It is not necessary, in my thinking, to do away with theory, but to have a theory in advance of the experiment. The advanced state of English opinion is due to Christian influence primarily. Some years ago Professor Ely was asked in the Ministers' Conference in New York, if the social chasm were greater here than in England, and he replied that it was greater here. The advanced social opinion in England may be due to the union of Church and State, which has forced people to feel that Christianity, being responsible in a certain degree for the State, must also take an interest in its welfare. I wish to be a citizen of no mean city, and if this feeling of true citizenship grows strong in our young men, I think we should have less reason to feel that we are citizens of a corrupt city. I think of Christ weeping twice in His life, once at the grave of a deceased friend, and once over a city. I have seen a good many weep at the graves of deceased friends, but have never seen a man weeping over a crowded city yet. When I do I feel there will be hope.

I close with the noble words of the great Italian patriot Mazzini :
“ Let not the hateful cry of reaction be heard from your lips nor the sombre formula of the conspirator, but the calm and the solemn words of the days to come.”

The discussion of the topic was opened by Prof. NORMAN FOX, D. D., of New York. He said :

I should hardly share Colonel Bacon's somewhat pessimistic opinion that our modern cities will yet sink like Sodom and Gomorrah.

Take, for instance, New York. It will survive an awful sight of bad government. A few years ago we had Boss Tweed in the saddle; there was robbery right and left, but the city went straight ahead in prosperity. The other evening, when it was announced that Tammany had triumphed again, it was evident that for two years more there will be terrific work; nevertheless New York will go straight ahead. You will sometimes see a young man with a magnificent physique, whose father has left him millions of dollars, and though he may be dissipated and squander the money, that splendid constitution of his will bear it all, and his great income sustains the waste. And so it is with our cities, they are not going to sink. But still the case is a pretty bad one, and it should command our serious thought. I should not quite adopt the view of Colonel Bacon that the people cannot be trusted. And yet it is the fact, the less the people have to do with the government the better it is. The more completely our public officers are under the control of the people the poorer they are; the farther those officers are removed from the control of the people the better they are. From which judge can we expect the better decision—the one who is coming up for election again in two or three months, or the judge who has just been elected for twenty years, and says, I do not care whether these fellows like my decision or not? I suppose if we were asked what is the best class of public officers in our country and the most irreproachable, we should say the Judges of the Supreme Court of the United States. They are appointed for life; they are perfectly sure of their office; nothing except the most outrageous misconduct could lead to their removal; they are perfectly independent. And yet you seldom, yes, never, one may say, hear a word of reproach against that tribunal. Some one might say that the judges stand in the fierce sunlight of publicity and would quail before public opinion, and are therefore held to their duty. But take officers who are not so prominent; take the officers of the army and navy, young lieutenants, officers holding positions on the frontier. The public at large does not know their names; there is no strong force of public opinion to bear upon them; they are left solely to their own honor, you might say, and yet how seldom it is that you hear any reflection on them? Now and then some officer is cashiered for drunkenness or irregularity in his accounts, but it is seldom, considering their number. The longer the term of office you give to public men the more faithful will they be in the discharge of their duties; the farther you remove them from the control of the people the better service the people will get. But when you come down to the officers elected every year, there is where you see the corrup-

tion. The city of Washington is ruled by three men, three dictators; the people have nothing to say regarding them, and they, by all testimony, are far more faithful in looking out for the interests of the people than are the officers of our cities elected year by year. We talk of the government by the many, but I say government by the many is out of the question; it has to be done by the few, and is so done. Nine-tenths of the legislation in Congress is done in the committee room; three or four men have the whole thing in charge, and the House of representatives or the Senate simply records their decisions. Take the work done by our political parties; it is done by the bosses and the caucus; a few men arrange the party politics, and all fall in with it. The question is not whether we shall have government by the many or the few; the question is *by which few* will you be governed. Have longer terms of office and more officers appointed, instead of elected by the people; in that direction you find relief. I do not know anything about the municipal affairs in New Haven, but I think I can safely say that the people have more of a check upon their postmaster whom they had no voice in selecting than upon the city officers they are supposed to have appointed.

If the postmaster is neglectful of his duty he is liable to removal, but the mayor of a city can engage in corruption, and when complaints arise he says, What are you going to do about it? Now some one may say you are talking about reforms to be made in the future; what shall be done at present? The only thing to be done at present is to endeavor to arouse the people to a greater attention to political affairs. Here is the great evil in our politics at present: the want of intelligence in the so-called intelligent voter. Who are the intelligent voters? Well, one intelligent man that votes is the fellow who gets \$5 for his vote; he won't vote for the man who offers \$4. When he comes away from the polls he can give you the reason why he voted thus and so. But take the "intelligent voter" and ask him for whom he voted, and he cannot tell you. He gives a dazed look and says, Oh, they gave me a ticket, and they said it was our ticket, and I voted it! The so-called intelligent voters go to the polls like a lot of dumb, driven cattle. They are led by the bosses, and they vote ignorantly, and so comes the political corruption.

Now as to New York City. What is needed is a campaign of education, to commence now for the vote two years from now.

The ministers need not set up candidates of their own, but let them preach to the people the duty of voting intelligently and conscientiously.

The President :

Finite omniscience is confined to one part of our community, namely, the religious editor, and I am going to ask one of them to address us on this subject, the editor of the *National Baptist*.

(Laughter and applause.)

The Rev. H. L. WAYLAND, D. D., of Philadelphia, Pa., editor of the *National Baptist*, said :

Mr. President, I feel great reluctance in addressing an audience of statesmen and publicists on a matter of this kind with which I am but very little conversant. I only speak because there seems to be a lack of a self-sacrificing disposition to come forward and occupy the time. I am advised that one statement made by Col. Bacon should be modified ; in the city of Providence only those who pay a tax on a property qualification vote for members of Council, the body which has the charge of disbursing money.

Allusion has been made to the general indifference as to one great cause of misgovernment. Two years ago, 140,000 citizens in New York voted in the interests of good government, only they were not united. This year, though in a majority, they could not be made to unite in a sufficient number to secure honest government. This certainly is very discouraging. If people are wrong and enthusiastic, they can perhaps be set right ; but if they are indifferent, it presents a very difficult problem. If a stream is running wrong, we may perhaps turn it ; but what can we do with the apathetic and sluggish waters in a morass ? When an engine is headed the wrong way, we can do something with it ; but very little when it has run off the track or is lying in the bed of a river. And while the good are indifferent, while the good will not unite, the bad unite every time. There is a spirit of Free Masonry among all the bad, that unites the saloon enemies of the school and the enemies of the people, and the enemies of purity and the enemies of everything that is good. That gentleman who made a somewhat unfortunate alliterative observation six years ago was not so very far wrong. The remark has been sometimes incorrectly quoted as describing a union of "rum, rheumatism and rebellion." (Laughter.) Will some metaphysician and theologian, some man of immense profundity, tell us why it is that the good have in their veins only cold water, while the bad have blood and fire and alcohol ?

Another calamity is a dread of paternalism. As the mothers in Scotland used to frighten their children by saying—

“Hush ye, hush ye; do not fret ye,
And the black Douglas shall not get ye”—

so I imagine the mothers must frighten their children by telling them that if they are not good a paternal government will get hold of them. (Laughter.) Some years ago I went to Washington in the interest of a postal savings bank, and had a hearing before a sub-committee of the Committee of the House of Representatives on Post Offices and Post Roads. The chairman of the sub-committee was named Jones from Texas, who had been elected to Congress through some misfortune, and the one idea that occupied the cavernous abyss which he was pleased to call his mind (laughter) was a dread of paternal government. If you said, “This will be a great improvement,” he had but one reply, “We don’t want a paternal government.” And so, for fear of a paternal government, we let everything go to the bad, or we live in a state of mild anarchy. When I get on the street cars, ninety-nine times out of a hundred I am robbed. I pay for a first-class seat, and stand out on the platform, possibly on the steps, where there is always a draught and I am liable to take cold, or liable to be thrown off when they go round the corners. If I say to the conductor, “This is rather hard,” he says, “Just as much room as before you got on;” and I get my equivalent for my fare partly in the ride and partly in this bit of philosophy. And so we have tenement houses which are hotbeds of moral and physical diseases, great buildings which are traps for fire, municipalities ruled by monopolists, and under the name of Liberty.

I shall endeavor to agree with all the gentlemen who have spoken, alike with those who say we cannot trust the people and those who say we can. The nature of my profession is such as to make it desirable to agree with every one (laughter), especially if they are subscribers. (Laughter.) I would never willingly repel any subscriber—I mean a paying subscriber. (Renewed laughter.) Whether we can trust the people depends very much on who the people are, and that depends very much on what we make the people. I have very little fear of manhood suffrage; but whether I have any fear or not, it does not make any difference; we have got it and are not going to change it. Any person proposing to change it would find that he belonged to a party that would be just sufficient to fill all the offices if they should ever get in, which would not be very soon. I am not afraid of the people of Mas-

sachusetts. The way to be able to trust people is to lift the people up. James Russell Lowell states, "A sagacious old gentleman said to me in 1840, when the property qualification was swept away in Massachusetts, that the whole credit of the Commonwealth was destroyed, but," Mr. Lowell adds, "I have lived to see the State paying its obligations in gold when it cost three dollars to one to do so." All that I have to say may be summed up in a single word: the charter of a nation is the character of the people. (Applause.)

REV. A. G. LAWSON, D. D., of Boston, said:

Since the Chairman has brought me here, permit me to say simply this: I believe the first paper presented to us to-night to be clear cut, well reasoned and straightforward. Its suggested reforms will come sooner or later, when we shall have sense enough to understand that while parties are necessities, partisanship is a very serious disease, and nowhere more manifestly so than in the cities. Simply because I have certain preferences nationally, what folly to think I must therefore vote for a treasurer or auditor or some kind of financial agent in the city. Determined to express through him my national proclivities is apart surely from common sense, and we shall be wise enough some day to see that. I should be unpopular enough to restrict the suffrage, and am perfectly willing to be in the party of the minority. I believe this nation will come, in our cities especially, to a restriction of the suffrage. That a man who pays, for instance, in the course of one year one thousand, or fifteen hundred, or twenty-five hundred dollars taxes, should have simply one vote set off against the tramp's vote for the disposition of that money, is neither reason nor sense. I would not deprive the tramp of his right to vote, but would do one of two things—either restrict his right to vote specifically for those things which involve the distribution of money where he is not a contributor, or give a cumulative vote to the man who is paying taxes upon his property according to his tax bill. I would go further. Last week in Brooklyn, I heard a little story like this: A gentleman dying left a large estate in the care of a widow, infirm and feeble, and her daughter. The daughter is among the class that sometimes is infelicitously referred to as old maids, but a very bright, sweet spirited woman. That woman is denied any kind of right in the city for the expression of her desires, when she is paying on the estate her father left her from year to year a great amount of money into that city treasury. A certain man in the immediate

vicinity because her father would not rent him a building for a saloon, being in a position to do so, had brought to bear the entire force of the city against that estate, and had been able in city works and improvements to come up to the edge of the property on one side, and begin at the edge of the estate on the other side, and leave their front without help. That man, coming up for re-election, this bright and fearless woman went to two or three men who were over a large number of men in mills and factories in the neighborhood and asked the privilege of speaking to their men a few minutes about this election. Work was stopped, the men called together, and she told briefly her story. She said, "I know nothing about electioneering, but I know a bad man when I see him. The man who is opposed to this politician many of you know simply as a carpenter; I know him as having worked for my father for years, working in our own house, a faithful, trusty citizen. Put in your ballots for him." I have not heard the outcome, but hope the trusty, faithful carpenter, and the advocacy of the honest and fearless woman, succeeded at least in bringing about something of the reformation needed. Women who are tax-payers in our cities ought to have the suffrage.

That little story illustrates one or two things. You and I as individuals are bound to express a little more of our individuality. You and I as individuals are bound also to recognize that the social compact in the city as we abide together is more to us—for it touches directly our children and the children of others who are about us—than whether a Democrat or a Republican goes in as President of the United States. There can be no justifiable reason why a decent Democratic bookkeeper who knows how to add two and two together should not be chosen if he be a man of character. The political war cry used to be principles not men; I am coming to think the reverse, and to say, Give me an honest, true man, and I care very little whether he begin his party name with R, D, or some other letter. You can lay all this to the charge of the President. (Applause.)

THE PRESIDENT: I want to say half a dozen words. I promise to stop very far short of the bell. I will begin by giving Col. Bacon a substitute for his definition of a theory: "A theory is an impracticable way of doing an impossible thing." (Laughter.) I see only one way out of this trouble and that is this: There are not more than two or three cities in the United States in which honest men combining cannot defeat the rogues. There are one or two; I will not name them, it would be invidious, and I have not

the means of proving it just now. What prevents the union of honest citizens? Party ties. How? In this way: Party leaders say that there is danger of the integrity of the party being broken, being dissolved, if for any reason men forsake their party allegiance at any time. That is, that the independence of party allegiance which they apply to the civic election they may apply to a national election, and you cannot then be sure of their obedience to the dictation of leaders. Why is it dangerous in the eyes of the leaders that there should be a forsaking of allegiance at the national election? Simply because the party that loses the national election loses the party spoils. There is no principle about it, it is simply a question of who shall have the spoils. Now, the very moment that civil service rules prevail, that very moment the force of this appeal falls to the ground. Civil service reform is here, as it is everywhere, the key to the situation and the solution of all these difficult problems. Any man who hopes that in civic elections or anywhere else in this country suffrage is going to be restricted, is far too good for this wicked world and the sooner he is translated the better.

The Congress then adjourned until the following morning at 10 o'clock.

Second Day.

WEDNESDAY MORNING.

THE HON. FRANCIS WAYLAND, LL. D., presided. The hymn, "Arise, ye saints, arise," was sung, after which prayer was offered by the Rev. J. S. James, D. D., of Hartford, Conn.

The President announced the topic and called upon the first speaker.

THE INTERNATIONAL AND INDEPENDENT SYSTEMS OF SUNDAY-SCHOOL LESSONS.

BY REV. WARREN RANDOLPH, D. D., NEWPORT, R. I.

"The International or an Independent System of Sunday-School Lessons" is the topic which I have been asked to discuss. As

thus stated, there is no indication as to what other system of lessons the International should be compared with. The point before us at present, therefore, is whether the International Lesson system is a good one for our Sunday-schools, or whether something different is desirable. The most, then, that you will expect of me will be to point out some of the merits of the system, and to adduce, if I can, some reason why it is entitled to the place which it now holds in the confidence and esteem of the people.

I must in the outset call attention to another limitation which the assigned topic puts upon me. It is the International system of lessons for Sunday-schools of which I am to speak. I am not asked to say whether this is for all persons the ideal plan for Bible study. I cannot go into the question as to whether for some individuals and some classes some other method may not be better. Without detriment to the cause for which I am to speak, it may be admitted that for some Biblical scholars the International system may not be the best. No one has ever supposed that it would be adopted as a course of Bible study in a theological seminary, for example. And yet the International Lessons will take those who use them over more Bible ground than is covered by any ordinary seminary course.

There may be some schools which have outgrown the International system, and possibly there are a few classes in many schools capable of a more advanced course of study. Indeed, the day may not be distant when our Sunday-schools generally will demand and will be prepared for a plan of study more exact, more scientific and in many respects more satisfactory than that now in use. It would be an unwarranted assumption for those who believe in the International system to claim that there never can be a better. It is doubtful whether such a claim has ever been made. But we may say, taking our Sunday-schools as we find them; Sunday-schools in the city and in the country, Sunday-schools in our churches and in mission halls, Sunday-schools for the well-informed and for the uneducated; in a word, taking Sunday-schools as they are the world over, the International system of Bible study is the best that has yet been devised to meet the common want.

It may be well to point out just what the International system is, how it originated, and to give as briefly as possible some account of what it has done.

Modern Sunday-schools, in the outset, were designed to reach the poor and previously neglected classes. This was not only true in England where they originated, but to some extent also in America. It is now about a hundred years since they were per-

manently established in this country. The instruction at first given was confined to writing and reading from the Bible and such other moral and religious books as were agreed upon. The teachers were paid for their services at first a mere pittance, afterwards a fair compensation for the hours given to their work. Though the Bible was, no doubt, used to some extent in these earlier schools, the instruction given was chiefly secular.

The germinal idea of the Sunday-school as it now exists, may be traced far back of the time mentioned. The principles on which such schools are founded are not only as old as Christianity, but they antedate Christianity itself. The rise of the modern Sunday-school, however, may be dated from the time of Robert Raikes. There is an earlier but unwritten history of efforts in this direction. The moral elevation of neglected children seems to have been the special aim of Mr. Raikes. It was some years after his time that Sunday-school instruction was made distinctly religious, and the scope of the school was so enlarged as to embrace the children of church members. Thus there has been gradually carried over into the Sunday-school the work of religious instruction originally given to parents by Him who said, "These words which I command thee this day shall be in thine heart, and thou shalt teach them diligently unto thy children, and thou shalt talk of them when thou sittest in thy house, and when thou walkest by the way, and when thy liest down, and when thou risest up."

It is not necessary now to discuss the question as to whether it has been wise for Sunday-school teachers to put their hands to a work which certainly belongs to parents. This has been denied. Perhaps no stronger argument has been brought against it than came from Bishop George W. Doane, of New Jersey, who claimed that Sunday-schools have lessened the sense of parental responsibility. So far as this is true, the argument is valid. But Sunday-schools are meant to help and not to hinder parents; not to take away their work but to supplement it.

Assuming, then, that religious instruction is the legitimate work of Sunday-schools, it is important to ask how this work has been done. That a great advance has been made since the days of reading the Scriptures in the classes, "verse and verse about," no one will deny, and the International Lesson system has been the foremost agency in promoting this advance. For a large part of the first century of Sunday-schools, progress in methods of Bible study was very slow; for the last twenty years it has been much more rapid. Up to the time when the International system was introduced, the use of the Bible in our Sunday-schools was very unsatis-

factory. That there were many teachers previous to that time who did as good work as they or others have done since, it is not denied. With an ability for independent methods of study, they not only awakened a high degree of enthusiasm in their Bible class instructions, but they worked successfully the richest veins of Bible truth. The number of such teachers, however, was lamentably small. By far the largest part of those who attempted to teach did not know how to begin their work, nor how to carry it on, and in hundreds of churches no Sunday-school instruction was attempted.

The year 1872 marks the beginning of a new era in the Sunday-school world. From that time Christian people have been drawn together in the study of the Scriptures as they never were before. From that time our Sunday-schools have been Bible schools as they never were before. To encourage the weak, and enlist the sympathies of those already strong, the International Sunday-school Convention, which met at Indianapolis in 1872, made provision for "a course of Bible lessons for a series of years, not exceeding seven, which shall as far as possible embrace a general study of the whole Bible, alternating between the Old and New Testaments."

In carrying out this plan the aim has been to make our Sunday-schools familiar with the Bible, as a book. Both Testaments being alike the word of God, both have been studied. As far as possible each book of the Bible has been examined, though the examination, in some cases, has not been as full as it would have been if more time could have been taken to cover the volume. Twice we have gone over the work, and we are now near the end of the third course of seven years' study.

Though the scheme was called "International" from the first, only the United States and Canada began it. But it soon found favor in Great Britain, and with unexpected rapidity its friends were multiplied throughout the world. On the continent of Europe, at many missionary stations in the East, and among the islands of the sea, it came speedily and extensively into use. It is believed that now, in the eighteenth year of its history, ten millions of people are studying the Bible according to its methods. Three of the largest and most representative Sunday-school conventions ever held in this country have pronounced in its favor, and delegates of many nationalities last year in London emphatically endorsed it.

The study of the Old Testament in Sunday-schools under the old regime was almost unknown. Generations were growing up ignorant of this part of the inspired volume. It had become quite the fashion to speak of it as a dry old book, of little

worth to the present or the coming generations. It seemed high time to put back again to their proper place the Scriptures of the time of Christ, and of the old historians and prophets. It seemed important also to extend our Sunday-school studies in the New Testament, beyond the narrow range of the four Gospels, to which as a rule they had been limited. It is not difficult still to recall the argument of some distinguished men, who claimed that Sunday-school instruction should be confined to the life and teachings of Christ. It certainly would be easier for the average teacher and the ordinary scholar to deal with the narratives of the Gospel, and, perhaps, of the Acts, than to dig out the doctrines of the Epistles. But the originators of the International system claimed that our Sunday-schools ought to know about the whole Bible, since "Every Scripture inspired of God is also profitable for teaching, for reproof, for correction, for instruction which is in righteousness, that the man of God may be complete, furnished completely unto every good work."

Among the benefits resulting from the International Lesson system may be mentioned :

1. The union of the people in the study of the Scripture. I know this has often been brushed aside as a mere sentiment ; and it has been urged that for a sentiment we sacrifice the best results. But this union in Bible study is more than a sentiment. There are practical benefits resulting from it that more than compensate for any little infelicities that may arise. There was little unity in our Sunday-school studies till the International system gave us uniform lessons. Studying the same Scripture at the same time has made Sunday-school workers helpers of each other. It has united, as nothing else ever did, the scholars and teachers of each school. It has given a common bond of fellowship to the several schools of a neighborhood. It has unified Sunday-school work through States and nations ; extending its influence round the globe, it is already doing much to unite in one brotherhood the most different and distant.

Even the "sentiment" which comes from this uniformity has value. "Missionaries have come to me," says Dr. John Hall, "and taken a place at my table to talk over the work that they have been doing in distant lands. Naturally the Sunday-school Lesson work has come up prominently in these talks. And more than once these missionaries have said to me something like this: 'You, living here in America, surrounded by your brethren, in the midst of associations and memories and encouragements to prosecute your work, can have no idea what help we get from the use of those

International Lessons. In the face of the masses of heathenism, solitary and almost alone, a little handful of people, it is such a comfort to us to take up these lessons and feel that but few and feeble there, we are part of a great host scattered all over the world, with our Christian brethren studying the same lessons, learning the same texts, hearing God's voice speaking to them the same things that He has been pleased to speak to us in our loneliess and desolation.' In this way we have done something," continues the New York pastor, "to give cups of cold water to the disciples of Christ whose hearts many times are weary, whose lips many times are thirsty."

No richer result has attended this work than the fellowship among Christians which it has promoted. Much is being said in our time about Christian unity, and many plans have been suggested to secure it. Rightly interpreted, most of these suggestions mean, "You join us, and we will be united." A united Christendom is not an idle fancy. It is a condition of the kingdom of God not only to be devoutly hoped for, but to be confidently expected. But there can be no true Christian unity in the best sense; certainly no organic union among those now divided into different sects without a clear understanding of Christ's word. Adherents to the several denominations have erred in confining themselves too exclusively to a study of those Scriptures which appear to sustain their peculiar views. We Baptists are, no doubt, open to the charge. That Pedobaptists are, we most certainly believe. The International Lesson system, teaching the word of God in its entirety, points out a better way. It not only asks us to study all that is essentially important in the Bible, but to remember that others with whom we are to meet are at the same time studying the same, and that they will almost certainly bring out the true meaning, if we do not. Thus we stimulate and check each other; and although no denominational fences have yet fallen down on account of this united Bible study, the tendency is clearly in the line of the Prophet's prediction that the watchman "shall see eye to eye," and of Christ's prayer for His disciples, that "they all may be one." Such agreement among Christians will never be realized till we have substantial agreement as to the meaning of God's word, and the more diligently we study the Scriptures together, the more quickly will the day come when a perfect Christian unity will prevail.

2. Another result anticipated from the first has been a new interest awakened in the Old Testament Scriptures. Since the International Lessons were introduced, the Old Testament has

become to many, as Stalker says, "a New Testament." Although the study of the Old Testament is one of the glories of the International system, some regard it as a weakness. These Old Testament studies have recently been referred to as "the petrified beef of the past," as compared with what has been termed "the juicy, fibrous, nourishing contemporaneous ox of to-day." Witty characterizations of the word of God may not be found upon final examination so witty as some men imagine. Against all comers we maintain that it has been immensely serviceable to all concerned that our Sunday-schools have been actually engaged for more than seven years of the last eighteen, in studying the only part of the Bible which was in existence in the time of Christ, and which He enjoined men to "search." It is a circumstance of no small importance, that while learned men during the last two decades have been using their keenest blades, some in assailing and some in defending the ancient Scriptures, millions of the young in our Sunday-schools have been instructed, to some extent at least, in these ancient writings. They have not only been taught what these earliest books of revelation contain, but have had impressed upon them the authority of these sacred writings; and although our Sunday-schools have lagged far behind, yet for several years, according to their ability, they have been moving along the line of Prof. Harper and his advanced class of Old Testament students.

3. One of the most remarkable facts connected with the International system is that it has brought many of the results of the best Biblical scholarship of the age within the reach of the common people. It has created a Biblical literature of its own. Making all necessary allowance for the weak and crude things which have been written about the Lessons, it may be asserted with confidence, that the Scriptures have never been so fully and so faithfully opened to the common people since they were written, as during the eighteen years last past. Previous to this time the results of Biblical scholarship were, to a great extent, locked up in volumes accessible only to a few. Now, for a few cents at a time, a child may obtain during this course of seven years' study a complete commentary on the most important portions of the Bible written up to date.

Nothing, perhaps, was more unlooked for than that some of the most eminent Biblical scholars of the world, particularly of America, England and Germany, would give to our Sunday-schools, as they have, the benefit of their resources and their learning. The friends of the International system may well pay their respects within the shadows of this ancient university (Yale College) to

the learned men connected with it, who by tongue and pen have brought and are still bringing our Sunday-schools under such obligations to them by their expositions of the Lessons. And the help received from the scholars of New Haven is like that received from scholars of many names and in many places. It is to be regretted that much which they have written has not been put by publishers in more permanent form. But though Lesson leaves and papers perish, impressions made on minds and hearts will be enduring.

It is interesting, too, to notice how Divine Providence has helped, during these years, to a better understanding of the inspired Word. An honored leader once among us on one occasion showed in a never-to-be-forgotten missionary sermon, how "God is timing all things in the interests of His Son."* And so, in our day it has been inspiring to see how He has been timing things in the interests of Bible study. We all love the translation of the Bible which dates from 1611. But with that in their hands, nothing so helps the people to a right understanding of the Scriptures as other translations which have been made since then. It was a coincidence, therefore, which we could not fail to notice, that in the midst of this united Bible study the Canterbury Revision came to us in 1880. Thus many favoring circumstances have helped forward the International system, which Mr. Beecher once pronounced the most important movement in the Christian Church during the century now closing. A recent writer in the *Golden Rule*, under the head of "Applied Christianity," while advocating a lesson system of his own, lately published in the *Andover Review*, says that under the influence of the International system "more attention has been given to Bible study than ever before in the history of the world." Nor would it be too much to add, that while the Bible has never before been so well studied by the people, they have never before so well understood it.

4. And finally, the International Lesson system has done much toward preparing the way for any better plan of Bible study which may hereafter be adopted. Whatever defects the system now under discussion may have, and for whatever better methods our Sunday-schools may be prepared, this plan of Bible study has revolutionized the Sunday-school instruction of the world. That it has real excellences seems evident from the determination of so many millions still to cling to it, after it has been tested for nearly twenty years. That it has some defects, it would be foolish to deny. Says President Andrews, of Brown University, "I use the Lessons myself, and

* Rev. Dr. William R. Williams.

have done so for years. I see certain faults connected with the plan, but hardly any inherent in it."

Omitting as it does many sections of Scripture, thought to be among the less important, or not specially adapted to Sunday-school use, it has been stigmatized as fragmentary. Some have not been able to resist the temptation to style it "the hop-skip-and-jump method," or, in shortened form, "the kangaroo method." No one probably would think of having our Sunday-school lessons include every verse from Genesis to Revelation. Some omissions are a necessity. Which sections shall be omitted it is not easy to determine. If we limit our Lessons to a very few books of the Bible, we may study these without the omission of a single verse, as when the International course gave us a whole year in the Gospel of Mark, and as now, with the fewest possible omissions, we are studying, for a year, the Gospel of Luke. But it having been determined by those who originated and who still sustain the International system, to cover, "as far as possible, the whole Bible," and "in a series of years not exceeding seven," it has been found necessary to omit such passages as cannot be included in seven times forty-eight lessons—one Sunday in each quarter being given to a review of the lessons previously studied. Nor are some omissions incompatible with good and faithful study. Most of us probably remember that we were directed by our best instructors in college simply to read over with care some parts of the text-books which we used. And whatever the assigned lessons in the Bible may be, neither teachers nor scholars can do their work well unless they make themselves familiar with the Scriptural connections.

Although it has been found that by the plan adopted the whole Bible may be studied in the time named, without passing by any greatly important fact, or any vital Christian doctrine, it has been asked why the course of study must be limited to seven years? In answer to this, it may be said that even a seven years' course is too long to please our friends in Great Britain and on the continent of Europe. They say that they are unable to hold their scholars long enough to complete the course, and they have asked to have it shortened. It was announced to the World's Sunday-school Convention last year that the Sunday-school Union of France had withdrawn from the International work, and had adopted a shorter course. That the Swiss Sunday-school Union was about to do the same. And the London Sunday-school Union can only be held to us by a reduction of the course from seven years to six. Our American Sunday-schools might consent to a course of eight, or even ten years, and so the wide gaps hitherto left between some of

the Lessons might be avoided. But the advantages of an International Union in Bible study are so great, to others if not to us, that it seems wise to submit to some acknowledged disadvantages to secure it.

Among our American Sunday-schools there may be some, possibly many, who are ready for a more advanced plan of study than the International system offers. But this is not true of the majority of those who enrolled either as scholars or teachers. Only a few have ever yet worked the International system for all it is worth. Grand as its uplift has been, there is vastly more that it may yet do. And with the loftiest ideals before us of what is desirable, and may be ultimately attainable, I come back, in conclusion, to the view with which I started, that taking our Sunday-schools as they are, in the city and in the country, in churches and in mission halls, among the well trained and the uneducated, the International system of lessons is better adapted to our wants than any other yet suggested.

It is undoubtedly something of a hardship for scholars who have ability for rapid advance to keep step with those who are slow. But in many ways they have to do this who would obey the Christian law of serving others. There was something touching in the appeal of the Swiss delegation at the World's Sunday-school Convention last year, when pleading for the help which may be given them by continued union with us in Bible study. They compared themselves to "a little brother," walking beside "a big brother" with whom he cannot "keep up," though "he does not want to let go his big brother's hand." But he pleads with his "big brother just to walk a little slower for his younger brother's sake." And they concluded, "That is exactly our position in regard to this International List question, and we rely on the patience and Christian love of our big brothers from America." Anxious as some of us are to secure for our Sunday-schools the best possible methods of Bible study, we must remember the little brothers who need our help, not only in France and Switzerland, but also here and in England. We cannot introduce into our schools an Independent system of lessons without breaking up, so far as in us lies, the system now in use. Whatever we might gain, we would lose whatever benefit there is in the present united study of the Scriptures. We would greatly cripple a multitude of others, who are now doing fairly well, but who are not prepared for a more severe kind of study. An Independent system of lessons for us would lead to Independent systems for others, and so to the speedy disintegration of the

one now in use. And in this way it may be found much easier to destroy the system which has been such a blessing to the world than it has been to build it up. It is not necessary to destroy it. We may still give our support to the International system, and may also use, in connection with it, whatever better method or methods may be offered. This may be the more confidently urged, since one who is competent to speak has said, "The careful study of the Sunday-school Lessons ought to be"—and by that I understand can be—"a sufficient preparation for" what is undoubtedly the most advanced plan of Bible study yet suggested for Sunday-school work.

Recognizing the great good which has come from the International system of Lessons, and believing also that this system may prepare the way for something better, it is well to cherish the spirit of the Puritan pastor at Leyden, who in dismissing the Pilgrims to America said, "If God reveal anything to you, by any other instrument of His, be as ready to receive it as ever you were to receive any truth by my ministry; for I am verily persuaded the Lord has more truth yet to break forth out of His Holy Word."

THE PRESIDENT: Philadelphia is the paradise of Baptist ministers, and there seems to be a conspiracy among makers of programmes and the printers of programmes to put every favorite of the denomination in Philadelphia, and that is the only explanation I can give for putting Dr. Woods in Philadelphia, when everybody knows he is successfully settled in Cleveland.

INTERNATIONAL AND INDEPENDENT SYSTEMS OF SUNDAY-SCHOOL LESSONS.

BY REV. E. A. WOODS, OF CLEVELAND, OHIO.

The Bible has won for itself and holds securely a position at once independent and unique in the history and the literature of the world. It is not merely of and for the past, it is for the present and the future also. It is not for a single race, but for all races; not for a single age, but for all ages. It is not so much a book as it is a library. Indeed, it is an entire literature, the outgrowth and record of a great supernatural movement which has for its end the revelation of God and the redemption of men. This library contains sixty-six separate books or tracts, the works of perhaps forty

different authors, who were men of varied acquirements, living in different localities during a period of about sixteen-hundred years. The individuality of these writers stands out boldly, as do their varying degrees of knowledge and their historic environment. They were to a great extent unknown to each other; there was no collusion between them; they knew not that they were writing what should become the world's Bible.

The use of the term "Bible" to denote this whole collection of sacred writings cannot be traced to a date earlier than the fourth century, and it was not till long after this that they were collected into one volume. That these writings should be thus bound together is a great convenience in some respects, while in others it may be considered a great misfortune, for misunderstandings and false interpretations have resulted and are working injury even to-day. And yet there is a unity and continuity in these fragments, for a theme of infinite grandeur runs through them all. The record of divine manifestations and divine activities, of human sin and superhuman redemption, of a great purpose sweeping through the centuries from the primitive garden to the final city—such is our sacred book, the book of God and of man. The Bible is a record of the facts and teachings and experiences which make up our religion. It is the product of our religion and at the same time its rule of life and means of growth. It is a fact in which we all rejoice, "that the mental energy of our day is directed mainly to the investigation of Biblical questions." The Bible brings to the attention of men instruction upon those subjects which are of supreme interest. The great life-questions which confront all earnest souls are here met and answered. There are many religions in the world and all have their sacred books, yet these books have less and less influence upon the world as civilization advances, while the phenomenal fact remains, that, in spite of all opposition and criticism, the Bible gains upon the human mind a hold more and more tenacious and masterful from age to age. Never was there a time when the world's scholarship was so eager in the investigation of the Biblical books and records or the common people so hungry for its practical truths as to-day.

The clearly expressed need of the world gives unimpeachable testimony to the divine truth which the Bible contains. The "Word of the Lord" is thus distinguished from all other words, the "Voice of God" is known from all other voices; the "Name of Jesus" is above every other name, and in this "Voice" and "Word" and "Name" there is a message of hope and of love to the world.

To the church itself this is emphatically and evangelistic an

missionary age, and the great question which confronts us is, How shall we so develop and control and utilize the power of the church so as to secure at the same time the transformation of its members into the likeness of Christ, and the conquest of the world to Him? Will not this question find its answer in an earnest, reverent and thorough study of the Word of God? When the whole church shall be inspired and sanctified by divine truth, then she will have abundant strength to carry out her great commission with no fear that the dangers peculiar to our age shall imperil her progress. The study of the Bible by all the people, a study at once reverent and scientific, is the great need of the church to-day. To meet hostile criticism, to stem the tide of worldliness, to give stability of character and doctrinal integrity, to gain the blessings of true prosperity and escape dangers seen and unseen — for these ends, is it not the supreme duty of the hour to secure a more thorough study of the Scriptures in the Christian Church? The time is ripe for it. Religious questions are the themes of discussion among all classes. The Bible reveals to us Jesus Christ as the ideal man and the Kingdom of God as the ideal society. It is both a record of deeds and an embodiment of life. It is a literature, and its study will not only give knowledge but instruction in wisdom. Scholars are studying the Bible critically, but such study must be reverent, for it is a book of religion. The various books of the Bible are now the object of literary and historical research. All questions are being answered in the light of new knowledge from contemporary sources. This critical investigation will continue. Some who enter upon it will become iconoclasts, and magnifying that which is new, will turn their backs upon the old and make shipwreck of their faith; while others, alarmed by such examples, will seek to check all critical study, and will thus give the enemies of Christianity an opportunity to charge them with insincerity or cowardice. Popularly accepted opinions are now being re-examined; some are inclined to treat all new views as “suspects,” and warn all against them on peril of their Christian Faith. Others are eager for the truth, whether new or old, and believe that it must and will harmonize with the vital principles of Christianity. It becomes us to guard well the old doctrines of the Gospel, and yet let us beware lest we drive from the church men of thoughtful, inquiring minds, by the denunciation as false and subversive of the Gospel, of that which afterwards must be received as true, and which candid minds have felt they must hold. Whatever is true has come to stay, and we must in some way adjust our views to it. Whatever is error need not greatly disturb us, for in a little time it will go the way

of the hosts of other errors which have had their day and vanished. Only by a fearless critical study of the Scriptures can we be prepared to meet those enemies of our cause who are working harm by parading what may seem to be flaws in the sacred record. To fear such study and to caution others against it, is to hoist the signal of distress before the eyes of the enemy.

The International Sunday-school system has been in operation long enough to test its value and efficiency. Its history is familiar, its success remarkable. The Christian world owes a great debt of gratitude to those men who inaugurated this movement and have been identified with its whole work.

Mr. B. F. Jacobs, Dr. Braddus, and Dr. Randolph, the efficient and genial Secretary, have ably represented our denomination on the Committee of Management. One of the most wonderful results of this system is that it has prepared the way for and made possible something better than itself. If changes or modifications of this system are suggested, it is hostile criticism only in the sense that the good may be the enemy of that which is better. Are we not paying it the highest compliment when we suggest that its successes have been so marked and positive that a higher and better method is now demanded—a method which but for these successes were utterly impossible. So much of our Sunday-school instruction is vague and hazy, and hence to a degree powerless. Little is done to stimulate thought or encourage thorough study. Indeed, a thinking, questioning scholar is too often looked upon with dread by his teacher lest he should ask questions which the teacher cannot answer or does not think it wise to answer or investigate. Such scholars and such questions are made welcome in other departments of learning. Why not in the study of God's Word? I am not here to oppose the International system, but rather to plead for its modification.

1. *As to the Primary Department.*

Here there should be a graded system of instruction. Perhaps the Lessons should be from the four Gospels and the Book of Acts, thus giving careful instruction in the life and teachings, the miracles and parables of our Lord. The memorizing of important portions of the text should be encouraged, and in this way the memory of the pupils will be cultivated and enriched during the years of life when this faculty is most active and its impressions most permanent. To have stored in the memory of a child the principal facts in the life of Christ, the Beatitudes, the Sermon on

the Mount, the Lord's Prayer, and the principal parables of our Lord, and also select portions of the Old Testament, such as the Commandments, and certain of the Psalms;—to have these so mastered that they will never be forgotten, would be an incalculable and life-long blessing. In addition to this there should be instruction concerning the Bible as a book and simple outlines of sacred history and ancient geography. Such a system would require a grading of the scholars and the use of a lesson book.

2. Doctrinal Instruction.

The Christian Church is divided into religious denominations. We believe in our own denomination. Our young people should have a clear understanding of our distinctive doctrines and usages. These are important—if they are not let us give up our denomination altogether. We are molding the coming generation of Christian workers. They must be rooted and grounded in the truth if they are to be strong and fruitful. I would make this plea for other denominations just as for our own. There is a golden mean between unscriptural liberality and sectarian narrowness. With this lack of denominational instruction, there is also a lack of other doctrinal teaching. We have talked against the old catechisms and old creeds until many have come to think that the great doctrines of the Gospel are themselves open to question or of little account. Says a well-known minister who was a Sunday scholar from his infancy: "I esteem it one of the misfortunes of my life that I was never indoctrinated in the exact and precise way of catechetical instruction. Systematic knowledge is as necessary in Christianity as in science. I hope to see the day when we shall turn our attention to this method of Christian culture and shall incorporate into our Sunday-schools distinctly formulated doctrinal and denominational instruction." To do this, lesson books will be required, and any general system of lessons would have to be modified by each denomination for the inculcation of its peculiar doctrines. Perhaps such denominational interpretations of God's Word carried on contemporaneously in the spirit of reverent scholarship, would do more for real Christian union than could be accomplished in any other way. The breaking down of barriers which are not based upon the teachings of God's Word, and the surrender of distinctive beliefs which have not behind them a "Thus saith the Lord," is an end to be devoutly and earnestly desired. Perhaps if the scholarship of the Christian world were concentrated upon the doctrinal study of the Scriptures, each de-

nomination making its own contribution, there would result a new doctrinal phraseology; theological formulas and usages which hold their place only because of their antiquity would fall into oblivion, and a theology which is truly Biblical might be the result.

3. *Critical and scientific study for advanced pupils.*

The devotional study of the Scriptures, important as it is, is not enough; it must be united with a critical and scientific study. The Bible is not a mere collection of verses or texts, to be taken here and there without relation to their historic setting, and used at pleasure. It is rather an organic series of writings which can be understood only by knowing the relation of the parts to the whole. Each book of the Bible was written by a certain person, in a certain age, under certain circumstances, and for a certain definite purpose. To understand one of these books, the student must understand its historic environment and its final cause. The religious conceptions of those peoples in early ages were dim and hazy; their ideas of life, of religion and of the future must be considered. The time has passed when we are allowed to give a number of distinct meanings to sacred words at our option. Each author meant some definite thing when he wrote, and that meaning must be determined by a critical study of the context. The theory of double-sense interpretations, whereby the meaning of the text is a riddle to be guessed or a congeries from which to choose, which robs the Bible of that which is authoritative, final and divine, is no longer tolerated by the best scholarship. The true study of God's Word must be conducted upon scientific methods, according to the laws of human language, in the light of its own age, and in the spirit of absolute loyalty to truth. Such study is in perfect accord with a firm conviction of the supernatural character of the Scriptures. Facts are never dangerous, but will always harmonize with and confirm established truth. Only he who is superficial in knowledge or weak in faith is an alarmist.

“Truth is large. Our aspiration
Scarce embraces half we be;
Shame to stand in His Creation
And doubt Truth's efficiency.
To think God's song unexcelling
The poor tales of our own telling.”

The danger for the student is not in the thorough scientific study of the Bible, but in the neglect of such study and a fear as

to its results. Faith and credulity, zeal and fanaticism, sentiment and love, differ from each other in the single element of clear knowledge. Knowledge is safe. Let us be willing to trust man with God's Book. If extreme independence in Biblical investigations has been doing the cause of truth much harm, it is certain that the establishment of correct methods has effected much good and promises still greater blessings in the future. The final end and aim of all Bible study is to bring forth clearly the original thoughts of the sacred writers. In doing this the circumstances of time and authorship and historic environment must guide in determining the real meaning and purpose. The lower and the higher criticism must go hand in hand. Such criticism is furnishing new evidence for the old truth that the Scriptures always gain by a thorough and exhaustive investigation which is honest and devout. The Bible is now better understood and better appreciated than ever before. Out of all investigation with its attendant controversy, it will come forth better established and more firmly grounded than ever before.

To lead the intelligent, thoughtful young people of our congregations in a study of the Bible which shall be at once devotional and critical, by methods which are in harmony with the best literary and scientific instruction of our day, is an end devoutly and earnestly to be sought. Such instruction would claim the attention and encourage the respect of the best minds, so that Bible teaching would equal in thoroughness and efficiency that which the student finds in other departments of learning. A well-known Bible-class teacher of Brooklyn writes me as follows: "It has been the custom to hold up to ridicule the boys who get too big to go to Sunday-school. It is high time this was stopped and attention turned to so arranging work for them that they will find something to stimulate their thought and arouse their interest. The haphazard way of treating the Scriptures by a lesson, or part here and another there, without a correct conception of the whole, is in my opinion demoralizing to any great benefit hoped to be derived, and leaves those who have been so brought up unprepared to meet the sweeping charges and apparent inconsistencies brought forward by unbelievers. Such a course of treatment would be utterly disastrous to any other subject or treatise."

4. *Instruction in Christian Evidences and Apologetics.*

This is an age of doubt. Skepticism is in our literature, in familiar conversation, in the very air we breathe. It is quietly

finding its way into our churches. We should know what we believe, and why we believe it. God does not ask of us a blind, reasonless faith. The Bible claims for itself divine authority, and yet it invites and challenges the severest and most rigid test of proof. Intelligent belief makes firm faith. The Bible has its history. Christianity has its evidences. Christians should be so instructed in God's Word that they shall clearly perceive and be able to intelligently set forth the great truths of the Christian religion. Nor should this instruction be deemed complete until they can support and defend these individual doctrines and also the whole Christian system. There are charges made against the Bible and grave doubts concerning it are suggested. Many of these charges have been met and answered again and again in the past, and yet they are paraded as if new and unanswered. Every Christian should be informed concerning the canon of the Scripture, concerning the relation of science to revealed religion, concerning prophecy and fulfilment, and concerning the wide differences between Christianity and all other religions, between the Bible and all other sacred books. These evidences of Christianity, which are the accumulation of centuries, these defenses against attacks which have been made and repulsed again and again, should be in the Christian's possession as a part of his armor. If church-members were well taught in the Scriptures, a man like Robert Elsmere would leave the Christian pulpit, not voluntarily, but because he is not competent; interpretations of Christ's teachings like those of Count Tolstoi would cease to win the assent of Christian people, and to furnish infidelity its weapons of attack.

Instruction in our public schools is and perhaps must be non-religious. But the Bible is the most important of all text books; its teachings are of more value and are more vital to human welfare than those of any other department of knowledge. This best of all books demands the best methods of instruction and the most critical and faithful study. A weak, superficial, unscientific method is unpardonable. Our special plea is for a system of Sunday-school instruction more thorough and more critical and in harmony with the advanced methods of instruction in other departments of knowledge.

Let us hail with joy the remarkable work which Professors Harper and Burnham, and their co-adjutors are doing in introducing the Inductive method of Bible study, and welcome it as a harbinger of a better day which is dawning.

INTERNATIONAL AND INDEPENDENT SYSTEMS OF SUNDAY-SCHOOL LESSONS.

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There are two things I wish to say before reading the paper I have prepared. One is, that I should be most unwilling even to seem to be lacking in regard or respect for those both older and wiser than myself. If I seem, in this paper, to be thus lacking, it is simply because I remembered that the Secretary's bell would ring at the end of twenty-five minutes, and yet I wished to say plainly and clearly what I had to say. The other matter is, that I have not tried to prove all the statements contained in the paper. It was necessary to assume that some things were known to be true, in order to attempt to prove anything in the time allowed me.

The question before us, as I conceive it, is this :

Can the present system of the International Sunday-school Lessons be justly regarded as an ideal, or a final, method for the study of the Bible in the Sunday-school, or ought we to look for something better which shall replace it? My own position on this question is that the time has come to lay aside the method of the International Lessons, and to adopt for our Sunday-schools a system of lessons more in harmony with the demands of true Bible study. In assuming this position, I do not mean to say that the system of the International Lessons has no merits; still less to claim that it has not been of great service in its day. I would not like to say, moreover, that it is not better than the system, or the non-system of Sunday-school Lessons that preceded it. The Old Chemistry also was a useful science in its day; but we study and teach the New Chemistry now, and do not mourn because the former things have passed away.

In like manner, it is possible that the good thing of yesterday in Bible study may become the hindrance of to-day. My objection to the International Lessons as an ideal, or final, method of Bible study arises, first, from what I find this system is, and secondly, from what it is not.

First, therefore, the International System of Lessons ought to be replaced by some other method of Bible study, because of what this system is. For the system, in some of its characteristic features, is centrally and essentially opposed to modern ideas of true educational methods.

Under this head, we notice, first, that the International system proceeds, from year to year, without unity of subject. It aims neither at teaching the whole Bible as a unit of study, nor any one of the elements which make it up, such as history, poetry, law, or prophecy, as a subject by itself. According to its method, one only knows that he is studying some passages, or, at the most, some book to be found in the Scriptures. Even if we have the Life of Christ this year, and the Reign of the Kings of Judah the next year, and fragments from the Epistle to the Romans in the third, still there cannot be said to be any real unity of subject in such a study of the Bible. Such a study has, indeed, its value. It is far better than no study; but it cannot be regarded with any justness as ideal or final. What would be thought of a course of study in any school that prescribed history for one term, poetry for the next, logic for a third and philosophy for a fourth; and then arranged these same subjects in another and another order in successive years, the order depending largely upon fancy, and the particular topic in each subject depending apparently upon nothing? Yet, from an educational point of view, this is precisely the method of the International Lessons. How, then, can this system have any just claim to endure for a long time to come, if only the fittest ought to survive?

But secondly, the International Lessons proceed without definiteness of purpose. Every well regulated school, and every good course of study has some definite aim to secure. Or else it is condemned by modern educational ideas. It may be sought either to give a definite amount and kind of mental training, or to impart thorough and systematic knowledge on a definite number of subjects; or both these ends may be aimed at. But, so far as appears after quite a number of years, the International Lessons cannot be said to seek in any real way either of these objects. Its total result thus far seems to be some scrappy information about special portions, larger or smaller, of the Bible, with no very definite indication of any use to which this information could be put. It is not easy to see how the system could have held its ground so long as it has, if all this time there had not been in the church a large amount of ignorance not only in regard to what the Bible really is, but also as to how and for what it ought to be studied. But a system that holds its ground by the ignorance of its students, or even the lack of competent teachers, has in itself the reason and the prophecy of its abolishment.

In the third place, the International System is completely ungraded in its material. In this respect it is utterly opposed to

modern educational ideas. One of the points of which its advocates make much is that by its method all the Sunday-schools of the world are studying the same lessons in all their classes at the same time. This is exactly what they ought not to be doing. In this matter is one of the greatest defects of the system. What should we have to say of an educational system whose boast was that all the schools of the United States, primary schools, high schools, colleges and professional schools, were all engaged at the same hour in the study of the same epoch in history, the same passage in literature; the same problem in mathematics, the same question in philosophy, or the same doctrine in theology? The preposterousness of such a system is clear from the mere statement of the case. The sentimental and empty boast would not keep the system in being a single hour. Can we be justified then in adopting for our study of the Bible a method which we would not tolerate for the study of arithmetic and geography? It is absurd to think of teaching Isaiah and Romans, Ezekiel and Colossians, Daniel and Revelations, to the younger classes in our Sunday-schools. We might as well introduce the study of conic sections and metaphysics into our primary schools. If we attempt to teach them to these younger scholars, we shall either fail to teach them anything at all, or only succeed in teaching what is not so. But a system of lessons which proposes to omit entirely these portions of the Bible from the study of the Sunday-school, surely cannot be called an ideal or a final system of Bible study. Besides, it would practically declare to be true the dangerous heresy that the Bible is not the Word of God, but only *contains* the Word of God. So that with these parts of the Bible excluded or included, the International System stands condemned for what it is.

Let us now see, on the other hand, why this system cannot justly claim to be the true system for Sunday-school work, because of what it is *not*.

In general, it may be said that the International Lessons lack largely, or entirely, the essential characteristics, which, according to modern exegetical science, belong to true Bible study. But true Bible study must meet the demands of exegetical science, because Bible study is essentially interpretation, and interpretation is a scientific process. It remains, therefore, to point out the essential characteristics which must belong to scientific Bible study, and which the International Lessons do not possess.

In regard to this matter it is to be said: First, true Bible study will be Chronological.

By this is meant that each book must be studied as the product

of its own particular age, and all the books must be considered in their chronological relations to one another. For the science of interpretation shows us that every book is born out of its own age, and has its birthmarks in it. Thus it comes to pass that the same words and the same forms of expression do not in every age, or in the mouth of every man in the same age, have always the same meaning. If, therefore, we do not know the age of the book we study, and the kind of thinking and life that characterized that age, we may miss much of the true meaning of the book. Much of our Bible study at the present time, and much of the so highly praised "Bible Readings," errs not a little in neglecting this important factor in true Bible study. The work proceeds by words or phrases, and not by attention to dates and ages. Key words, such as faith, righteousness, Day of the Lord, Hell, or others of this sort are selected, and passages are made to harmonize in a melody upon this key with little regard to the strain in which they were written at first. But this way of doing is contrary to common sense, and, therefore, contrary to the scientific method. For science, after all, is only systematized common sense. We do not use other literature in this fashion. No one thinks of seeing in the term Chemistry in books of a hundred years ago, the meaning which this term now has. No one supposes that the writer of fifty years ago, in speaking of public conveyances, means limited vestibule railway trains. Why should it any more be taken for granted that the faith of Abraham was, in all respects, like the faith of Paul, or that the Hell of a Psalm writer was the same as that which Jesus spoke of in awful terms of anxious love and fear. The Bible books were not less inspired because they were born of the age in which they appeared. Even as Christ was not less divine because He was human. He was the Son of God, because He was also the Son of Man. The Bible is, in the same way, divine, because it is human. Not to study it, therefore, as other books are studied, in its relations to the times that produced it, is to study it falsely. But this chronological element is left out of sight almost altogether in the International Lessons.

Secondly, true Bible study will be Literary.

By this is meant that the Bible must be studied not so much as a book, but rather as books. In such a study, each book must be taken as a literary whole, in which every part has its meaning in consequence of its relations to this whole. All the parts, moreover, are to be given their meaning in view of the occasion that produced the book and the purpose for which it was written. Nothing can be more absurd than the far too common practice of

selecting for study or for a text, a few words of the Bible without any reference to the relation of these words to the thought and aim of the book in which they occur. This is as if the Bible were a scrap-book or a grab-bag, in which, by some mysterious providence, a lot of good things had come together to be taken out at random, as some happy fancy might dictate, for pious uses. What should we say of an expounder of the Philosophy of Plato who should attempt to teach us the system of that great thinker by giving us some reflections based upon isolated passages selected at random from his writings? What should we say of such a teacher if he had never really studied a single work of Plato as a complete whole; so that he did not himself know the relations of his passages to the works from which they were taken? Or what should we say of a physician who should undertake to cure us of a serious sickness by using prescriptions selected at random from his text-books on Therapeutics? These men we should call quacks; and justly.

We ought never to forget that the Bible is not so truly to be termed Revelation as the history and product of Revelation. Facts have always preceded books, if the books have been good for anything. This has been the case also with the Bible books. The New Testament, for example, did not produce Jesus and the Church; but Jesus and the Church produced the New Testament. Our religion is not the religion of a book, as has been sometimes urged against it; but a religion resting upon historic facts. There is a very important sense in which it still remains the religion for all men and all times, books or no books, inspiration or no inspiration. It is to be remembered that the church was in full being, and men were believing unto salvation in Jesus before a line of the New Testament was written. The books of the Bible thus had a natural birth out of the needs of men, and the desire of other men to help them, and they were designed by their authors to meet the circumstances of their own time. We cannot reasonably suppose that Isaiah of Jerusalem, when rebuking King Ahaz, or encouraging King Hezekiah, or thundering against the sins of Judah in his day, thought very much how men would regard his utterances in 1890 A. D. Or that Paul stopped to consider long how fully he was inspired when, out of a heart hot with grief and indignation, he wrote his burning words to the churches of Galatia, or when, in tender love, he wrote such sweet words of deep affection to his brethren at Philippi. Not in any sense, or in any way, that these words, each and all, were not the words of men moved by the Holy Spirit. But they were also the words of men moved by human

occasion and purpose, only rightly to be understood when studied as a part of the world's literature. But that the Bible is literature, is a fact which the International System of Sunday-school Lessons seems to leave out of account almost altogether. Its skip-and-jump method is not sufficiently remedied by directions to read what lies between the passages chosen. Even were all this read, and studied in the manner in which the selected passages are expounded, still almost no prominence would even then be given to the literary element in the Bible. But this must be constantly before us in any true study of the Scriptures.

In the third place, true Bible study will be Historical.

That is, the Bible must not only be studied as books, but as a historical unit, the product and the picture of a developing revelation. Revelation is indeed a unit; but it is also a development. Any true and real meaning of the word revelation must include not only a giving by God, but a receiving by man. To him who receives nothing, nothing can in any intelligent sense be said to be revealed. But human receptivity for truth in the race, as in the individual, in the progress from childhood to manhood, has increased by a gradual growth. Revelation also, to keep pace with the increasing receptivity of man, has been a development. Thus there is a historic order and progress in doctrine in the Bible itself, as well as in the life of the church. Abraham did not see all the truth that was known to Samuel; nor Samuel, all that was known by Peter and John. The Kingdom of God was one thing to Moses, a somewhat different thing to Isaiah, and another thing yet to Jesus. The hopes for the future that Isaiah had were not the same as those which Paul sets before us in Ephesians and Colossians. Not that the earlier views and hopes were contradicted by the later, but they were less full and perfect. It is this historical element in revelation which makes it necessary that a scientific study of the Bible should recognize a Biblical Theology, as a true and necessary basis for a Christian, and a Baptist—Theology, and yet as distinct from the latter. Historical Theology and Systematic Theology may both be Biblical, and ought both to be Biblical; but they are not the same thing for all that. To read into, or out of a passage in the Psalms or Isaiah, the same meaning as if it had been written by John or Paul, even were every word the same in both cases, may be the practice of even some Baptists; but it is neither science nor common sense. The scientific value of many of the proof-passages of our systems of doctrine would be found to be absolutely lost if due regard were paid to the place of these passages in the development of revelation. In this matter also, our

International System of Lessons seems to be radically at fault. If the reply be made that this idea of the historical element in revelation cannot be taught to all grades of minds, one may well ask, then why seek to have as the one system for all minds in the school of the church, a system which is sure to convey a radically false idea to the minds that are able to receive the truth about the divine revelation ?

A failure to recognize the presence and results of the historical element in the Bible, the development in Revelation, if it is really there, will introduce a large percentage of error into the results to which any study of the Scriptures will lead us.

The just conclusion, then, seems to be that the time has come for this International System of Bible study, which is opposed to modern educational ideas, and is not able to satisfy the demands of scientific interpretation, to give place to something else better fitted to survive.

The general discussion was opened by the Rev. FRANCIS BEL-LAMY, of Boston, Mass., who spoke as follows :

I thought I was a pretty strong believer in the International system ; I do not know but what I am still. I certainly do believe in the possibilities of that system with all my heart, and yet to me there has occurred the thought that all the possibilities of that system have not yet been realized. One great improvement in that system is a recognition of the Christian year. We do recognize the Christian year everywhere, except in our International system. The time was when we never did. I was brought up to regard Christmas as a rag of popery (laughter), and I remember with astonishment the strong language that was uttered when Easter was observed in our churches, perhaps twenty years ago, for the first time. And yet in that time our churches and all other churches have come to almost as enthusiastic a recognition of the Christian year as is to be found in any section of Christendom. At Christmas time, and Easter time, no matter how much a few here and there may rebel against it, our children and our congregations have exalted to the zenith in their minds and imaginations the Birth of Jesus and the Resurrection of Jesus ; and the anniversary of the Death of Jesus has also become a point of deepest interest in our religious life. And yet in our International Lessons these occasions are ignored entirely. We are about to have our Sunday-school Christmas, and to talk about the birth of Christ, and yet in the International Lessons we shall at that season be studying about the

death of Christ and His ascension. The harm of this is not to Christmas, but to the lessons which we have to teach at that time. We cannot go against the current in the minds of the children on that day. Easter is coming, and we will then be studying about the kings of Judah, while our churches are decorated and choirs singing, and the children lifting their songs about the resurrection of Jesus. I believe in the concentration of forces. There is also another Christian year which we recognize, and that is the evangelistic year. We do not believe that the winter is the only time for revivals, and yet we all have our revivals in the winter. We do not seem to be able to get out of that system. When the winter months come, Jesus Christ is the centre of the religious thought of the church and congregation, and yet there is such a scattering of energies, even in our International Lessons, that some of the warmest and sweetest evangelistic stories were during August, when our Sunday-schools were reduced to a minimum. The Prodigal Son, I believe, came in August, the Lost Sheep came then. These sweetest and best things were when our Sunday-schools were scattered. And next January and February, the season when we are talking most to our classes about Christ, we are going to be studying about the Shunamite woman and the Kings of Israel. I plead, therefore, in the arrangement of our International Lessons for a recognition of the double Christian year, a recognition of the Christian year of Christendom, and the recognition of the practical Christian year of our Christian churches. (Applause.)

REV. GEORGE BULLEN, D. D., of Pawtucket, R. I., said :

We must have our ideals above our attainments. When we think we have attained, a paralysis comes over us. I have no doubt the International system is capable of great improvement, and may be profitably supplemented, but I do not think you can convert a Sunday-school into a training school. You must not forget the material you have to work *upon*, and the material you have to work *with*. It seems to me that the rigid application of the very able paper to which we last listened, would overturn our theological schools—and some of them are being overturned—and would put some of us, who are preachers, to our wits' end to know how to do our work. I was not, at the start, an International System man, but a trial of the plan early gained for it my favorable regard, and it has held that favorable regard to this time. It is much in advance of all that we have had, and it is not discounted, to my mind, very greatly by anything that has been suggested.

While, as I have already said, it may be greatly improved, in some respects supplemented, as by some suggestions in the second paper, two or three things have commended it to me, and retained for it my hearty approval. One of them is its relation to the Bible classes in the Sunday-schools. I did not think it suited to the adult classes. I did not see how they could be content to spend half an hour on an extended passage of Scripture, a paragraph, and dismiss it and go to another paragraph. But I very soon learned that they could do so, and in doing so, that gain was secured in the interests of reverence. I think our Sunday-schools are open to very serious criticism on many points. In my part of the world, the adult Bible classes used to furnish the occasion for the sharpening of one's wits, rather than the development of a sincere and devout and reverent love of the Word of God. I do not know what the present condition is as to that, but if there be the spirit that would debate, turning the class into a debating society, the system forces to leave the point about which the wrangle has been had, and give attention to another portion, so that the ultimate results of the debate may be an improved view and perhaps a more reverent regard and treatment of the Sacred Scriptures.

I have learned this, also, from observation, that during the last fifteen or eighteen years there has been developed, as a matter of fact, a signally improved estimate of the Old Testament Scriptures. There have been found in the Scriptures of the Old Testament the same great principles that are in the New Testament, and again and again, I presume as often as we have left the Old for the New, one and another and another have come to me and said: "I am sorry to leave the Old Testament." It has been said to me one hundred times: "I never knew before what was in the Old Testament."

Another thing which I have learned is this: the uniform study has given subject for free conversation in the religious intercourse of the church in its social meetings. I do not mean its prayer meetings, but its social meetings. I certainly have heard very much more conversation upon the Scriptures during the past fifteen years than the previous fifteen years. Moreover, uniform lessons give conditions for conversation in the *family*, such as would be wanting in a system that should give to this department one portion of Scripture, and to that department another portion of Scripture. I find myself on this point seriously dissenting from my esteemed friend who read last, when he said, as I understood him, that you cannot find in the book of Isaiah any word to teach a child, or in the book of Romans. It depends upon the teacher whether any-

thing can be found in Isaiah to teach a child, or in Romans. (Applause.) Indeed, I do not know any considerable portion of the Scriptures out of which truth cannot be drawn for the oldest and the youngest. We, who are parents, find very much in the Old Testament to teach our children.

Another thought, and that is, the preparation which is given to people who have been studying the Word, for the preaching of the Word: For twelve years, with scarcely an exception, I preached once on Lord's day, upon the Sunday-school lesson. I encouraged my people to send me questions that had been raised in their classes, or that had been raised in their own minds, and a third of the time I had from one to three or four questions sent me to answer when I should come to discuss the topic which had been before them. I have found great advantage in the people being prepared to receive what I might say upon the portion of the Word which had been assigned for that day. I have proved by experience, that the system is better than anything we had before. I became converted to it, and I have not fallen away. (Applause.)

REV. DR. HOBART, of Yonkers, N. Y., said:

Mr. Chairman, Brethren:

I sent my name to the desk before Mr. Burnham began to read. If I had waited a little I should not have sent it, for he covered the ground which I had it in my mind to try and cover. I have spent some time in cultivating a vocabulary large, respectful, and yet forceful and energetic enough to express my contempt for a large proportion of the common interpretation of the Scriptures. (Laughter.) But I have not succeeded very satisfactorily to myself. I feel thankful this morning that I have heard one man express it so excellently; at whose feet I am willing to sit. (Laughter and applause.) I want to say amen to all he has said.

So far as my observation goes with thoughtful men, and especially with thoughtful young men, a large proportion of the infidelity and the indifference to the Scriptures grows out of notions which they have gotten in some way or other as to the method of interpreting them; and some false ideas which they have, by these methods, brought out of them. Nine-tenths of the opposition found among that sort of the young men, and the elder men, would be removed utterly if it were possible to take away all they ever learned about the Scripture, and let them start anew—begin over again.

I believe the Bible to be the true record of the revelations of God and the certified selections of human history given to us for our guidance in all spiritual matters. I will bow down before any man who bows down to the Scriptures, and listen to his interpretation. I will not submit to any suspicion on my own part that the Scripture is ever to be set aside or out-grown. It is the Word of God, sealed, I believe, with the most sacred seal of the Holy Spirit. Nevertheless it must come for its interpretation under the laws of thinking, and under the use of language of the age in which it was written. Dr. Burnham has said so much along that line that I have only to say amen over again.

But it seems to me that so much has been said about knowledge of the book that we need to remember one thing: and that is, that this very book says: "They shall all be taught of God." A mere intellectual knowledge of the Bible will not do the work we desire to have done. It has always been a principle of our denomination to seek and expect the teaching of the Holy Spirit. And while we speak here to-day in very emphatic terms upon the importance of proper intellectual apprehension and understanding of the Scriptures, we speak continually in the shadow of this other truth—the teaching of the Spirit—which is only relatively and temporarily left in the background this morning.

My own experience is this: There sits right in front of the desk, in the Sunday-school where now I am pastor, a very narrowly educated woman, of deep, earnest piety; I hear her speak in our meetings, and pray with more fervor and more effect than some college-trained women who say nothing at all. (Laughter.) I have no doubt these trained women could say more about the Scriptures, and more intelligently speak of them than that woman if they tried; but she, being taught of the Spirit, speaks helpfully without the other training. She has a class of little girls, about half colored and half white, and they study the same lesson as the older members of the church and which sometimes she cannot adapt to them. With all the best efforts of our Publication Society to give us graded helps, they sometimes fail to get "sincere milk" from the "strong meat" of the lesson. I plead for primary lessons, not always upon the same passage of Scripture as the lessons for older ones.

The uniform lesson is almost a necessity for any widespread effectiveness in our "helps." The *Sunday School Times* could never be what it has been, and is, unless it had had a large constituency to pay for it. The Baptist Publication Society could never do what it is doing unless we had uniform lessons in our denomination throughout the whole country. So, I would hold on to the inter-

national, or, at least, the uniform system, for the sake of the helps it makes possible. But I would grade the lessons as well as the helps-down to the Primaries, and up to the advanced scholars, keeping the middle of the system where it is. We now have what may be called field notes of the Bible, like the surveyors who go out and take observations, and measure distances, and write them down in a book. But we have never put them into a map. We have been going year after year over Scripture enough to make a good system of theology, but we have never made it. While grading the system down to the younger ones we must put an addition to it for the older ones, a higher story, where we may do work on lines outside of and above that on which we have been doing. This much we must have. We say the Bible school is the Church at study. Why, then, not have our uniform Doctrinal Classes? and uniform Biblical Theology Classes? (where there are people competent to take them). And why not have our Training Classes for Christian workers, such as the Y. M. C. A. has everywhere? Why should we depend on others to do this for us? All this might be done in Sunday-schools where there is timber to do it with.

Another thing must be insisted on, and that is, a course of study. It would stimulate, wonderfully, the disposition to study in the school, if we had a course mapped out, and an examination, and a kind of diploma. I would have a course for the little ones, and would frame and hang up in the church the names of those who passed the examinations.

I would have a course for the middle ones, a freshman and sophomore and junior year, and senior, if you wish. Have it wisely arranged and have certificates for work done. When we get there we shall have timber enough coming from the school to make intelligent teachers and good lifelong deacons. (Applause.)

REV. MR. POTER, of New Haven, said:

Mr. President:

I thought, brethren, that you might be interested in such a word of testimony as I can give about the use of the Inductive Lessons, prepared by Prof. Harper and Mr. Goodspeed. Many in this Sunday-school felt that the right idea underlies these lessons, and last year we adopted them in our Sunday-school. We found it quite difficult to introduce all the leaflets which are sent out by the publishing house in Hartford. We decided to give the elementary leaflet to the whole school, the primary department excepted. Dur-

ing the past year we have been studying the Gospel of Luke by the help of these lessons. We thought we were especially favored and might undertake this course of study because we had Mr. Goodspeed as leader of the teachers' meeting—Mr. Goodspeed preparing the lessons himself, or assisting Prof. Harper. My own observation is this, that our Sunday-school, and very small children in our Sunday-school, have a conception of the life of Jesus which they never had before. Our Superintendent is enthusiastic about it and says, "I never saw the Gospel of Luke before. I never got so large a view of the life of Jesus before." The Sunday-school has followed Jesus of Nazareth about Palestine, through the Galileean ministry, and through the Perea ministry, and now into the Jerusalem ministry, and can tell you the characteristics, the striking features of each.

We have a good Superintendent. He has made a system of cards—I wish you could see them, they are in the room below—that have the letters of the topics for study on them. Any of you would be surprised to hear our children on Sunday morning answering through a whole list of these topics with the help of only the initial letters. For example, B. B. J. J., stands for Birth and Boyhood of John and Jesus. The Superintendent puts his fingers on these letters and the whole school repeats, "Birth and Boyhood of John and Jesus." I do not think we have lost any enthusiasm because of our isolation. So far as I know this is the only Sunday-school in this city which has persevered through the year in the use of these lessons, and we do not realize that all the world is going the other way, and we are going off by our lone selves. And I do not know but what we shall make the study of this year in the Gospel of Luke a basis for the completer life of Jesus to be gathered from all the Gospels during the next year.

The PRESIDENT:—We ought to hear, at least, I suppose, from one Superintendent who has some practical knowledge of this work. Dr. Walker is Superintendent of several schools, and I am sure you will be glad to hear from him. The time will only allow of a homeopathic dose. (Laughter.)

DR. WALKER, of New Haven, said :

My mind has gone right back to the time—indeed, I do not remember the time when I did not go to Sunday-school. I can recollect the picture of fierce Moloch and other pictures in the little cat-

echism from which I received my first lessons. I can recollect when, in later years, it was the good boy who would repeat the most verses from the Bible for a good old deacon.

I can recollect the inception of the International series of lessons, and consider it an honor now that I was one among others to wage a sharp controversy in order to have them introduced into our school. We won. They were adopted, and marked the beginning of more intelligent teaching.

A year ago, when the subject of lessons came up for consideration in the school of which I have now the honor to superintend, it was with some anxiety that the Inductive Lessons, edited by Prof. W. R. Harper, were introduced.

When the recommendation of the committee was made to the teachers, they voted unanimously to adopt them.

Though I am ill at ease in attempting to say a word before this assemblage, and shall be unable to properly express my mind, I am glad of this opportunity to express my high appreciation of the Inductive method for Bible study, and I am fully convinced that it marks the beginning of a still more intelligent teaching than we have yet experienced.

We are familiar with the deplorable facts that the lesson helps leaflets and quarterlies have greatly lessened the number, if not driven out the Bibles from our schools, and that many teachers place entire dependence on the leaflet in the hand to teach the lesson.

In the use of the Inductive Lessons, I have noticed that we have done away with leaflets, quarterlies, some teachers and more scholars; but still our number remains about the same.

Our equipment now is a Bible or Testament, a note-book and pencil, and those who have employed them the most have enjoyed the lessons best, and are most willing to attempt the examination at the end of the year. I have given out some test questions on the lessons, and one little girl of fourteen years answered 90 per cent. of them at sight. A little boy of eleven years answered 75 per cent. in about ten minutes.

I think that they have a better understanding of the book than they could have gotten by any other method of study, and that the work they have done will make them the better believers of its truths. I am convinced of this by my own experience. Though my work has been poorly done, never before has the Book of Luke been to me what it now is. I seem to be in sympathy with the writer and his theme. Its natural divisions, which I neither saw before nor knew were there, help me to remember it. I feel that I

have a knowledge of its facts and incidents which makes my belief in them more strong and steadfast.

My experience with the lessons seems to prophesy what can be done with the Bible, and I am eager for its fulfilment, and believe we have a glorious future just before us if the Inductive method of the study of the Scriptures is pursued.

REV. C. H. SPALDING, of Boston, Mass., said :

I utterly disclaim any special pleading in what I have to say from my Providential and official relation with our Publication Society. But I speak out of an intense personal conviction that the star of hope never so rested over the Church of to-day as when this International System was born. I cannot forbear expressing an intense feeling that it is a larger thing in itself than, possibly, the third septennial of its adoption has even yet seen. But be careful what you put in its place. At our Boston Superintendents' Association, on Monday night, an eminent young lawyer, a devoted Christian man, said that upon a given Sabbath he sat down with a few classes of boys and asked them if they could tell him what Moses meant. And he said he could not get an answer. I said to myself, I hope he will not ask this body here and now what Moses means. Perhaps those little boys had once touched that septennial line of truth, and perhaps never. But is it anything against the International System that a boy could not tell that Superintendent what Moses meant? There is just one thought connected with this I would speak upon, and that is, give more intensity to what we have. I believe the key to the International System is the questions, and I think it has, perhaps, been one of the weakest things of it. The lessons have been constructed too much by attrition and not enough by illumination and irradiation; and I contend that the men who construct our lesson helps should become insphered in the truth and ask questions from that centre, and let a question mean something. The question must not be like dropping empty buckets into empty wells and drawing nothing up. Let the question be a slender cord with a cup that shall go down into the well of the truth of the hour and bring something up. But too often it seems a question dangles over the well and brings nothing up, simply because there has not been sufficient study. But make more intense what we have, brethren, and I believe it is a dangerous thing, out of my heart I say it, to presume to substitute in its place chronology or literature or history. Let us give the sincere milk of the truth, the sympathetic teaching of the Word of God, coincidences of our life with

the personality of the life of Christ, and something will come. There are now examinations on the part of those who have studied the International System, and there are boys and girls who could sit down and answer the questions in a review. The first time we started this movement, upon the first Sabbath I asked my Sunday-school what was back of creation. It was expected that everybody would say chaos, but one little boy said God, and it was a tremendous answer. (Applause.)

SAMUEL COLGATE, of Orange, N. J., said :

There is a practical as well as a theoretical side to this question. I have been Superintendent of a Sabbath-school for over twenty years without the International Lessons, and nearly the same time with them. I have watched closely the advantages and disadvantages of the two systems, and have no hesitation in pronouncing decidedly in favor of the present system. The best thoughts of the best men are brought to bear upon the selection of the topics, and the educated talent of the Christian Church is given week by week for the instruction of Sunday-school workers.

I should esteem it in the light of a calamity were those notes and comments withdrawn.

REV. W. G. FENNELL, of Middletown, Conn., said :

In my work in connection with the Bible Union I have been impressed with this fact, that something must be done ; that is the trend of opinion among the people of this State, and you call us the most conservative people in the United States. Yesterday I attended a Sunday-school Convention at Danbury, where there were 600 or 700 delegates. A hint was given me that they did not desire to have anything said against the International Series. It was given me by one of their conservative officers. In expressing some thoughts regarding what Bible study should be, I found a general response among the people, not only the Baptists, but Congregationalists and Methodists, that something must be done. Many are trying to branch out and have some other system. Whatever we may think about this matter, the trend of the times demands something. One difficulty is, the International System does not give us enough to study at a time. What we want in our Sunday-school is a wider sweep of the Word of God, more knowledge of it as a whole. We have to wrest the given passage of Scripture to find enough to talk about, and we have perhaps made up three-fourths

of it in fancy. We want more and more Bible testimony and less of the opinions of teachers. To this is largely due the sentiment we find in our churches. Wisely directed Bible testimony will result in broader ideas and a more healthful spiritual life. We take our teachers just as they come in this general "hop, skip and jump" method; they have no knowledge of what they ought to know, and we place them right over classes to teach the same system. It is the same round over and over again. If we retain the International System, we must have something in addition. We must have classes for general Bible study and for the preparation of Sunday-school teachers. Have them, if possible, on some week-day night; but if not, we should arrange for some such class in the Sunday-school on the Sabbath. We would not allow a teacher to go into our public schools and teach as we do in the Sabbath-school, and yet we believe that this education is the foundation of the State. Let us emphasize the Sunday-school and make more of it. Considerable has been said to-day about the sincere milk of the Word. There is a difference in milk. (Laughter.) I was brought up on a farm. One day I went to a neighbor who had a patent cooler, and he said, "Don't you want some milk?" I said yes. He had an arrangement which drew the milk from the bottom of the can, and consequently he gave me only skim milk. (Laughter.) And that is just what we are doing in this work. We have this great patent cooler, and are placing in it the milk of the Word, and drawing out of it half the time only the skim milk. There is something beside "milk" in that passage: it is the *sincere milk of the Word*.

I do believe our people demand more of the Word of God, and shall we not give it to them? We would not attempt in any sense to be revolutionary or radical; but whatever changes we make, would make them for the Lord Jesus Christ's sake, who has entrusted this Word to our keeping. (Applause.)

REV. J. H. MASON, of New Haven, said:

I speak because twice urged by a friend to do so, and shall speak very briefly. I do not know that I exactly understand what the question before us is. We have International and Independent Systems of Sunday-school Lessons placed over against one another. The term "International Sunday-school Lessons," as used here, seems to mean a certain series of texts, or paragraphs, that have been assigned by the Committee. The term "Independent System of Sunday-school Lessons" seems, as it has been used here to-day,

to represent a method of teaching. Is there anything to hinder our applying this method to that text? Is there anything to hinder our applying a much more thorough method of study to the very text which is put before us by the International Committee, and are not many teachers doing that very thing? And if you adopt what is called an Independent System, will the teacher who is not a student adopt the method which is suggested by this system? It seems to me that the objections which were brought against the International System can hardly stand. Does it proceed without unity of subject? Are we who are studying in the Gospel of Luke to-day, by the International System, proceeding without any unity of subject? Are we proceeding without any definiteness of purpose? Because we take fragments of the text, do we not expect the student in his preparation to rest content with these fragments, but to take the context what has gone before and what comes after? If we are thorough teachers, do we not take in just as far as we are able to take in, the benefit of this method that has been suggested? It seems to me that we all believe in some thorough method of study, and I think that a good many teachers in connection with the International Lessons are teaching chronologically, and are teaching historically. I find teachers in my school who are doing that. I do not think there is anything in the International System to hinder that. That system has called forth much of the best talent in the world, and in the lesson helps has put it at our disposal.

On the other hand, what shall we do if we take the entire text which is the suggestion of what is called the Inductive Method? How far shall we get while the student is still within our reach. (Applause.)

HON. FRANCIS WAYLAND, said :

I am not aware that it is the duty of the presiding officer to sum up the argument, but I want to add one or two observations. The International Sunday-school system evidently is not the ideal system. But have we the ideal teacher and pupil? When we have we can have the ideal system. Those whose misfortune or good fortune it has been to conduct, superintend, or give instruction in a mission school, not the least important branch of religious instruction, for the instruction the children get there they get nowhere else, will naturally ask, if I may coin a word, how would you induct in that school? (Laughter.) You would have first very great trouble in inducting the teachers into the school, and secondly

in keeping them there. At the very best, with the minimum of preparation which is called for, under the International System if you please, it is very hard to bring teachers up to it. You would have empty seats and be obliged to go out into the highways and byways and bring in people. Your inductive methods would be peculiar and heterogeneous. (Laughter.) We have to look this thing in the face. Poor instruction, if the spirit is right, is vastly better than no instruction at all. The Sunday-school which assembles under this elegant roof, where everything is of the best, preaching and music included, is of a grade we believe very much above the average, and possibly it may succeed with the inductive system. The Superintendent says it has already driven away some, he did not tell us what per centage; he was careful not to deal in figures. But knowing something about the practical working of Sunday-schools, especially mission schools, I do not see how it is possible to make it effective there. I won't go beyond that, because I do not wish to do injustice to the other schools that I have in my mind. But it seems to me it is possible to have very satisfactory work with the materials you find in mission schools. Here are people who are overworked through the week, who go to bed every night physically if not mentally fatigued, and you must put as little additional labor on them as possible in their Sabbath preparation. It will be better than nothing at all, at the worst. And if you appal them at the outset with your scientific propositions and scientific methods, they will bid you goodbye and you will see them no more. (Laughter.) That is all I have to contribute to the aggregate wisdom of the morning. (Laughter and Applause.)

The Congress then adjourned until half-past 7 in the evening.

Second Day.

EVENING SESSION.

The proceedings opened with the singing of the hymn, "Glorious Things of Thee are Spoken," after which the Rev. I. M. B. THOMPSON, of Morristown, led in prayer. The choir of the Calvary Church sang the "Te Deum," after which the President announced that the question for the discussion of the evening was "The Race Problem of the South," and the first paper would be read by PROF. LONG, of Crosier Theological Seminary.

THE RACE PROBLEM OF THE SOUTH.

BY PROF. J. C. LONG, D.D., LL.D.

Some years ago a friend of mine built a house in what was then a fashionable part of a Southern city. Last summer I inquired about that house. The city has more than doubled in population; property in other parts of it has advanced in price; the house itself is as good as new; and yet it would not sell for half its original value. The explanation given was that it is now in the midst of a settlement of Jews; and no one cares to live among a people of different religion and different social habits—a people with whom there can be no real affiliation.

The property owners of that part of the city are face to face with a race problem: they have a Jew question. It was almost the same question that puzzled the kings of Egypt in the days of Moses; Europe in the Middle Ages, and Russia at the present time. That which has made the Jews in all ages a disturbing element is the fact that they are a people by themselves. They cannot mix with other peoples. Wherever they may be, they are a foreign substance in the body social and religious; not politic, for, fortunately, there is nothing to prevent the Jew from being, in the completest sense, a citizen.

What is true of the Jews is true of any other people similarly situated. It is true of the Chinese on our western coast. Hence the Californians had and have their Chinese question. In the same way, and for the same general cause, there is a Negro question in

the South. There are two peoples occupying the same territory. There is no probability that they will intermix. They are separated the one from the other by obtrusive physical marks. They are also separated by race prejudices. If any one should say that those prejudices are unreasonable, we might assent to it. But, just the same, the prejudices remain. They may be natural and ineradicable, or merely a matter of education, but they exist and are real, and however we might wish it were otherwise, the Negro never can be to us and we never can be to him the same as if we were of the same race. Any discussion of the Negro question that does not distinctly recognize this fact is idle and useless. If there were no race prejudice, or if the prejudice were easily removable, there would be no Negro question. As it is, the relations of the two races to each other are strained and need adjustment.

What ought to be the Negro's political status? What his relations to general society and to the industrial activities of the country? To the average American, no condition of things is completely satisfactory that does not make room for universal suffrage and social equality. He is not satisfied that every man should be the equal of every other man before the law; he insists that social barriers shall be broken down, and that no one shall be excluded from the possibility of entering any circle, however select. In his ideal state, as there shall be no political, so there shall be no social caste. It is almost as galling to be hopelessly excluded from the rich man's parlor as it is to be deprived of political rights; and to be shut out from places of public amusement, from public conveyances, and from houses of public entertainment, is an insult which no free man is expected to bear patiently.

So feels the average American. But it may be that even he realizes that there are some things that lie beyond the sphere of legislation. The law creates many inequalities; there are some which it cannot remove. In every condition, there are hardships that must be borne; evils that only cease to be evils when they become disciplinary agencies leading up to a higher life and a richer civilization. Poverty, ignorance, lack of social culture and inelegance of person or manner are disabilities. So, too, is occupation. Many a bookbinder's apprentice, like Michael Faraday, might be a fit companion for kings, but for all that he does not go among kings. We may sympathize with the proud man chafed by the chains that bind him down; but we cannot help him. He must be patient and bear his lot, or, by high achievement, escape it. A man's color, too, is a disability. Unfortunately, as Gen. Grant once said, it is a disability that cannot be removed. It might easily happen that a high

spirited Negro should fret and repine at being kept down simply because of his race. He feels that he is fitted to represent his country at any court in Europe, but, being a Negro, he is sent to Liberia or Hayti. We are sorry for him, but he owes his disability not to human contrivance, but to the providence of God. He must learn, as all of us have to learn, that when we cannot adjust our condition to ourselves, we must adjust ourselves to our condition.

The question is very much simplified when we eliminate from it all those things with which government has no concern. As to whether the Negro shall have a position of social equality among the whites, or whether his race shall occupy an equal or subordinate place in America, is not a question to be discussed. It is a question already settled by the fact that he is a Negro. This is none the less true because many Negroes rise, and will rise above their race.

There are two practical questions in reference to the Negroes. First, whether their peculiar position necessarily disqualifies them for full political rights. In a popular government, the people are supposed to be influenced by general public considerations. They can be members of the commonwealth because they have common interests. If, from any cause, any body of people should act from class interests, to that extent they would break the bond of citizenship. Many have thought that the rapid growth of the Catholic Church in this country is a menace to our institutions. This could only be so in the case of the Catholics always voting as Catholics; that is, in the case of their putting their ecclesiastical in the place of their civil allegiance*. If the Methodists should always vote as Methodists, or the Baptists as Baptists, the case would be the same. At that very moment when any denomination should begin to vote as a denomination, it would become a source of political confusion and danger. If the Irish should always vote as Irish, it would be a very serious thing in those cities in which there is a large Irish population. And should the Germans always vote as Germans, few native Americans would be willing to give them the franchise. The Jews, peculiar in so many respects, and bound to each other by such strong ties, can be worked into the political fabric because in their voting they vote as citizens and not as Jews. And so the many foreign peoples who come to this country can become one

* The Test act in England, which excluded Catholics and Dissenters from office, was a measure of political prudence, if not necessity. The Catholics could not well be trusted with political power which they would be tempted to use for the overthrow of the existing order. The hardship was in continuing the act long after the Catholics, as such, had lost their political significance, and were as true subjects of the crown as any class in England.

people because they are capable of political assimilation, and are willing to be assimilated.

There are some North as well as South, who think the 14th and 15th amendments to the Constitution a mistake bordering on a political crime. I cannot say that I agree with them. I can believe that those who gave the Negroes the ballot, acted from patriotic motives. They did not know what else to do. If it was dangerous to give them the right to vote, it was awkward, unnatural, and perhaps, equally dangerous, not to give it to them. Our experience with the Indians, not taxed and not voting, was not such as to encourage us to try another experiment of the same kind. If the negro could not become a citizen, it might have been at least safer and more convenient to keep him a slave. It was one of those cases in which apparent rashness may be real prudence. There was danger, but the danger did not lie in the fact that the negroes were ignorant, just emerged from slavery. There never was a more law-abiding people. There was no danger that they would oppose the government, incite riot, or revolution, be insubordinate, or do any of those things which have made great masses dangerous. There would be no need of a standing army to keep them in subjection, or of a great police force to watch over them. No people in the world have been freer from great and dangerous crimes than the liberated slaves of the South. It was not, then, their ignorance and previous servile condition that made it dangerous to give them the ballot. It was the fact that they were negroes, a strongly marked, unassimilatable race, and that in the exercise of their new privileges, they voted not as citizens, but as negroes.

No one attempted beforehand to realize the full effect of making them voters. The uppermost feeling was that it would be a protection to them against their former masters. If what occurred in South Carolina and Louisiana had been foreseen, the boldest would have shrunk from making that possible. A few more years of negro rule would have accomplished utter and irremediable ruin. To the white people of the States particularly threatened, there were two causes of alarm. The first was that they saw their property left over from the war becoming worthless, and their States bankrupt. The second, that they were politically helpless and hopeless, overwhelmed by a solid, fixed majority of negroes. Men may easily submit to the domination of a political party: it carries with it no humiliation. 'But it was not a political party that ruled in South Carolina; it was the domination of race over race, of the black race over the white race.

What was to be done? Humiliation had come and ruin was

threatening; and there was no help in the law. It was the law that made the ruin and humiliation possible. It was not an ordinary statute, which, being found ruinous, might be repealed or changed. It was a part of the organic law of the land, imposed from without by a great, resistless force. It is no unusual thing in popular governments, when a law is found to be hurtful, to invent or find means to neutralize its effects. It is a commonplace of political experience that no law can be fully carried out unless it has the support of the moral and political sentiment of the people. The white people in the negro States but followed common human instincts when they sought to protect themselves by evading or thwarting the operation of the law that was working ruin.

I have nothing to say in favor of lawlessness. If the people of any of the Southern States have used unlawful means to prevent the negroes from casting their votes; or if they have not counted the votes cast, they have done what cannot be but an injury to themselves; for men cannot deliberately violate a law without a lowering of moral tone, and a weakening of the foundations of public liberty. On the other hand, it must be regretted that the effect of the law was such as to make lawlessness seem necessary. The white people were subjected to a great temptation. If they should leave the ballot free, disaster would follow. If they should not leave it free, they became sinners against the law. Which were they to do? There are those whose devotion to law is so sublime and complete that they would insist upon its being carried out to the very letter whatever may be the consequence. They would vindicate the negro's right to vote, regardless of the manner in which he used that right, at any cost, however fearful. They forget that the highest function of law is to preserve States, not to destroy them.

We greatly deprecate the use of illegal expedients in any of the States. But while condemning them we may see that these abnormal things may be the means of producing the normal. In the body politic, as in the animal body, irregularities sometimes have a conserving force. When an organ's natural functions are interrupted, what in a healthy state would be for death, is the condition of life. The negroes were given the ballot as citizens; they were to use it in the interests of the State. They used it, not as citizens, but as negroes; not in the interests of the State, but of their race. It was a perversion. The new voters had made a false beginning. They did not understand the purpose of their high trust, and they have, for a time, been hedged about in the use of it. An angry, imperative voice has said to them: "Hold, you must not vote as negroes, but as men." When they shall have learned the lesson

which that voice teaches, if they ever shall learn it, and shall be governed by public policy and not by race affinity in voting, there will be no occasion for suppressing their vote: and they need not be thought of as negroes, but as citizens. In so far as the suppression of their votes is teaching them that needful lesson, it is not an unmixed evil. It is only temporary. Wait, and it will correct itself. The danger is that we may be tempted, in order to correct this temporary evil, to enact some general law that will narrow the liberties of all, for the sake of securing a misused right to some. It was ever by adopting permanent, universal laws to meet local temporary emergencies that governments have become oppressive to the people.

I trust the negroes will, after a while, learn to vote as citizens. All good men should help them to that learning. We never can feel comfortable about their voting in any community, north or south, so long as we can count so many negroes, and therefore so many votes, for our side. If they continue to vote together, not in some places, but in all places, political parties will seek to protect themselves against them, or else be tempted, especially in the border States, to move them from place to place to create fictitious majorities* What curse is it that follows these poor people, disappointed in their freedom, and, by the attempt to make citizens of them, subjected to intimidation on the one hand, and the most degrading political debauchery on the other? Their safety and ours is in their learning to vote as citizens. They must learn it. If they cannot or will not learn it, to give them the ballot was indeed a mistake.

The answer, then, to the question as to whether the negroes can be permitted to enjoy untrammled all the rights of citizenship depends upon themselves. Let them vote as citizens, and there is no reason why their political rights should be denied them. This gives us the solution of one part of the negro problem. We turn now to the second part, which has seemed to some even more serious than the first.

Suppose the negroes intelligent and patriotic voters, what then? Will they not, after a while, jostle and crowd out the whites from some of the States, and give us solid black republics, broad acres owned and ruled by negroes, where no white man can live, or live

*It was claimed that a recent election in West Virginia was carried by the votes of Negroes who had been imported from Virginia for the purpose. They called it "colonizing." Similar charges have been made in Indiana and Illinois, and in other States. If negroes should be used for such purposes, how could the whites of the opposing party feel kindly towards them? They may be so used so long as they vote "solid."

only as an inferior? This is the fear of some. We are told that the negroes are multiplying with wonderful rapidity, and that they will soon number fifty millions in America. I do not believe it. General conditions are against it; and, at least in some of those places in which the birth rate among them has been ascertained, it has been found to be not greater than that among the whites. I am indebted to the courtesy of Hon. Robert C. Davidson, mayor of Baltimore, for statistics showing the comparative birth rate among whites and blacks in his city for the six years from 1884 to 1889. There were among the whites an average of 18.55 to the thousand people; among the negroes, 18.02 to the thousand. In Charleston, S. C., on the other hand, confessedly imperfect statistics for the last ten years indicate that there were about five births among the negroes to three among the whites. I have not the statistics from Washington before me, but as I remember them as given in a newspaper report of a year or two ago, births among the two races in that city were very nearly equal. But whatever may be the case now, there are causes at work which must diminish the birth rate among the blacks. To indicate the direction of my thoughts, I mention the startling fact that while in Baltimore there are only an average of 18 illegitimate births to the thousand births, 164 in every thousand among the blacks are illegitimate. In cities, at least, the death rate among the blacks is largely in excess of that among the whites.† In Baltimore, for example, the average death rate among the two races for the last ten years is 18.12 per thousand for the whites, and 31.66 for the negroes. In Charleston for the same time, the average has been about 21 whites and 45 negroes to the thousand. The statistics from Charleston have been sent me from the health office, by the direction of the mayor, at my request. Statistics which I suppose to be reliable show that in Atlanta and New Orleans the proportion of deaths is more than two blacks to one white. On the whole, we notice that in Baltimore the birth rate of the two races is nearly equal; but that the death rate is in the proportion of about five blacks to three whites. In Charleston, about five blacks to three whites are born (as imperfect statistics show), and about nine blacks to four whites die. In the case of deaths the statistics are claimed to be correct.

When Horace Greeley was in Richmond, to bail Mr. Davis, I heard him say to the negroes, in the old African Church: "Make use of your opportunity. You are relatively stronger now than you ever will be again. You increase only by natural generation. The whites come pouring in from all parts of Europe. They greatly outnumber you now. You will be few in comparison after a while."

Mr. Greeley was right. In the last few years the change has been going on rapidly. Negroes have been moving north and west, and whites have been hastening to the south, not to take their places, but to make places of their own. The south is interlaced with railroads; and along these lines new villages, towns, cities even, have sprung up. The whole country is awake, or awakening. There are large cotton factories, and the houses of white operatives gathered about them. In many of the coal mines and iron furnaces black men are working now, but white men will take their places in time. In the south, as at the north, negroes will be crowded into the hard places, the poorly paid places, the places in which white men are unwilling to work. With the development of new industries, new places are made, and white men eagerly seize them. White men are even taking the places to which the negroes were once supposed to have a sort of natural right. Half—some say three-fifths—of the cotton crop of the south is raised by white men. The owners of cotton lands would find them far more valuable if they could command steady, reliable labor. They can hardly find such labor among the blacks; and, after a while, they must seek it among the whites, or sell their lands in small parcels, almost certainly to white men. These things are working change. The likelihood is that in twenty years there will be no Southern State in which the negroes will not be in a minority. Time and the operation of the great economic forces are settling the second part of the negro question.

In this paper I have attempted to state not what I wish to be true, but what is true. The negro question may well cause anxiety; but it is chiefly for the negro. Politically he is in a false position; he is misusing the ballot, not benefitting himself, and bringing danger to all. In all things the tide is against him; he is fighting a losing battle. No Southern man, old enough to have memories, can help thinking of him with a tender, pathetic interest. He has performed an important part in the development of this country. In the south, especially in the far south, he has done what white men could not or would not have done; he has opened the country and revealed the wealth of the rice and the cotton field. As a slave, he was the occasion of the widening of our area, taking in Texas, New Mexico, and California, and with California giving the incentive to the great western migration. But when he had done his work as a slave there came the great upheaval and he was made a freeman.

†A thoughtful young friend of mine in Virginia thinks this is partially explained by the fact that the weaker negroes leave the country and flock to the cities, in search of lighter work than they have on farms. The suggestion is ingenious, and, I think, true.

Is all his work done? Have we any further use for him? Are we to see in this country and among men what is so common in nature, a slow, constant pressure of the strong on the weak; and, after a while, the survival only of the strong? We cannot tell; it is not impossible. And yet there is a place for the negro. If let alone, in time he will find that place. Let us hope that it will be a place of equal political rights, with equal suffrage, whether with or without restriction. Let us hope, too, that it will be a place of contented usefulness. It must be a place in which there is no aggressive competition with the stronger race. The most cruel thing we could do for him would be to force him into that competition. He is our brother, our weaker brother; let us treat him wisely, justly, kindly.

REV. H. L. WAYLAND, D.D., of Philadelphia, said:

Permit me to express my gratification that this subject has already been presented to you by my dear friend, Dr. Long, whom I hold in reverence and affection for the purity of his character, for his judicial candor, and for his sincere humanity, no less than for his original ability and his large acquisitions. I am sure that he is quite as desirous as myself to arrive at the truth in this, as in all else, and that he is incapable either of misrepresentation or of unkindness.

I am happy to agree with much of what he has said, though some points do not present themselves to me as to him. As to the depreciation of property in consequence of the nearness of a colored population, if I am not mistaken, in the earlier times, the most magnificent mansions had in their immediate neighborhood the negro quarters, so-called; nor did the proprietors suffer from the nearness. I cannot understand why these people should smell worse for being free.

Every one who owns property is liable to experience a depreciation of it. A friend owning a house in a pleasant residence street in New York woke up one morning to find the house on either side of him turned into a store and his property depreciated several thousand dollars. This is an incident to which all owners of property are liable, though a kindly Providence has exempted most of the ministers from the likelihood of seeing a depreciation of their landed estates.

The race question at the South includes, to my mind, three questions; first, What *ought* to be the relations of the two races?

second, What *is* their relation? third, What *will be* their relation?

Certainly the true relation must be expressed in the single word, *equality*. The words of the immortal Declaration do not express glittering generalities, but enduring verities. Among these: "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal." Jefferson did not mean that all men are created equal in intellectual endowment, that they are ushered at birth into equally favorable surroundings; that they are born to an equally good heredity.

But all men are born equal in *right*; every one has a right to all that he can earn and to every use that he can make of his opportunities. No one may, under any guise or pretense, deprive him of his right to earn, and to hold what he has earned. No one may stand in the way of his winning any degree of advancement, or of his acquiring knowledge, of his holding his own views, and of his communicating them to others.

Every man is born to an equality of rights *under the law*; the law should guarantee to him, not merely the abstract possession of his rights, but the exercise of them. Every one is born to such an equality of right that if he be in any way injured or endangered, the whole machinery of society should be put in motion to protect and to vindicate him. The legal rights of the meanest and humblest, the most ignorant of the colored, should be as jealously guarded by the laws as though the blood of twenty generations of aristocrats flowed in his veins (as not seldom it does).

And the same armed hand of justice that should protect him from injury should visit punishment upon the aggressor, however high his station.

Politically, every one is born to such rights as the constitution and the laws of his country afford him; and he should exercise those rights under the protection of the State.

But it is said that this would place great political power in the hands of a mass of ignorant voters, greatly to the peril of the State. Is it right that the vote of an intelligent and patriotic man, who has a large and permanent stake in the public welfare by reason of his possessions, should be neutralized by the ballot of an ignorant savage, whose only title to the exercise of the suffrage lies in the fact that he belongs to the human race?

The objection lies, not against manhood suffrage at the South, but against free institutions and Republican government and manhood suffrage everywhere. It might with equal force be urged: Shall the vote of the Marquis of Hartington, or of Mr. Gladstone, be neutralized by that of a bog-trotter in County Sligo, or of a

costermonger's apprentice in London who does not equal in intelligence the beast which he drives, since the beast knows better than to get drunk, and to barter its turnips for beer?

The majority has always been unintelligent. The remedy is to make the majority intelligent; one advantage of manhood suffrage is that it puts the intelligent minority under bonds to educate the majority in behalf of the common safety.

And the genius of American institutions certainly requires that every one shall have equality of right as to education; that the State shall provide for all a good, serviceable, plain education, including instruction in the industrial and domestic arts, which are immeasurably more closely connected with the welfare of the State than the antiquated, outgrown, compulsory study of Greek and Latin, and, I must add, grammar, which I regard as one of the foes of the human race, and especially of the youthful mind.

It is needless to speak of the futility of the plan that the taxes collected from white citizens should be devoted to schools for the white children; and taxes from the colored, for the colored children. This would be denying the advantages of education to a large portion, sometimes a majority of the people, and to those who most need education and are less able to provide it for themselves. The very genius of the common school system is that the State is to provide education in the necessary branches (I do not say the advanced branches) for all its children. If we proposed that the taxes raised for the rich should be devoted to schools for the rich and the taxes from the poor be devoted to schools for the poor, the absurdity of the proposition would be patent. But somehow ordinary rules seem to lose their force where the words "white" and "black" are introduced.

I do not intend to insist upon schools in which white and colored shall attend together. It is not worth while to peril the common school system for the sake of that which, after all, is but incidental. Regard must be had to expediency and to prejudice, even though it be but prejudice. And there is, incidentally, this benefit in separate schools, that they afford a career for colored teachers.

The experiment of manhood suffrage, when fairly tried, has vindicated its wisdom.

Not long since, *The Spectator* (London), a very high authority, said: "The only securities now worth dealing in [I presume the writer excepted those of Great Britain] are the securities of the two great republics, France and the United States."

Every man is born into equality in the enjoyment of such political rights as the constitution and the laws give him. The right of

suffrage is not, like the right of property and the right of parentage, a natural right. The great object of political institutions is not the carrying out of some ideal, but the attainment of the highest public welfare.

If, in any one of the Southern States, or in all of them, or in the country at large, a provision were made requiring for the exercise of the suffrage a certain measure of ascertained intelligence and a certain amount of property, I should not in the slightest degree object; nor would the principle of equality be violated, if the law applied alike to all. On many accounts, I think this would be desirable; for it would not only relieve the state from the danger of ignorant and improvident voters, but it would give to every one an added motive for acquiring intelligence and property, in order that he might be clothed with the political rights dear to every American, and that he might, in common with every male, not to say every female, inhabitant of the United States hug to his bosom the expectation of becoming President.

But it is a very narrow and short-sighted view to hold that the vote of the wisest and best of men is neutralized by the vote of the most ignorant and vicious. Every man, in proportion to his standing, has an influence far beyond that exerted by his single ballot. An employer in England said to me: "Previous to the last election, when the issues were new and perplexing, one after another of my employed came to me, having confidence in my judgment, to ask me what I thought about the situation. I gave them my opinion: I presume that a hundred of them, without any persuasion or coercion from me, voted on the strength of my opinion." The eagerness of all political parties on the eve of an election to secure an expression of opinion from eminent men, in whom confidence is reposed, shows the falsity of the view that a man's influence extends no further than his own vote. If through all the States, men of standing should take the pains to gain the confidence of the less intelligent voters, the dangers of an unintelligent ballot would be greatly lessened.

I have said nothing about social equality. This is a matter that cannot be determined by law; it is a matter which must and will take care of itself. No man can or ought to be compelled, or forbidden, to invite any one to his house as a guest, or to go to the house of any one else as a guest.

I have spoken of the natural equality, of the legal equality, and the political equality. In the light of Christ's gospel and Christ's example, the weak and the ignorant and the oppressed have a peculiar claim upon the wise and the strong and the superior. The

spirit of the world is, "Help the strong;" the spirit of Christ is, "Help the weak;" "We that are strong ought to bear the infirmities of the weak;" their infirmities are considered in the light of a burden. We are to put our shoulder under it, and to raise the load that would otherwise crush them. And the weaker any one is, the more claim has he, according to the morals of the Mountain Discourse, upon the wise and strong. There was much of the spirit of the true religion in the words of Gov. Andrew, of Massachusetts: "What record the future may have for me, I do not know; but this I know, that it can never be said of me that I turned my back upon any one because he was poor or because he was ignorant or because he was black."

I have spoken of the equality of right as effecting the races *at the South*. I have thus limited myself because you have limited me in assigning the subject. But I should think it unjust, if I do not say the same equality of right is everywhere existent, and that the spirit of Christ is as beneficent, as humane, as just in one section of the country as another.

I come now to ask, briefly, the second question, What is the relation of the races at the South? I shall speak of what I suppose to be the general drift. Can it with truth be affirmed that every colored person at the South is free to exercise and enjoy all his natural rights, that he stands an equally fair chance with his white brother before the law, that he is in the full enjoyment of his political rights guaranteed by the constitution and laws of the United States? Can it be affirmed that he is as safe from injury as his white brother, or that when he is injured, or perchance murdered, the law is as strict to punish the aggression as in the case as of a white person? Does the state care as earnestly for his education as for the education of the white? Can he exercise his right to travel upon the railroads and steamboats of the South, and to enjoy all the privileges for which he has paid?

It is hardly necessary to answer all these questions in detail. Permit me, however, to remind you of one or two facts. One fact is that a year ago last September, a party of respectable colored men and women, on their way to the colored National Baptist Convention, at Indianapolis, who had bought and paid for first-class tickets, and who were promised by the agent of whom they purchased the tickets first-class accommodation throughout, were, at Baxley, Ga., assaulted, were beaten over the head with railroad iron, their lives put in peril, and then dragged from the car amid threats and oaths. This took place at noonday; the assailants were not disguised or masked; their names were well known and were

mentioned in the papers. If any effort was made to punish the authors of the crime, the fact has escaped the observing eye of the public intelligencer.

In one of the counties of South Carolina, eight colored men were put in jail, of whom four were *charged* with the commission of crime, but had not been convicted or tried, while the other four were not even accused, but were merely held as witnesses. As threats were made that they would be lynched, the citizens of the town pledged to the Governor their honor that the men should be protected, should have a fair trial, and their full rights under the law. These eight men were taken from the jail by a mob and shot. The Governor offered a reward of five hundred dollars for the apprehension of the criminals. That was the end. If any one was ever arrested I never heard of it.

In Louisiana, a little settlement had been made by respectable colored people, who were cultivating their own land. They were attacked by a band of white people, headed by a deputy sheriff. The men were taken out and shot without process of law or even accusation. These facts were spread before the world through the *Independent* and other papers, with names and dates given. If the facts were ever contradicted, the contradiction has escaped my notice.

The facts relating to the treatment of colored convicts in the Southern prisons and convict camps were brought to the notice of the National Conference of Charities and Correction meeting in Louisville, by George]W. Cable, upon whose head be eternal honor, a native of Louisiana, a Confederate soldier, a Christian of the highest and most exemplary character.

Do not think I am merely citing the inflamed utterances of some Northern zealot. I appeal to the words of such men as Bishop Dudley of Kentucky, Bishop Haygood of Georgia, and Mr. Cable.

It is not an adequate reply to say that such things happen at the North, that they happen in every community. Men are murdered in Massachusetts, in London, in Paris, but every resource of the government is taxed to discover and convict and punish the criminals.

The questions which I have asked are merely subsidiary to the third question, What are to be hereafter the relations of the races at the South ?

The answer to this question is infinitely momentous. No community can afford, in a world which is under God's laws, to inflict injury or injustice upon the feeblest. We ought long since to have learned this. If we have not, it is not because we have not been

in the expensive school of experience. Twenty-five years ago we learned that "all the wealth piled up by the bondsmen's two hundred and fifty years of unrequited toil was wasted by war, and every drop of blood drawn by the lash was paid by another drawn with the sword."

In the moral constitution of the universe, it is impossible that the rights of one class shall be sacrificed while the rights of other classes remain sacred. Injustice and violence beget injustice and violence; and, in the States where the hand of the white man is raised against the black man, there also the hand of the white man is raised against his fellow white man.

In a recent article upon "The Use of the Revolver in America," *The Spectator* (London) says: "To the existence of slavery in the past is due the criminal recklessness displayed in the South and West, in regard to the taking of human life. The swaggering plantation bully, ever ready with his revolver, became the ideal of the South; and hence arose the notion that the taking of human life in hot blood was a venial offence. To get into such a rage, or to be so grossly insulted, that it becomes necessary to shoot at sight, is felt to be the sort of accident that may happen to any gentleman of spirit; and therefore no jury, even if it considers in cold blood that a particular occasion was inadequate, will care to interfere."

Nor can any community escape the demoralizing influence of having within it an inferior and subject race, whose powerlessness invites injustice and lawless passion. What the future relation of the races at the South will be, will depend upon three things: First, the action of the Northern people. I do not mean their action as exerted in Congress. I am inclined to think that Congress has exercised in the premises all the authority which it can wisely use. I except, however, fuller provision for education at the South. I am unable to see any valid objection to the nation assisting the Southern States to remove the illiteracy, which is a peril both to the individual State and to the nation at large. But it depends much on what the Northern people, in the exercise of individual and associated philanthropy, shall do for the education and elevation of the colored. Every school of our own Home Mission Society, and of kindred bodies, is a center of light. Our own school at Raleigh, for example, has sent out probably 2,000 teachers, ministers, leaders. Owing largely to the wise and discreet conduct of these, its scholars, and of the president and his associates, there has been a lifting up of the standard of character throughout the colored people of the State; the question of the rights of the colored people in the cars has also been largely settled.

Men cannot always refuse the plainest rights to those whose standing as citizens, as instructors, as physicians, they cannot but recognize and respect.

Second : It will depend upon the white people of the South. If I had any hope of influencing them in the smallest degree, I would plead with them ; I would say to them : " These people are ignorant ; these people are degraded ; they are not seldom vicious. Do you think that you and I would be much better if we had two or three centuries of slavery behind us ? When you tell me what they are, I reply, ' They are what slavery has made them. ' " I recall the words of the author of " The Moral Science, " which we have all studied—and have all disregarded—who said to me : " These people are accused of being dishonest ; but how is a man ever going to learn the duty of honesty except by having something of his own ? How is a man going to learn the rights of others who has himself had no rights ? who could not call anything his own, whether his little possessions, his cabin, his wife, his children—himself ? I would plead with them to imitate the example of the great souled Apostle Peter, who, when appealed to by the helpless and crippled beggar, " took him by the right hand and lifted him up. " Help these, our unfortunate brethren, to stand upon their feet as men, as citizens, as fellow-children of God, and disciples of Christ. Encourage and help them to possess property ; then they will want honest government.

Lastly : What will be the relations of these races will depend much upon the colored people themselves. I do not think that their elevation will come through their political action. If I might hope that they would hear me, I would say to them " Get property ; get education ; get the religion of Christ—and for the present, the less politics, the better ! " I would remind them of a somewhat similar instance in history. A few centuries ago, the Jew was regarded with an abhorrence greater, I think, than is felt towards the colored man. He was loathed because of his race, and because of his religion. There was no form of violence to which he was not subjected. Robbery was the least of his wrongs. The torch, the sword, the Inquisition, did their worst. As Mr. Stockton has observed, " So far from his being compelled to pay the dentist anything for having his teeth extracted, the Jew was often glad to pay a very considerable sum that his teeth might be left him. " He had no vote ; he could hold no office. He engaged in business ; he bought ; he sold ; he made money ; he acquired learning, though without the favoring aid of the schools ; he adhered to the religion of his fathers, and to the sagacious principles of Moses and of Sol-

omon. And, to-day—in England, in France, in Austria, in Germany and throughout a great part of Christendom—in proportion to their numbers, the Jews have more influence than any other body of people.

History repeats itself. In the days of Daniel, Nehemiah and Ezra, the Jews—captives and exiles—were the counselors of kings; and we have seen a Jew by birth a favorite and counselor of the Queen of Great Britain and Empress of India.

What future may be in store for the races, I do not know; but I humbly trust, under God, that it may be a future marked by the exercise of justice on the part of man toward his fellowman; and of helpfulness on the part of the strong toward the weak; and of that all-pervading love out of which shall grow God's rich gift of enduring peace.

THE AFRICAN IN WEST INDIAN COLONIES.

The REV. DANIEL WILSHERE, Superintendent of the English Baptist Mission, Nassau, Bahamas, said :

On an eminence whence the crystal waters of the silver sea flashed golden with the morn, or faded into faint bronze beauty 'neath the western rays, grew a cebea, its soft silk fluttering in the sultry air, while its roots ran far and fast under the soil to rise as buttresses beside the sturdy trunk. A strange, swift bird from a distant land built its nest within the boughs, its young (despising the softness of the cebea) gathered other twigs to enlarge the nest, and one brought a fragment of the night-blooming cereus, saying, "This will help." When these birds flew away, their young remained; and the cereus sent its fine, clinging, grasping fibres into the nest and on the small boughs, then around the trunk, stretching its feelers down to lower branches and upward over the topmost twigs, till the cebea sighed to the silver sea :

"This strange burden strangles me, and I die."

Then the cereus tightened its clutch upon the trunk, and grew even over the nest of the birds and almost enclosed it, till the last birds feebly twittered, "The cebea is dead, and this that we have brought from the ground is crushing our nest; let us fly away to some other land."

How came the African this side the ocean?

The dawning ray of history shows the princely Henry, navigator, sending back some captive Moors, and their lord makes present of

some negroes to the court of Portugal. It grows more luminous upon Columbus sending captive Caribs to Spain, receiving negroes in exchange, revealing the queenly Isabella questioning its lawfulness and setting learned theologians to settle the question. Under its growing light we see Las Casas, and almost hear his moan (pathetic to this day), "considering the injustice with which the Portuguese take them and make them slaves."

The young king in Flanders gives in 1516 a courtly favorite a patent to supply 4,000 negroes yearly to the West Indies; he converts this royal right to do a deadly wrong into solid cash, selling it for 25,000 ducats to Genoese merchants; these hear no echo of the Las Casas moan as they purchase from the Portuguese.

Under the unmarried daughter of the church-making Henry, England wrestles for the cruel prize, and Hawkins ships his first load of human beings, laying the foundation in the life of his own son. Exclusive rights are held till the reign of William and Mary, when by the Peace of Utrecht the sanction of Europe is given, the trade passed from Dutch to English, one company having its monopoly for thirty years, from May 1, 1713.

The sun of history rising in its might shows (two centuries since) sails furled in Western waters, under whose folds 300,000 Africans were shipped from 1680 to 1700. To Jamaica alone, from 1700 to 1786, 610,000 of these poor creatures were carried.

Brian Edwards says that in 106 years the English alone carried 2,130,000 Africans from their native land, and it is allowed his estimate is under the truth. Liverpool, London and Bristol had 192 slave-ships at sea carrying each year 470,000 human beings from their birth-land to sure death or hopeless misery.

In 1791, European "factories" numbered 40; English 14, French 3, Dutch and other nations 23. The previous year the English exported 38,000, the French 20,000, and the other nations 22,000 human beings into slavery. Of each 100 of these, 17 died on passage or in harbor, while only 50 were found able to stand the climate and the labor.

In Jamaica, in 1690, there were 40,000 Africans; from that year to 1820 there were imported 800,000, but in the latter year only 340,000 were upon the island.

The memorable year 1792 heard the consecrated cobbler Carey divide the Word of God, "Expect great things from God, attempt great things for God," the Baptist Trafalgar signal!

This year Denmark was moved to take the first national step toward the right by a royal decree forbidding the degrading traffic in Danish possessions.

Meanwhile, the true heart of England, led into the light first by the poet's insight, leaned to beat in sympathy with those "bound in affliction and iron;" laws to limit the traffic and to make the soil of England sacred to Freedom were passed. These tardy remedies were, however, shown to result in such dire misery to those who were now smuggled as well as stolen, and the death-rate became so high, that England sought to influence other nations to (at least) its own standard of justice; and sought to do so by that power which John Bull has faith in—namely, money.

The wisdom of the Supreme Legislature, after having poured out British blood like water for the defence of those dastard nations—Portugal and Spain—decide to give the former £300,000 of taxes (wrung from the toiling masses of England), that they may cease their "privilege" of devastating Africa. Their value in return was perhaps the parchment the deed was engrossed upon. In 1820 the noble Spanish nation received £400,000 (from the same patient toilers) to end their slave-trade; and they ended—the European end of it!

The Swedes had ceased the traffic in 1813; the Dutch closed their slave-trade in 1814, in which year, by the Peace of Ghent, the United States and England bound themselves to extinguish the traffic. This first great blessed bond of brotherhood closed (please God, forever) the conflict of these God-favored nations!

This finally limited the supply for the West Indies; but the price of slaves had risen. If only one out of three cargoes were safely run, the venture paid. Two-thirds died on the high seas, and the land mortality was so great that the wise ones foresaw slavery was doomed.

This meant starvation to the proprietors. Then came Emancipation, when the ever-patient English taxpayer came again to the rescue (this time with a mighty voice of majestic pity whose echo is heard from heaven to-day), and gave £20,000,000 sterling to the slave-owners, that they might "do the right" and not starve.

Nearly four centuries have rolled their tempests of storm and hurricanes of wrath upon the islands of these seas since first unwilling savages were brought, by stripes and blows, to learn to what degree of righteousness fifteen hundred years of twilight Christianity could raise the proud Caucasian. We expect them to be Christ-like in a generation!

It remains for us to look now at the condition in which the descendants of these are found to-day, and find, as we may be able, indications of the Divine will concerning their future good. The lights which lead us are dim, but to faith something at least is vis-

ible. Carey's battle-cry we still may nail to the mast and follow in its power!

PRESENT AREA AND POPULATION.

The West Indies have an inhabited area of 92,270 square miles, which would form two States each rather larger than Pennsylvania. On these are living at least 5,104,000 persons, about the population of New York State in 1880.

The Spanish colonies have an area of 249,400 square miles, being more than twice the area of New Mexico; a population estimated at 1,830,000 (more than the State of Massachusetts). In these islands the African is decreasing, and only forms about one-fourth of the population.

The British Colonies, with 12,031 square miles (less than the State of Maryland), has a population about the same as Alabama in 1880—1,213,000 persons.

The French and other colonies have only some 1,740 square miles (say a fifth larger than Rhode Island), with a population exceeding that of Nebraska in 1880—466,000.

The Independent Republics of Hayti (French) and San Domingo (Spanish) are credited with an area of 29,000 square miles, nearly the extent of South Carolina, and the population is guessed at as 1,150,000 persons.

Spanish—Equal to two States of New Mexico.

British—Equal to State of Maryland.

French and others, as a larger Rhode Island.

The Republics, as South Carolina.

Perhaps this will help make clear the extent of the lands—the populations as New York State in 1880.

CONDITION AND FUTURE.

We may dismiss the influence of the African in Spanish lands with a few sad words: He has no education, no future and no hope, is bound under evil influences within and without.

The British Colonies present the brightest future for the race; the proportion gathered from the largest islands is one white to five colored to twenty-four black.

In the French and other colonies the proportion is less—about one white to three colored to six black.

The Independent Republics have the great majority of the black inhabitants; the remainder colored with very few whites.

Education as a factor is absent from the Spanish—African, and almost unattainable; is continuously and powerfully used as a most (some think *the* most important) elevator in British possessions;

is absent in a marked extent from these races in French Colonies, but is fairly worked in islands under Dutch and Danish rule.

In Hayti, 360 schools, with attendance of 17,000 children, is tabulated, but the attainments are of the meanest.

In San Domingo more attention is given, and possibly a better system is in action, mainly, however, for the Spanish classes.

The noblest man who ever filled the throne of England—its uncrowned king—said: “Except you educate a man first in his duty to God, you but give him the greater capacity to do mischief.” Believe this or no, education with and without religion presents startling contrasts in the West Indies, and even under different *forms* of religion.

The Spanish idea, “The State is more or less the creature of the Church,” has everywhere clothed the minds of its devotees, as with a pall; the dense darkness of which fills the free soul with sadness as of as a charnel house in contemplation. In Cuba, Hayti and elsewhere, Romanism puts the mother of Jesus in Heaven, and places the risen Christ only as a babe in her arms; the Pope is God on earth! In Cuba and Hayti the ceremonies of Rome vie with voodooism in all the horrors of African superstition.

The State Church ideal, beloved of the English mind, rendered the idea of the Gospel repugnant for years and years to the African, who saw the clergyman sit with the slave-owner as a magistrate and punish with cruel stripes the slightest fault of the oppressed slave. The State Churches in Dutch and Danish Colonies were hardly more merciful. Is it strange, therefore, the African was not earlier wooed from the degrading worship of his father's ugly gods, or loosed from the bonds of terrible superstition and horror in which they held him?

To such poor uncared-for souls came—from this God-founded land—the first free offers of the Gospel grace, and came by the hands of those bound in fetters like themselves. The Royalists of 1776 fled before the righteous Declaration, carrying their slaves with them, and so from Virginia and Carolina the seeds of Methodism and Baptist principles were transplanted to those Western Isles.

True, the noble band of Moravians were first at work in Dutch settlements, but Jamaica had in this way faintly seen the truth before their work was developed. Bahama negroes reared a Methodist place of worship before the end of the last century, and the deed of the first Baptist building bears date 1803.

To help to guide and counsel these, as well as to extend the blessed knowledge, Wesleyans and Baptists in England sent their noble men when the West Indies was—as Congo is to-day—new!

In their track the Presbyterians followed. To this teaching the best education throughout the colonies owes its power to-day ; while State Churches reared their colleges for planters' sons and white boys ; the despised and persecuted missionary and his all-enduring wife taught (in fear and trembling) darkened minds with darkest faces to read the word of God. Let this honor be given to its rightful owners, that we may glorify God in them !

What has Romanism done for the African ?

Increased the number of his superstitions, left undone all that elevates the race in any territory where it has had undisputed sway. If proof is needed, read St. John's book on Hayti, and any on Cuba, or listen, if you can without a shudder, to oral testimony to-day.

What has State religious education done for him ?

It has fitted the higher colonial classes for the government employment elsewhere, and thus led to the emigration of the brightest minds to other lands. The African was untouched !

What has the teaching of Free Churches done ?

It has prepared for the ministry and for teaching the best talent to be found in the British Colonies to-day. It has founded churches of Africans which are self-governed, self-supported, and are already centres of missionary effort for Hayti, San Domingo, and Cuba ; has rendered happy and contented thousands whose life is daily toil of the hardest kind, but whose character (when free from unchristian white influence and unsanctified education) is at once supremely simple in the worship of the Living God, and whose conduct is *unknown* to those who "are a terror to evil-doers." In Jamaica, the Bahamas, the Caicos, can be found settlements in which crime is not known, and superstition is as little rife as in England.

To the accomplished Froude (finding his information over dinners in government houses, from legal luminaries, or Episcopal dignitaries) it may appear, "Behind the immorality, behind the religiosity, there lies active and alive the horrible revival of the West African superstitions, the serpent-worship, the child-sacrifice and cannibalism." To the earnest and well-informed intellect of the Minister to Mexico, the words may appear true, "I know what the black man is, and I have no hesitation in declaring that he is incapable of the art of governing, and that to intrust him with framing and making laws for our colonies is to condemn them to inevitable ruin." But he speaks only of Republics where God's pure light has barely shown its rising beam of hope upon the baneful influences of superstitions of Africa and of Rome.

Put education in the proper hands, let it be of the kind proved

by test to be the wisest, and if the white race is to leave the colonies, it will leave behind a race able to govern itself by that time, with such adaptation of British laws as the nature of the case demands.

But let the mere scientist use his formulas on the African mind, then universal selfishness will rise and hurl his deductions at his head, driving away with maledictions accumulated, those who could give only the "greatest happiness of the greatest number" as their creed.

Is there *any* remedy for the race problem but that of rendering it wisely and well able to govern itself? By all those who have gone into ghastly death beneath the Atlantic wave, by the unrewarded toil of centuries of oppression, sin, and crime, by the love felt for the Redeemer of men and by the hopes of heaven, let the Anglo-Saxon race feel bound to do this work, or die attempting it!

The President then introduced the Rev. H. M. SANDERS, D.D., of New York, who spoke as follows :

I regret exceedingly, brethren, to play the role of "death's head" at this delightful feast, but it seems necessary that some one should utter in your hearing, if not the lugubrious wail of *memento mori*, the equally lugubrious and depressing wail of *memento more money*. But I promise you I shall be, as I once heard a man say, not only short but brief. (Laughter.) It devolves upon me as the Chairman of the Executive Committee to present to you a few facts. This Congress, as you must know, has expenses. Most Congresses do. I do not know how these expenses could very well be less than they are. They are expenses which would occur in the minds of you all as being absolutely necessary, such as expenses for clerical work, for stationery, for advertising, for postage and for partial reimbursement of the expenses of those who are appointed speakers at our annual gatherings. I may say in this connection that our Secretary, Rev. Leighton Williams, gives, and has given, and acts very much as though he were willing in the future to give his faithful attention and indefatigable labor to the work of his office. (Applause.) Few of you can appreciate what that means. I question whether there is a member of the Executive Committee who would do the work that man does for anything less than a generous salary. Certainly I would not. His time, and strength, and thought have been given in the most unstinted and generous fashion to the work connected with this Congress. His office is not a sinecure by any

means, and as he does not receive the slightest financial consideration as a remuneration for his labor, I hope we shall give him in our appreciation the gratitude and praise that are due him. As a result of this voluntary and unpaid service, the expenses connected with this Congress are reduced to the very minimum. Now a word as to the method by which we obtain funds for carrying the Congress on. We have found it the only method practicable. There may be others, but this is the one that has seemed the most feasible, although perhaps somewhat arbitrary and uncertain. We simply rely upon brethren who are interested in this Congress—in the work it is seeking to do, to contribute every year five dollars. That payment constitutes them members of the General Committee. Our plan of organization states that the General Committee who have charge and direction of the Congress, shall be “composed of persons who have consented to contribute five dollars or more towards the expenses of the Congress.” For that sum any one who is not at present a member of the General Committee, may become so, in return for which you get a verbatim report of all these proceedings, a very valuable book, becoming more so as time elapses and they accumulate, and you also get the glory that attaches to keeping on a good cause. This method is the simplest and the best which we have been able to devise for getting the small amount of money that we need to carry on this work. We thus raise \$600 or \$700 a year. We ought to have \$1,000 a year to adequately prosecute the work of this Congress, and therefore we solicit these additional sums. Now, if you have any better method, or know any rich old ladies with bad coughs that we might visit and get to endow this institution, we should like you to give us the information. But if you have not, we invite you most cordially to enroll yourselves as members of this General Committee. We should like to raise it to the number of two hundred, which would give us a sum sufficient to cover all our expenses. If you become a member of that two hundred, I cannot promise that you will be as distinguished as the Balaclavan six hundred, or the Spartan three hundred, but I think you will become more useful than the fashionable four hundred (laughter), and in the latter case you will have this thought to console you, that you belong to a company in which there are not so many fools. (Laughter and applause.)

REV. O. O'B. STRAYER, of Baltimore, Md., said :

I wish to say that we have had, in my opinion, this evening two representative speakers or papers, one representative of the Southern

view of this question ; the other equally representative of what is commonly called in the South the Northern view. If I had time I should give you a third view, or rather should show you a third position taken. I should show you a Southern man taking what is commonly considered the Northern view. I am a Southern man I think in all that that signifies. My people have lived in the South for over 150 years, but I most emphatically endorse every word of Dr. Wayland's paper. We have a great problem in the South, an incredibly great problem. It is not to be treated in a light or trifling manner. I have just returned from six weeks of close, hard, familiar work among the colored people, and there are some alarming tendencies there which have not been alluded to to-night. I do wish I had time to allude to them. For instance, the colored people have been kept back there by themselves so long and so persistently that now among themselves they are beginning to think very dangerously ; there is a socialism of the worst type growing up amongst those black people. It is nothing uncommon to hear them say among themselves, " We built these railroads, these towns ; our time, our muscle during slavery built this town, it is ours." Is there ever to come a time when this thing is to burst like a volcano to the surface ? I have lived for the last six and a half years in a Southern city. I am satisfied from what I have seen that the colored people are increasing more rapidly than the statistics show. It is impossible to get the statistics of their increase. The colored people are our paupers, our petty criminals, our " dangerous " class, and you cannot get the census of people of that class. I live in a city where we are solving the race problem. We have some 70,000 black people in that city. The Jew and the colored man have been alluded to in the same breath. Last week we elected a Jew to Congress and a colored man to the first branch of the City Council. I am a member of the Baltimore Ministers' Conference, composed about equally of white and black ministers ; we have no trouble whatever. In our great free library you may see as many as twenty tattered colored children drawing books at a time. If that can be done in Baltimore, why not in New Orleans, Atlanta, Charleston, or in any other city in the South. We are doing that and nobody is hurt at all. I think we Southern people are working it out by taking a more correct view of the facts in the case. I know hundreds of young Southerners, men under 45 years of age, who think precisely as I do. And, more than that, the number is increasing who are not afraid to let it be known they are thinking that way. We are coming to the conclusion that we cannot afford to ignore the rights of these eight or ten millions of black people.

If they are good enough to be Baptists they are good enough to be citizens. (Applause.) And we as Baptists, must remember there are one million three hundred thousand of them Baptists, and if you take off that black element don't go about bragging about the size of your denomination any longer, for it becomes a second-class denomination. These are the people whose rights we say are to be maintained, who are to be lifted up into better citizenship. It has been stated to me that the colored man is to have his financial rights in the South ; not to be cheated but to be paid 100 cents on the dollar ; but beyond that representative men have stated to me they are not willing to go. "You cannot expect us," they say, "We may be sowing the wind ; we may have to reap the whirlwind ; we cannot help that. We are not going to give him any civil recognition or social recognition, but simply pay him what he has earned." Is that always done ? I have seen with my own eyes in the South in the last six weeks, financial injustice done again, and again, and again to the man who had put his strength and time in raising all those millions of bales of cotton, in the way of paying him a lower than the market price for his cotton, and in other ways. The moment we begin to do an injustice of one kind we are preparing to do injustice of other kinds to him. I was on a train two weeks ago at 10 o'clock at night from which a colored man was taken and hung because he was *supposed* to have attempted to commit a crime ! In the dark they "identified" him—so dark that I could not have told one man from another—hung him and shot him. The sooner we learn to do our whole duty by the colored man the better it will be for all of us. (Applause.)

REV. GEORGE H. JACKSON, of New Haven, said :

Dear Friends, I stand on the same side of the line with those ostracized people of whom the question has been asked ten thousand times what shall we do with them ? It was said that a certain captain in the Union Army asked a man who had been a contraband during the war if he had fought for his country. He said no. "Do you not know it was a cowardly thing not to defend your country and your flag ?" He answered yes. "Then why did you not fight ?" He replied, "Did you ever see two dogs fighting over a bone ?" "Of course I have." "Well, did you ever see the bone fight ?" (Laughter.) I feel it is time for the bone to fight. (Applause.) It is time for the colored man, who has been the subject of all this discussion and irritation, to have something to say about it himself. Friends of the negro have agitated the negro

question ; it has agitated the enemies of the negro, and the enemies of the negro have agitated the negro. (Laughter.) There was a statement made here on the platform to-night that the inability of the negro was due to the providence of God. In speaking particularly of his color, because he is black may be due to the providence of God ; but because he is incapable, is due to men and to their avarice and prejudices. I cannot conceive of God begetting these evils in the hearts of men. I cannot conceive of God's providences bringing these evils about. It was through avariciousness that this came about ; but God says, "Thou shalt not covet." It is due to prejudice that the negro stands as he does, and although Christ knew the Jew hated the Samaritan, He said, "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself." Too much has been expected of the negro in twenty-five years. He has been called a thief, and should we not wonder if he were otherwise when for two hundred and fifty years he was trained under that prince of thieves, the man-stealer ? He has also been called licentious ; and can we expect him to be otherwise when for two and a half centuries he had been taught to ignore the most sacred relations of life, and often to see in his own wife or daughter the concubine of his master ? He has been called ignorant ; and shall we wonder at his ignorance, when not even the lowest grade of intellectual light was permitted to shine upon him, and his letters were not permitted to be taught him under penalty of being whipped or sold to other masters ? He has been called cowardly because he did not resent the insults of the South ; but no wonder if he is cowardly, when he has been driven into cowardice and into subjection with the whip, the manacle, and the shot gun. And yet when we find him marching under the Stars and Stripes, and meeting his master on even terms at Fort Wagner and at the "Mine," no man will say he is a coward. (Applause.) Incapable he has been called, but he has obtained class honors at Yale, at Harvard, at Cornell and Dartmouth ; he has obtained large medical practice and is a successful practitioner at the bar ; he is found in the ministry preaching the Gospel with such power and eloquence as to compare favorably with his fairer brother. It has been said he is more religious than Christian ; can we wonder if this be true when he was taught that the Almighty God upheld slavery ? Yet the religion he had was of such a character that it enabled him to oppose the overseer and hold the cabin prayer-meeting, it gave him strength to lead converts to Jesus Christ under the shadow of night to some dark bayou and there bury the believing ones in the likeness of the Saviour's death and resurrection, daring the bite of the poisonous snake, daring death by the grim alligator or the

treacherous quicksands. I believe more and more that the elements that shall solve this question are in the negro himself, and all he asks is a little help to start with ; all he asks is that you will lead him into a broader, fuller conception of what is required of him, and into a grander and more magnificent view of the dignity of his own manhood and fuller knowledge of Jesus Christ. (Loud applause.)

REV. J. T. DICKINSON, of Orange, N. J., said :

Mr. President, I ought to have a high appreciation of the colored man's head, for my first playmate in childhood was a black boy, and one of our favorite amusements was butting each other's heads. (Laughter.) And I have mementoes here to-day of the excellence of the material that contended with me. (Laughter.) I ought to have a lofty appreciation of the colored man's heart, for it was a black woman, as black as midnight, who nursed my dying mother for months, night and day. And when I go back to my old home every winter I make a pilgrimage to that black woman's house and would not shrink from tending to her the most affectionate greeting. I love that woman to-day. I love her for her tenderness and affection to the one who gave me birth. I want to say, ladies and gentlemen, that this is a National question. The green flag of Erin floats above our New York City Hall upon occasion, the flag of Germany floats over the City Hall of Milwaukee sometimes, and this race question is not simply a question between the black man and the white, not simply a question of the Southern tier of States, but for all of us—in New Jersey, Connecticut, New York, and the distant West. And I believe we who live in the North, and you in the West, will have a really more tremendous race question in its possibilities with the Chinaman and the Italian and the Irishman and the German than the present race question of the South. Besides, this is a National question because the same evils which perplex white people in the South concerning the negro are meeting us in the North. There are difficulties in this question. One is because we have so much talk about this question without knowledge. Some one said of Senator Blank in Washington, " Yes, Senator Blank knows a great deal, a very great deal, in fact, he knows so much that it is positively in his way." So with some people about this question, they talk, talk, talk, and they think they know, but they do not begin to appreciate the real situation. Another trouble is we expect too much from the colored people. The white people of the North and the white people of the South both expect too much. You must not make the ox run a race with the swift race

horse. The whiskey question is another of the difficulties. One day President Wayland, of Brown College, gave a beggar twenty-five cents, and that afternoon as he was walking with a student in the suburbs of Providence, he saw the man lying in the street drunk, and he said : "There lies my twenty-five cents." (Laughter.) The whiskey question is at the root of a great deal of the trouble with our colored friends. Another dark feature is the politician—the conscienceless, unscrupulous politician. I wish we could send some of these political pests to some distant desert island, anywhere—any where out of the world. They confound this question, and make it terrible on all sides. A few years ago there was in Richmond, Va., a great campaign, when the best elements of the city fought the worst elements for local option. The politicians got out a printed circular one morning and scattered it all through the tobacco factories, and told the colored people that those who wanted to eliminate the saloons would next desire to banish tobacco, and the colored people would lose their occupation. Of course the colored people voted against local option. There are, however, some bright features to this question. One is the love of the two races in the South for each other. I believe the white people in the South love the colored people better than we in the North do. I am informed that over \$50,000,000 have been contributed by the white people of the South for the education of the colored people since the war. Why are there so many colored Baptists in the South to-day? Why was it so easy to organize churches among them twenty-five years ago? Because of the love and careful training of the white people during a long period. There are other bright features to the question, such as the changes being wrought by education, the great development of the material resources of the South, the industry and business success of many of the colored people themselves. More than all, the great God is solving the question. God is in the world, He made it, He brings good out of evil. (Applause.)

REV. EMORY W. HUNT, of Toledo, said :

I ran up against a couple of facts this summer in my trip to the South which bear on the political aspect of this question. There is a political and a social problem here. They may be inextricable doubtless, but the distinction, I think you will say, is one helpful to make. First, you will remember the colored Republicans of North Carolina sent delegates to Washington to protest against the lack of offices that had been given by the present administration to

the colored people of that State, and it was uselessly protested too. Second fact is that while I was there I saw upon the editorial page of a Republican newspaper a set of statistics intended as a campaign document, showing the number of offices that had been given to the colored people in that State by the former President, Cleveland. An editorial, which if published in a Northern paper, would not have been useful for the end at which it was aimed. That will illustrate the fact that the political phase of the problem is to be distinguished from its social phase. The social question between the white and the colored people of the South is not a political question as it sometimes unfortunately tends to be in the North. It is possible that an issue will arise at the South where the colored people will hold the balance of power, some issue upon which the whites may be divided, where both sides may want the colored vote, and then it will be counted. As I looked at the political situation there I thought that time may come soon. It occurred to me that the issue raised by the Farmers' Alliance in North Carolina very nearly did it this year, and the colored man, if he has courage, judgment, patience, may have the opportunity to settle the question for himself. I yield to no one in my interest for the colored man, in my sympathy for him. I was born and bred in a Northern home, which was a station on the underground railroad, with all the traditions of such a home tingling to my very finger tips. In my boyish days the only occasion in my life when I came near coming into a physical personal encounter was when I saw a colored boy likely to be maltreated by two white boys, and I have as much interest and sympathy with the colored man as any Northern man can have. But it makes me blush for my Northern birth and name when I see the men who ought to be the leaders of movements in the North doing all they can to prejudice opinion by special pleading, by throwing stumbling blocks in the way of progress to the settlement of this question; political missionaries, who care nothing whatever for the real good of the colored man, but use him as an argument for their own purpose here in the North. There is no more dangerous foe to the colored man than just such advocates as these. And I am sure that the more you talk with those who are faithful and earnest among our white Southern brethren, the more will you be convinced that no one has more at heart the real interests of the colored people than they have, that no one will seek their rights more earnestly, or guard them more jealously, than some of those Southern white brethren. Let us have patience and together they will work out the problem. (Applause.)

REV. PHILIP S. MOXOM, D.D., of Boston, said :

Some good friend, more kind than wise, sent up my name, and yet, because it is the concluding address I am willing to come. I have listened with the most careful attention and the deepest interest to the sweet-spirited, and luminous and able paper read by Dr. Long, but I wished, when he concluded, to ask several questions. One of them I may ask now. He emphasized all through the paper this aspect of the problem as it appears to me : The negro people in the South have voted, not as citizens, but as negroes, and to do this was so constant and so universal a tendency that it made in itself a tremendous menace, which could be effectually met only by the prevention of the full exercise of political rights by the colored man. My question is this : whether it is not distinctly true—without going into the debate as to whether his generalization is sound or not—whether it is not distinctly true that, for several years at least, the whites of the South have not voted as whites and not as citizens ? (Applause.) And that the imitative colored race have learned their art, if they have learned it at all, from the exigencies of the case, and from the overwhelming influence of the constant example before them. It is certainly a debatable question. I am not going to make a speech, but I want to say that after all, we do but confess the question when we raise such issues as this—a colored man murdered by white men, or refused the civilities of life, in the North. The main difficulty is a sentimental one. I use that word in its deepest sense. The deepest thing in this life and the highest in the human soul is a sentiment, and the sentiment of right and wrong lies at the bottom of this question. There are difficulties to deal with, and expedients to be used, but after all what is right is the only practicable thing in the world. We must learn *that*, North and South. Nothing can save us from the necessity of deciding that right is right, and that right is practicable, and the question as to the right lies just here : there is a great wrong in the treatment that white and colored criminals receive in the South, the one being brought to justice with the speed of lightning, while the other in many cases entirely escapes. The only really vital question is, what is right ? And then the duty is clear to determine the ways to make the right practicable. (Applause.)

THE PRESIDENT: The hour is so late it has been deemed best to dispense with the alleged reception that was to take place, and the session is declared adjourned until to-morrow at ten, when all who are willing to come will be received again by the Baptist Congress.

The meeting then adjourned until Thursday morning.

Third Day.

MORNING SESSION.

The Hon. Francis Wayland again presided, and called the Congress to order at 10 o'clock. The hymn, "Work, for the Night is Coming," was sung, after which Rev. Dr. Nordell, of New London, Conn., offered prayer.

Having called attention to the rules of debate for the benefit of those members who had not been present at previous sessions the President announced the subject for our consideration this morning, Enlarged Church Work in Cities. The first paper will be read by Dr. Lawson, of Boston :

ENLARGED CHURCH WORK IN CITIES.

BY REV. A. G. LAWSON, D.D., OF BOSTON.

The theme is of service, not of sentiment, of work, not of word. Divine force upon which we must rely we cannot enlarge, that is infinite and eternal, nor the principles which must govern us, for they are the same with which Jesus guided Himself when He went about doing good. We can enlarge our field and our methods, our views of the importance of this work and the spirit in which it is to be done. We are devoutly grateful that the term church-work itself is already so much larger than it was half a century ago. We may yet see that it is as "large when defined by the needs of the people as in the letter of its written charter. All that men need it to be, the Son of Man meant it to be."

1. What gives special value to church work in cities ?

(a) They are centers of population and of power. Here are the people. The bulk of the nation is now massed in the cities and from them the business of the nation is controlled. God's tidal waves bear them to us from the land of Calvin, of Huss and of Luther, that we may do them good, and there's many a saint among them.

Special classes appear and the sharpest contrasts. As the people huddle closer together society settles further apart. East ends and north ends, German, Irish, Italian and Polish quarters abound. The more people the more manifest their poverty; it is easier to hide a \$1,000 bond than a hole in the crown of your hat. The six score thousand who know not their right hand from their left, are here; telegraph men, railroad men, horse car men, livery men, policemen, seamen, thousands such in one city who cannot come out at the service hours we fix. Forty thousand homeless women in New York, 20,000 children mine and mill workers under fifteen years of age in Pennsylvania, 5,000 young people, nearly one-fifth women, sent to penal institutions last year in Massachusetts alone. Is it nothing to you, christians?

Sin abounds. Of the host that pours in daily many come to thrive on the vices of the city. We can quarantine disease but not demons, rags but not reprobates. Ignorance, intemperance, poverty and crime draw sin as with a eart rope. Saloons authorized, brothels paying tribute, but no money for primary schools, and the church proportion to population steadily decreasing Between 70th and 80th Streets east side, New York, there are 160,000 people. They are supplied with 280 saloons and eight churches, only two or three of these Protestant. Some are entirely foreign. If we knew of any Western city with so many people and only three Protestant churches, what ringing appeals would be sent out for aid.

Within ten years a city twice as large as New Haven moved in south of 14th Street, New York, and in that same time fourteen churches moved out. Two hundred thousand more people and fourteen fewer churches. To what were they left? To rum and Romanism, to irreligion and infidelity. Pythagoras said, "It is cowardly to quit the post assigned us by God before He permits." But then Pythagoras was an old heathen and could not understand the necessity in these days for churches to run away from the haunts of sin and the homes of the poor. Cities run the State, saloons run the cities, and lewd fellows of the baser sort run the saloons, who sleep not except they have done some mischief. Joel's valley of decision is here now, and Satan's stronghold also. Again, boys are given for harlots and girls are sold for wine, until thousands fall as snow in the streets and perish as rain in the desert.

Churches are here also, power for good as well as for evil. Churches well equipped and set face to face with the people, with tools of the best and close at hand, men of brains in the pulpit and men with brains, plus money, in the pews. God has set the millions within short range, within arm's reach. The necessity before the church

is as a double edged sword. We must redeem the cities or they will destroy us. That vile trinity—the world, the flesh, and the devil—has more than its match in a church at work, but too many christians act like ticket-of-leave men, caught by Satan and let out on parole.

Do not the Christian Associations, the Temperance Unions, the Benevolent Orders, the Salvation Army prove that the churches cannot do this work? No, they simply prove that the churches have not done what they ought to have done.

Churches began in cities and in them have done their best work. Jerusalem had the first church, Antioch the first missionaries, and letters to Rome, Corinth, Ephesus, Philippi, Colosse, Thessalonica—to churches in cities form the bulk of the New Testament. Applied christianity, the force able to redeem, to renew, and to remould them is ours to-day, and is ten thousand fold more necessary now in this age of great cities. Then Jesus and the disciples were treated alike; now Jesus gets cheers from city crowds and the church hisses. Christianity is praised and churchianity cursed. Like doctrine with the mother Jerusalem church is good, but like practice is better. The church, as truly catholic as it was apostolic, is now accounted apostate and special. With Simon Magus president of the board of trustees, Judas again the treasurer, Demas in the pulpit, and even Alexander the coppersmith in the church now; with such forming the majority to dictate both its spirit and policy, is it any wonder that the people curse such churchianity and with the same breath cheer the name of Jesus? And this spirit is growing apace. A recent writer says sarcastically, “two-thirds of the people do not molest the churches now.” Jesus had to defend Himself because the people pressed upon Him and He welcomed them; we because the people will not come to us even when we have woven the word WELCOME into our door mats in capitals. Whence this difference? The Gospel hath the present power of an endless life; it cannot change. The constitution of the church, exactly fitted to man’s needs, has never been amended. Whence, then, this difference? Bishop Huntington is very bold and says, “Why not consider that it may be because what we preach is not the gospel? Is it brother that says to brother, ‘Stand thou there by thyself, or sit here under my footstool?’”

Is the church a field? The many are without God and without hope. Is the church a force? The many are undeveloped, perfect only in their capacity to grumble. It is as clear that the many without are untouched as it is that the many within are untrained. One-half the people unreached, one-half the church unripe. With-

out, the many in the dark ; within, the many with candles under bushel. A Genoese hero boarding his galley, breaks the plank and sinks, his armor becomes his anchor. So, our undeveloped resources become a dead weight ; may yet carry us down. You, who are fond of quoting to the tramp, " If any will not work, neither shall he eat," may be urged to take some of your own medicine. Physician, heal thyself ; dost thou work ? Who works not to feed others, deserves not to be fed.

For the truth's sake. Art Thou He that should come, or look we for another ? Church neglect and church indifference, the spirit of Cain and not of Christ, have done more than infidelity to revive this old question. A prominent minister has lately said, amid much applause : " There is one thing worse than a church for the rich, and that was a church for the poor. We are not to bring the cave of Adullam into the sanctuary."

Three sayings of our Lord, each given twice, and each utterance in the most important relations, are full of force here. At Nazareth, and again to John's disciples our Lord sanctified the gospel to the poor, and the Head of the Church ought to be good authority for its design, its necessity, and its power. Rest assured these texts will form the theme of the next great reformation. Jesus is very explicit : " The spirit of the Lord is upon Me, for He hath anointed Me to preach the gospel to the poor." No one will accuse our Lord of not knowing what He was talking about, or attack Him for having overlooked the rich and the learned. Again, when he would send proof to the Baptist, He works out a demonstration in the sight of John's disciples, and having piled miracle upon miracle, He crowns all with this highest work : To the poor the gospel is preached. Our Lord, who never exaggerated, said that, and in His own defence ; our Lord, who never toyed with figures of rhetoric, said that, and wrought His doctrine into life ; our Lord, who never used words for ornament, said that, and was well understood by that generation, for in their flings at Him they said, " Have any of the rulers or pharisees believed on Him ?"

To the twelve, when chosen, and after to the seventy, He said, Pray ye for laborers, not merely to plow or to sow, but to enter into the harvests. The disciples saw in Samaria a place to buy bread ; Jesus, a harvest field ; where He could eat meat they knew not of. To-day also as in Galilee and Samaria of old, publicans and harlots enter the kingdom before priests and householders.

Among His latest words, before His dying, and of the first after rising again, He said : As the Father sent Me into the world, so send I you ; adding thereto, receive ye the Holy Spirit. This

covers the whole sphere of personal and associated service. We must be active for the city's sake, for the church's sake, but above all for His sake, who must needs go through Samaria to save a harlot, and who to a publican said, I must abide to-day at thy house.

Shall His disciples withhold the gospel from the poor, or, Micawber-like, wait for things to turn up, before they move? Apostles waited not, but turned things upside down. Necessity urges us to do for those who are perishing, obligation is upon us to do for Him, and we must awake at once, for "the grammar of duty has no future tense."

We must prove not only that we can gather people, but guide them; not only bring them in but build them up. Many of the unchurched have once been in the flock, and we dare not lay all the blame of their present condition upon themselves. Who need the gospel most, abound most in the cities, and here it may show its power as nowhere else.

Some are fond of thinking of the twelve as forming the first church; if so, it was not a church of the rich, but of and for the poor. Jesus choosing the twelve settled forever that the poor may receive the gospel not only, but become the best exponents of its power. Look with your Lord's compassion on the East Ends, the North Ends; recall Ruskin's parable. A handful of earth and slime lifted from the footpath trodden by the wage-earners yields clay, soot, sand and water. At war with each other, they equal mud; separated unto God and at work for Him, the clay is sapphire, the sand is opal, the soot is diamond, and the water a star crystal. Behold God's jewels set in a star of snow.

Lift the parable from nature up to nature's God. Applied chemistry is good and works wonders, but applied Christianity is as much higher as the heaven is high above the earth. Jerusalem outcasts, sinners of Whitechapel, New York dock thieves, through the power of the ascended Christ become jewels in His crown of rejoicing, shining with the brightness of the stars forever.

2. What is necessary to enlarge our work?

(a) Consider our high commission and our high example. "Go" we must, and dare not stand still. We must be aggressive; to keep ourselves alive; to bring others into the life; to keep faith with God, and to do His will. We are men "sent"—there was a man sent from God whose name was John—is true of every Baptist and of every Christian. Sent, the missile, the missive, the missionary, sent forth.

We have a definite purpose. Jesus was sent to save the lost, to

witness the truth, to do the will of God. As the Father sent Him, so are we sent to reveal God to men and to reveal God in men. As an organist is not to exhibit his organ or himself, but to work out the music set before him, so are we to work out the will of God.

(b) Hold larger views of your duty. Here again our Lord's example is the high water mark as to direction and devotion in duty. He was pre-eminent in adaptation. Tact and contact were always shown, and these never fail to attract. Changed conditions compel us to change our methods of work and it is simple madness for us to close our eyes to these changes. We cannot deal with a locality now as they would have done a hundred years ago. Science and art join hands to give business men in commerce and trade, in manufactures and mechanics, new appliances and new inventions. Some men make radical changes about every five years to keep pace with the rapid march of improvements. We must be alert to change our old methods, they will no more do for to-day than would the old stage coach in our streets, or the old spinning wheel in our homes. My purpose to save boys may be unchanged from day to day, but when some are in the woods and some overboard, some in a burning building and some caught by a live wire, my methods in no two instances can be one and the same.

The church is like that Corliss engine that stood in the Centennial Machinery Hall. Every velt that moves, and every wheel that turns for the well-being of man must feel the force of its life. Too much machinery is easily said, and some who say it seem to see nothing but wheels, and worse yet, to get the oft quoted wheels of Ezekiel mixed with the wheels of Pharaoh's chariots, which dragged heavily. Organization we must have, there are not two sides to that but we prefer to think of every church, not as illustrating wheels within wheels, but rather as a tree, a very tree of life to all the city in which it is set, a tree rooted and grounded in love, having at least three great branches or directions of efficiency: Democratic, Evangelical and Philanthropic, each growing out of the other as do the seven-fold branches of the tree of faith.

(a) Democratic. An eminent Romanist recently said: "The future of the church depends chiefly not upon the priesthood but upon the laity." If this be true of them, how much more true of Protestant churches? We who hold each church to be through Christ, of the people, for the people, should be the last to rend the charter or to divide the constituents. The truest individualism and the truest socialism were found in the first city church. All at it, always at it, and at it for all, was the law then. Now, we have an outside host under General Prejudice, an inside host under General

Apathy, and in both hosts our society and our set are talismanic terms. Without, the common people from whom Jesus could neither hide Himself nor run away ; within, ministers, each doing the work of a dozen men, and members, but one in ten doing anything. Where are the nine is a question that has a deeper shame and a sharper sting now than ever before. To every man his work is Christ's law ; and His order, first, unconditional surrender, then unending service, for each and for all. Who are set free from sin must become servants unto God.

Every church should be a true "Brotherhood of the Carpenter," for we have one Master Workman, and we are all to be workers together with Him ; and every church should be a "Church of Holy Week-day," its doors double-hinged and so lightly hung that a finger touch of the least of the little ones would at any time swing them open to enter for rest or prayer. To have the church and the people forced apart is sadder than "the cooking stove apostasy ;" sadder still is it to have members of one body saying in deeds speaking louder than words, "I have no need of thee."

The individual and the universal are constantly associated in God's Word. The commission puts this very clearly. Looking world-ward, it is to every creature and to all creatures ; looking church-ward, it is "Go ye," one and all. All the believers must go and preach to all the unbelievers. Two words may tell the whole story : on the outer door "whosoever," heralds the Gospel to the people, not to pew-holders. On the inner door are "whosoever" and "whatsoever." Whosoever comes in must do whatsoever He saith unto them. There is no discharge in this war and no dead line at fifty or anywhere else. To every man his work. I have chosen you and ordained you that ye should go and bear fruit, are always in force, so that to the very last we may both work for Him and bring forth fruit.

We must have more workmen, and some of the best of these will be women. Few Romish churches in our cities but have from two to ten priests beside other assistants. It is worse than burning the candle at both ends to throw the whole burden of work on the pastor, as Protestants do. We must have trained men and women, and they, well paid for their work, not to relieve the members, but to organize and to keep active the volunteer agencies. Brothers and deaconesses, I believe, are already called for in some forms of work, and their distinctive dress is in some places essential when in actual service. But institutions and celibacy are not necessary and will surely be hurtful. Corral the bell-wethers ; lay siege to the

strong for Christ and His cause. Enlist all ; have picked men for captains and pay them generously.

(b) Evangelistic. First catch your hare, applies to other things beside game. We cannot do for the people until we find them, and to find them we must diligently seek for them. Salt and light were never made for themselves, but to be brought into contact with need and the needy. We have salt enough, but it is in bond, and light enough, but it is under cover. Only as applied can they show their nature and their right to be. To explain why Boston is called the Hub of the Universe it has been wittily said, out of it go spokesmen for weal of mankind, who never tire of doing good for their fellows. This should be true of every church. When they were scattered abroad they went everywhere preaching the Word.

We may fall into so narrow and selfish a life that the perils of others are no more to us than the shadow of a passing cloud ; starvation and death in the slums, no more than the prick of a pin. To stub a toe becomes more important and occasions more talk than any woe or want of the world outside. But so to live is to dishonor Christ. We must multiply our agencies and efforts to evangelize the cities. We must have many more meetings—in stores and shops, in mills and factories, on boats and ships, and parlor and kitchen meetings. Christ's quorum for such spiritual committee work will be enough to man such meetings—"where two or three are gathered in My name."

We must go with a free message. Christianity is outgoing life and gratuity through and through. The Church is not to *get* something, but to give something ; to give Grace well defined as everything for nothing. We shall cry in vain to publicans and sinners unless with the old prophet's cry, "Come ye to the waters ; come without money and without price."

The primitive church was both a missionary church and free, as open-handed as it was free-hearted. Leaders then had neither silver nor gold ; but what was vastly more important, they had great power with God and with the people. The man of Macedonia appealing to us of to-day is clad in a workman's blouse, as he appeared to McAll in Paris. Three rules of the McAll work we must begin at once to copy in our city work. Open halls in various parts of the city ; for small halls well filled, and many of them in use, coming close to where the most of the unreached throng, will do the greatest amount of good at the least expense, and be vastly better than the hippodrome plan, which may seem to show unity and power, when it is really a cover to hide poverty and sterility.

Religiously to abstain from taking any collections, for many of these people have never heard of a religion that gave to them instead of exacting from.

We must have men of faith and of commanding influence put forward for leaders. The greatest workers of the New Testament were the greatest men of their age.

To have power they must be pure. Here also we are sadly in need of enlarged work. Expensive buildings and excessive ornament when so much is needed and so little is done, are not creditable to Christianity. Cutting out may be more important than grafting in. Churches and cities are so related that Christianity must bring forth fruits worthy of God and man, or perish out of our cities.

Some accounted pillars in the church are cursed as stumbling blocks in the store and on the street. Purity of citizenship hangs upon purity of Christianity; the purity of the ballot-box upon the purity of the voters. Black sheep whitewashed but never cleansed, with the cunning of the fox and the cruelty of the wolf, have crept into the fold, and the church is libelled because of them. No sooner have we unmasked one than we must begin again the same process.

Do you think I have forgotten "edification?" No, I have not. But what is the practical outcome of the enormous number of sermons made to edify the people? Ask your members to go down to the wharves, to the tenement houses, and what will the great majority say? Ask them to bring their Bibles and to go into personal conversation with inquirers in your own social services, and three-fourths of them will hasten to say, "I have never done that. I must be excused."

(c) Philanthropic. We must increase the points of contact between the churches and the people. A good physician must know the disease and the remedy, and more than all, the body in which both are at work. Churches and cities, Christianity and civilization are not apart from human beings. Jesus is not, without the body prepared for Him, and God manifest in the flesh spake of the new man, not of newness. We must know not only sin and salvation, but the sinner, the man, the human being. The Gospel for all men is also the Gospel for all the man. To change the current of the soul, we must know its haunts and its fleshly home, where it is, what it is, and how it exists. We may be so busy saving souls as not to save men and women. God made both the body and the soul. He sets the solitary in families, appoints the strong to bear the infirmities of the weak; puts the earthly and the perishable in true relations with the heavenly and the eternal.

Jesus healing human bodies set at liberty caged souls ; blind men given sight saw their way to the temple ; lepers cleansed sang the praises of their Physician. We also, through medicine and watch-care, by little ministries of love in the sick room for the body, may get hold upon the full being. The children of the poor die oftener from lack of nursing than from want of medicine. Should a brother who is sick and in need of watchers be left to the care of some benevolent order ? We have been too ready as churches to permit this. Others come and do what we at least ought to have initiated and controlled. A true curate will have the care of bodies and of minds as well as of souls ; he will have thought of manners as well as of morals, and of habits as well as of holiness. Humanity is older than orthodoxy, and inhumanity is the worst heterodoxy. The first miracle and the last, the wedding wine and Malchus' ear healed, were in the line of philanthropy.

Establish medical dispensaries, labor bureaus, coal and wood yards, flower and fruit missions, homes for the aged and for children, hospitals and day nurseries, homes for incurables and for consumptives, would be indeed sacred houses.

Establish industrial schools, where girls may be taught every use of the needle and every branch of housekeeping, and boys may be taught drawing, clay modelling, carpentry, carving and turning, and the skilful use of many tools.

Establish courses of lectures on art and science and travel ; by physicians with special reference to the needs of the poor ; by lawyers on National, State and municipal legislation ; by merchants and business men on practical matters ; by others, courses on economic and social questions.

Some would be all evangelistic and some all philanthropic. Of such we might say, as Andrew Fuller did of Arminians and of Calvinists, both are right in what they affirm ; both are wrong in what they deny. Philanthropy is not the Gospel ; but that is a very shrivelled Gospel that is not philanthropic. Jesus was rich and became poor for our sakes that we might be rich not only in heaven but on earth, rich in good works. "The tattered fringe that hangs on the border of the social fabric is broadest in cities." We have the poor with us now, and when we will we may do them good. Christianity and the world have both the deepest interest in this truth. A feeling is best called into activity by holding up before the mind that which conditions it. Let a church cease to talk about its mission or its love, and be a mission of love to men, and show Christ in common life—doing, serving and suffering for and

with men. Evil may be overcome by good, and in no other way. We cannot love mankind too much.

3. What is required in order to do these things ?

(a) More unity. The vines of Eschol are so set that each one is supported by two others. Churches of the same faith *must* band together in our cities, and churches of different faiths ought to band together for the common good.

The celebrated Rocky Mountain arbors form another and very forcible illustration of how even the trees combine against common foes. Such a federated union is absolutely necessary to successful rescue work. Not only as to individuals, but as to churches and missions already planted. Some are in danger of being stranded. The whole body may pour new life into the weak member. Preventive work will be advanced by such a union ; the planting in new portions of the city before they become despoiled, schools and churches, and so to pre-occupy the ground.

(b) More money. If it may be justly said that "we have been playing at missions," with more justice may it be said that we have been playing at city mission work. In every one of our large cities the proportion of churches to people is less than in the most destitute of our Western Territories. To accomplish the full work we must have endowments. On ordinary benevolent effort and in so-called family churches endowments are a curse, but in grappling with the varied needs of city work they are a necessity. The Trinity corporation of New York city has put the Episcopalians a long way ahead of all other denominations in buildings and in general appliances for city mission work. In East Houston Street, and in other places in the very nests of disorder, you will find some of the most complete church buildings in the entire country. Mr. Armour of Chicago sets aside blocks of buildings, the rentals forever to support his chapel work, and he does wisely. Rich men must begin to be their own executors, to give while they live, and to give thousands where they now give tens for the redemption of our cities.

(c) Give the best. Give to the poor the best music, the best preaching, the best literature, the best men and women to visit among them. They need and they deserve the best, and that alone is worthy of God, not to say of the church itself. But money and machinery never can become a substitute for personal effort. The rich suffer more from not knowing the poor through personal contact than the poor suffer from not being known. Jesus gave Himself. Furnish a life-line, but learn to throw it yourself. Build a life-boat, but get into it yourself ; and that, too, not to steer, but to

row. Ruggles Street Church, Boston, is not the plan and the work of church officers. It could not have been but for the brain and the hand of one plain man, who, as editor, publisher and business man, had full enough to tax his time and strength, but with his Lord's love for the common people, could not rest until he had gone out from a wealthy church and joined himself with the poorer, asking only that he might devote himself and his earnings to the best interests of the whole people. Here and at Harvard Street he set before the world new object lessons of church work, which have already been copied by other denominations in Boston and elsewhere. When rich men leave the rich churches to range themselves with the poorer, we shall have one of the biggest proofs in the nineteenth century that Jesus came in the first century. Nations that shortened their weapons, lengthened their boundaries. Churches that shorten the distance between themselves and the crowded tenements, coming face to face with the poor, seeking hand-picked fruit and giving their best members to be the hands, will in the best possible way both lengthen their cords and strengthen their stakes.

(d) Get the best. We must have before we can give. Have faith in God. Cities came before churches, but the Gospel came before both, and God is before all. It is not darker than in that hour when, after days and nights of tempest, amid a mixed crowd of soldiers and sailors, all hungered and fearful, Paul stood forth to bid them be of good cheer with his royal word of faith, "I believe God."

Honor the Holy Spirit. The only real power for enlarging must come from Him. Paul, Peter, Barnabas, Philip, the most active men of the New Testament days, were men full of faith and of the Holy Spirit. Carlyle has grimly said, "We must take God's light or God's lightning." Let us take God's light and the power of His Spirit for self-sacrificing service. I believe in the Holy Spirit. I expect to see the rich and the poor each esteeming others better than themselves, while working together as one in Him, because I believe in the Holy Spirit. I expect to see multitudes of men and women, now cursed with poverty, ignorance and sin, renewed in mind and transfigured, because I believe in the Holy Spirit. I expect to see Christian men not laying up treasures on earth to work mischief unto others, but being their own executors and giving millions for the common people in our great cities, because I believe in the Holy Spirit. I expect to see the streets of our cities, from North End to Back Bay, from Piccadilly to Whitechapel,

swept by the power of God from end to end and from lowest to highest extremes of society, because I believe in the Holy Spirit.

REV. RUSSELL H. CONWELL, Pastor of Grace Baptist Church, Philadelphia, Penn., said :

I do not remember having attempted, but in one instance before, to read from a manuscript, and I do not expect to follow this manuscript at all now. Yet, I hope to be more fortunate than I was last night, where I did not say one thing or one sentence I intended to say, as I remembered after I was through. Perhaps I do not understand the intent of the Committee with reference to this subject, but I wish to present matters deserving of your thought and discussion, and so I will present what I suppose to be the idea of the Committee :

One black and boisterous night in February of 1870, on the southern coast of Japan, I was called out into the storm, gloom and chill by the solemn boom of the signal cannon which announced a wreck on the distant bar. Natives and foreigners were alike excited.

All hands pointed and all eyes were directed toward the faint flashing of red lights through the fog, foam and night far out at sea. Every heart beat fast and every hand was unconsciously clenched, while the brain painfully labored with oppressive problems. The nerves thrilled and quivered with incessant shocks of anxiety and horror. Every movement and every feature of the men on the shore showed most startlingly a keenly painful desire to save the lost ones out in the relentless seas. I had never seen or felt anything like such an experience. For a few moments the alarmed and suddenly awakened company looked silently at each other in the light of unstable flaring torches ; and the oppressive yearning to save, the awful impulse to give one's self for the salvation of another, almost paralyzed the arms that should act. That all-mastering desire to help those sailors out there in the grasp of hideous death was an accurate illustration of the heaven-given spiritual impulse to save others from eternal death.

Such a feeling always comes over the soul which is startled by its own conversion, into an awful sense of the danger to which others are exposed. That is the first stage of spiritual life in every new-born soul, viz. : great anxiety for the salvation of one's kindred.

The next stage in the study of that painful but illustrative

incident, however, contains the lessons which have the most important bearing on our discussion this morning. With a unison of voice and a unanimity of action almost electric, the company on that shore, all moved by the same impulse, asked by word and excited action: "How can we save the sailors on that ship?" How! How! How! Are there boats? Are there rafts? Are there cannon to signal an answer to their booming alarm gun? Can junk or sampan live in such a sea? Are there rocks or sand-bars or counter currents between the shore and the foundering ship? Innumerable hopes arose only to be crushed, and all sorts of wild and foolish suggestions were made in the excitement. What a night of terrible anxiety. Those who have witnessed similar scenes will never forget them. None of us knew how to save those perishing men. The gun out at sea ceased to signal; the red lights glimmered once or twice; the fog deepened; the darkness became more dense; helpless hands fell to the sides; faces grew pale as the torches burned down; the cruel sea roared its victory. The German ship *Shoenbrunn*, with its crew, officers and cargo were all engulfed. Lost! lost off the southern coast of Japan in 1870. We did not know how to help them, and consequently they went down into the caverns of death. So, in the development of our early Christian experience, there comes as the second stage in our spiritual development the consciousness of the world's lost condition, and co-existent with that an overwhelming desire to save it. Then it is that anxious souls most earnestly look each other in the face and exclaim, in helpless agony often, "How can we save them? What can we do?" That great desire to act and the excruciating sense of helplessness which new-born souls often feel is the most dangerous point in the soul's effort to serve God. The discouragement which so often paralyzes the aspiring soul, and the accumulating number of dead Christians in the churches, while sin is engulfing our loved ones, is the awful result of the paralyzing lack of knowledge how to save in such dire emergencies. The greatest curse of the Church to-day is a membership that is not at work, because they do not know how. The greatest practical need of the Church of Christ now is a system of instruction in methods of Christian work. The great and idle masses in the Church would love to work for Christ if they knew how. They must be taught how. The conversion of a soul is but a beginning, either for the soul or the Church. It is evident to thoughtful men who study this subject, that each redeemed soul could be the agent for converting fifty more, and that, if men were only taught how, the world would very soon be Christian. The churches have members

enough, money enough and strength enough, but their membership is ignorant of economical and effective methods for permanent evangelistic work. They cannot make use of the power they have. Not a tithe of the forces of the Church are used now. To develop the latent power of the Church, revive the dead membership and save a lost world, two practical improvements are needed, in the matter of religious education.

First. *The systems of Theological Education we now use, notwithstanding their great value over the ignorance of the old days, need to be greatly improved.* Practical Theology is the need of this age. Our Common School systems do not always teach the most useful arts. And our colleges more frequently leave their graduates unfit to enter upon the real duties of life. But the worst failure of all, and one which comes nearest to us in the city work of to-day, is the theological instructions for preachers, even in these days of progress. It comes far short of the necessities of the times. I mention this respectfully and with cautious consideration. But the lack of immediate effectiveness on the part of graduates from our most efficient theological schools is a painful fact, too clear to require proof in this place. The most dire need of our cities is practical hand-to-hand workers. The world is wrecked and men are dying, yet these life-savers do not know how to save; many of them at the beginning of their ministry do not know how to so use their talents as to save one soul a year. That a minister of the Gospel ought to be the instrument for saving many hundred each year by his own skill and the skill of his trained Church membership, must be the conclusion of each thinker who observes the success of training in other professions and appreciates the unchangeable character of the promises of God. Just what the difficulty is in our theological training I would not venture to answer in this presence; but I hope for such discussion in this Congress as shall make the subject clearer to the young and noble Christian minister who sadly needs and sincerely welcomes such counsel. But the fact is indisputable, even with our ten thousand empty pulpits in America, that it is not more ministers we need so much as wiser ones. Some of our most earnest students in our theological institutions have succeeded only in getting in the way of healthy progress, and by their unwieldy or machine-cut theory and practice, raise only discord and doubt, instead of successful harmony and Faith. If the theological training be an advantage to-day, how is it that some of the most successful pastors of England and America never took a systematic course in theology, and have left many of the school-trained theologians far in the rear in practical work for the conversion of men?

When it is possible for any untutored man to enter a race with the trained athlete, having the same physique, and win that race, there must be some serious mistake in the professional training or coaching. Many of our strongest men, and indeed many of our most saintly men, are buried in some little cross-roads school-house or some Mission Sunday-school, whose only lack is in a practical knowledge of successful methods of Christian work. They would cover the school-house with a church and evolve the mission into a cathedral, if they could be rightly trained or be allowed naturally to grow into wiser ways and means. Is it extreme to state, in the free air of this assembly, that there are graduates of universities and of seminaries, who when put into a district and told to set the people at work or work themselves, do not have the first settled idea how to direct or what to do to save men? But we must not under-rate the value of our theological institutions, nor the scholarship or devotion of our professors, but we must face as honest men the hard, sad fact, that either the material or the culture has left many graduates standing on the shore, anxious to save but wholly ignorant of the use of a life-boat or a tow-line. The first duty of the Church, in its relation to education and city evangelization, is then to make more effective the schools we now have and more practical the instruction now given. Our most cultured graduates should take a thorough course in actual missionary work in some city, under wise direction.

Secondly. *The Church should provide secular educational facilities, so far as possible, for its membership.* Education in the ordinary arts and sciences, in history and literature, is of course very helpful to a Christian, and all must be assured that he can do more in labor for Christ who has a cultivated and disciplined mind. That proposition certainly needs no argument. The Churches know that there is no form of charity so valuable as that which in Christlikeness heals the man and allows him to earn his own living. To help a man to help himself is the noblest exhibition of Christian kindness and wisdom. In no way can the Church do this better than giving the opportunity and awakening an ambition among the disciples to secure a higher education. But that education must be the most practical possible, enabling a Christian to honestly earn a larger income for himself and family, and especially fitting him for personal usefulness in leading souls to love Christ. Every member of every church needs training, but this necessity is, of course, more apparent in the city than it is in the country. Each year's improvements leave the Christian worker who follows the

methods of last year in antiquated dust, so progressive is the Christian age. There may also be almost as many methods of instructions as there are churches. But the variety and success of our secular educational work at Grace Church, Philadelphia, and in the Temple College for employees, leads me to make the following suggestions: In nearly every church, even in the country towns, there are valuable young men who need only a suggestion or explanation from the pastor to avail themselves of his instruction or influence, for the purpose of obtaining an education of a high order. The lack of an ambition or the hope to be useful in a higher degree, is often the hardest matter to overcome. I would say, in our College last year we had 1,200 students, and when they came in from all these classes of workingmen, they did not know what they wished to be. The greatest matter we had to overcome was the lack of ambition to be anybody in particular. But after a year's instruction had passed away, they swept on in their ambition to do greater things for Christ and men. I think every pastor of every church should look out his young men and women and give them an ambition to secure an education in the higher schools of thought and life. Some of the greatest reformers, preachers and Christian statesmen of the future are now hidden in some coarse garb worn by some country rustic or city mechanic, who cannot now afford to go to school during the working hours. All such men the Church must look out and save to the cause. They can study evenings and in various spare hours and will, consequently, from the very nature of the case, make the ablest, most practical men. In the cities, the waiting multitude is filled with wonder that the Church is so long in opening its doors for their better instruction. There are vast numbers of the keenest and largest minds who labor on, confined and unhappy in some uncongenial, menial occupation, who need only the touch of the Church to devote themselves to higher things. Many of them could not in their early years be spared from labor to go farther than the compulsory months of legal schooling in the common schools. They are too old now, and too proud to begin again in a low-grade class with children, but they long to recover lost opportunities. The State cannot yet give such persons the secular instruction they need, and should not be allowed to teach them the agnosticism of our schools' system if it could. The Church can give them a Christian education. The Church must do it. Five years' experience in a church with an associated school shows us most convincingly that many of the very best men and some of the greatest educators of the future would have been lost to the highest rank of educational and scientific achievement, if the

Church had not sought them out and encouraged them to use their spare hours in fitting themselves for the highest positions in Church or State. The men and women, who will study hard evenings and work all day for some loved ones, will be men and women of double power when they finish their education. Every church must be a school-house. But it is not enough for a church to open a mere evening class and employ a teacher to amuse the young people on the plea of keeping them out of worse places. Such play is unbecoming a consecrated Church of Christ, and fails entirely to make useful men or disciplined scholars. Our opinion of evening classes for mere amusement is that it brings more of evil and levity into the Church than it does of grace and useful information. But a regular system of instruction, which opens the way to the highest attainments in the college curriculum, gives the student an inspiring and necessary hope to become, in his influence, the equal with the rich and the wise; then the poorest church-member can feel the loftiest ambition consistently, and will love most fervently the church which opened the door to him.

The necessity for a regular school of instruction in practical missionary or evangelistic work and in Sunday-school methods, is too generally accepted now by the churches to require discussion. But the time has come when Sunday-school superintendents should be theological graduates or high-grade scholars, and receive salary for their labor. We pay our Sunday-school superintendent \$2,500 a year. They should be the general instructors for the missionary and Bible-training classes, where possible, and be class teachers and professors rather than preacher. If it be consistent with the best exegesis, as some claim, to distinguish between the terms, "Go teach" and "Go preach," the greatest weight must attach to the command "Go teach the Gospel." Experience in personal work makes the best teacher. The churches need men and women who know how to use their fingers, brains and influence in noble deeds for themselves, their acquaintances, their country and the Church. They may be secured if the churches will, separately or by association, establish permanently, in connection with their religious work, such schools or classes as follows :

First. Missionary training classes to teach to converts practical methods of direct evangelistic work.

Second. Bible training schools where instruction how to study and how to use the Scriptures is made systematic and thorough, with grades of scholarship and some mark of distinction for successful achievement.

Third. An evening or day school and college organized on a permanent and graded system, providing for complete classical instruction under tutors, especially where the scholar has not the means to attend a distant Baptist institution. Competent men and women who will volunteer or labor for a slight compensation evenings can be secured to teach in almost every village, and are always freely found in a city.

I feel certain that these auxiliaries to our work will soon be a constituent part of our organized church life in America. God speed the day.

The article in a late number of the *Baptist Quarterly Review*, by A. C. Hill, upon State education presents one phase of this question most admirably. But the necessity that the body of all Baptist churches should not only be a converted membership but an educated membership, can be made equally emphatic. The gifted writer could not cover this question in the scope of his article. But the churches must provide for the higher grades of education and keep the State from interference there. Knowledge is power. We must put that power into the brains and hands of our membership as soon as possible after their baptism, and thus give to Christ the highest educational system and increase the influence of the churches a thousand fold.

Rev. JOHN HUMPHSTONE, D.D., pastor of the Emmanuel Baptist Church, Brooklyn, N. Y., spoke as follows :

It has not been my lot as yet to lead the church of which I am pastor, along the lines laid down this morning. I find myself looking forward, however, eagerly and hopefully, to the development of our work in this direction. I can, at least speak to you as one who feels how vast is the problem before us, how pressing the necessity for its solution, and as one who would be glad to lead his own church into closer relations to the multitude of the unevangelized.

The concentration of the population in cities is characteristic of the age. The tide of this tendency has not yet run itself out ; it has hardly arisen to its height. We speak of it sometimes as if it were an American tendency, growing out of our rapid development as a new nation. But the aggregation of population in cities is even more manifest in the old world. The problem of the city, both as a municipality and as a field for evangelism, is greater to-day in Europe than in America. The facts and figures concerning

our own land are so fresh in our minds that they need not be referred to. As to the facts abroad a sentence or two must suffice. In *The Forum* for October, Mr. Frederick Harrison, (still a young man comparatively), says he has lived long enough to see London increase one hundred and fifty per cent. in population and 500 per cent. in area. The city of Paris is five times larger to-day than in the year 1800. Berlin has grown even faster than Paris. We are discussing a world-wide question; a question of the future, as well as of present moment; the question of the modification of church methods and organization demanded on account of the concentration of the population in cities. I have already spoken of this tendency as creating a problem. The situation takes on just that phase, when we think of the multitudes to be reached and of their pre-occupation with the affairs which have brought them together in these centers. The matter we wish to press upon them is, in the eyes of many, void of interest. Not a few are violently hostile to the gospel, and especially so toward the church. That we have not earlier recognized the problem, and set ourselves to its solution, has caused the indifference of many, and especially of the working classes, to harden into unbelief, and has made the difficulty more complex. But vast as it is as a problem, it has its phase of opportunity also. The multitude is brought within easy reach of the gospel as a message. The missionary need waste no time in travel nor spend his strength in search of opportunity. It confronts him at every step. The situation is such also as affords the best chance we could ask to prove our belief in those principles of universal brotherhood which we all hold to be essential to the gospel, by putting them into practice. All classes, conditions and nationalities of men dwell together in the great cities. Can they dwell together there in Christ, as brothers, not as strangers? The church has yet to prove that she believes that they can. Do not be so far appalled at the problem as to lose sight of its other side of opportunity.

What, now, is the situation of the average Protestant church as at present organized, with reference to this problem and opportunity. As I think of the work in my own church, organized upon lines common to Baptist churches, whether in city or country, I ask myself sometimes, "To what shall I liken it?" Because it has only such facilities for aggressive work as it has, I am compelled to answer, "It is like an army with one general who has no staff, with a commissary department, organized by the troops themselves, with reference chiefly to their own support." An army thus organized may succeed in its own preservation, but it can do little toward the

conquest of an enemy. No such army ever won a victory. I believe that the day is rapidly approaching when we must face the fact that the present organization of the average Protestant church is entirely inadequate to the work every church is set to do in a great city. We shall never do our part toward the solution of the problem which confronts us with our present instrumentalities and organization. There will have to be, it seems to me, a return to the methods and appliances of primitive christianity. I do not feel so sure about this word "brotherhoods" upon the programme. About two years since Archdeacon Farrar came out with a proposal to organize such a brotherhood in the English established church. When asked as to its name, he said, "Call them exorcists, if you like, for their one business will be to cast out demons." But by whatever name known, it was to be a "brotherhood"—a celibate order, living segregate from the community for the sake of the community. But we want no such revival of mediæval methods. We want no brotherhood that denies the truth at the basis of the Christian home and takes away from us the power of manly Christian life. A four-square christianity is the only sort that will be able to do anything for working men in our great cities. (Applause.) We want men, not monks; primitive, not middle-age methods.

In contending for an enlargement of the working organization of our churches, no criticism is made upon the work already being done by our churches, as they are now organized. What is urged is the utter inadequacy of our present instrumentalities to the work which we might do; nay, which we must do, henceforth, in the larger cities. Think of the situation as it is, from the average pastor's point of sight: He must preach two sermons a week. In addition, he must instruct his Sunday-school teachers, and so lift the average of Bible instruction in the church; he must care for the sick and the poor of the flock, and do more or less work in the way of pastoral oversight and visitation. This is just his business. He is a pastor; not an evangelist. His work is the work of edification. He is to "feed the flock of God"; to build up the living-church; to do that work of education which is distinctively Christian. He is a teacher, chiefly. All the instructions to him, in the New Testament, urge him to care for the flock entrusted to his charge, purchased as it has been by the precious blood of Christ. Who, that knows their fidelity and ability, will deny that our pastors are doing this work well? Our city churches, as a rule, are flourishing, strong and healthy, within themselves. I do not believe they are dead. I know too many of the members of them to believe it. They carry Christ with them to their daily business;

they kneel at their family altars before they go forth; they love and serve the Saviour. But they are busy men and women. Outside of business hours, the life in the midst of which they move demands much of their time, and rightfully so. These men and women of our city churches have no time to give to the study of methods in Christian work, and can devote only a fraction of their time to the use of such methods as may be devised for them by others. They may be directed, by proper leaders, in certain subordinate departments of Christian activity; but we cannot depend upon them to do the difficult and arduous work that will have to be done before the congested masses of our city populations can be reached. In the providence of God, they have been called to other work as their chief employment. True it is that the work we are discussing will never be done without them; but it is just as true that it is wholly impracticable for a single minister so to direct the forces of an ordinary church membership, as to secure adequate treatment of the problem and opportunity under discussion.

What, then, shall we do? I answer again return to the primitive system of church organization. What right have we to declare that the proper officers of a church are "*a pastor* and deacons." Does the New Testament warrant any so exclusive and singular statement as that? As I see it, the Scriptural evidence is all in favor of a plurality of elders. Even in so small a city as Philippi, Paul's greeting to the church includes "*bishops and deacons.*" Why should not every one of our churches have more than one minister? The "*Evangelist*" of the New Testament was a man who gave his whole time to the special work of reaching those without. Sometimes, he went over wide spaces, preaching the word and heralding the kingdom; at other times, he spent his ministry chiefly in one place. What better opportunity, anywhere, to do the work of an evangelist than is afforded amid the unreached multitudes of our great cities? Has not the time come to revive this office in connection with the local church, so that each church in a great city will support an evangelist as well as a pastor? In proportion as a minister is a successful pastor, he unfits himself for the work of an evangelist. It is not in many men to do at their best, both the work of a pastor and the work of an evangelist. Some men have special aptitudes for this latter work. Why not officially recognize and appoint them, wherever it is feasible, to the work for which they are specially fitted.

There is some New Testament authority for the office of "*deaconess.*" Sufficient certainly to warrant us in its use, if we desire to employ it as an instrumentality for this enlarged church work. A

woman can enter homes to which a man could not get access ; she can minister to needs that others would never come to know.

What we need in the great cities is a multiplication of the designated working forces of the Church; an increase of officers in the army of the Lord; the appointment of one or more persons whose business it shall be to study and canvass the local field continuously, and to organize others in its cultivation. There is a variety of orders in the New Testament ministry. We need to recognize the fact. To do this is not to imitate Rome. It is, rather, to follow the New Testament, in the multiplication of such instrumentalities for aggressive work as comport with our polity and its regulating idea. The sooner we do this the better, as concerns our solution of this problem and our grasp of this opportunity.

To refuse such enlargement of our forces is contrary to the analogy of nature. Wherever you find an organism in nature, you find it in a state of progress, adapting itself to its environment. If we find ourselves, in these cities, confronted by circumstances, with which our present organization and methods are unable to cope, then, by the forces of the Christ-life within us (the most progressive of all life), let us see to it that our organization is made to fit our environment.

The present disparity between our instrumentalities and our opportunities is contrary to the dictates of reason. No business man would long submit to such an inequality of force to work. It would not pay to do so. Whenever, therefore, his staff of workers is inadequate, he quickly enlarges it. When men deal with any other subject but this of Christian work, they adapt themselves, without discussion, to the situation. It is the dictate of common sense so to do.

To refuse to multiply our working-forces is to refuse to learn from the experience of others. Show me a church that is notable for its success in reaching the masses and I will show you a church that has succeeded, only by doing that very thing which I now recommend, as the solution of the problem. Our brother, [The Rev. Russell H. Conwell], has referred to the fact that the Superintendent of their Sunday-school is a paid official who gives his whole time to the work. The success of Grace Church, Philadelphia, of which Brother Conwell is the pastor, is not the success of one man working alone. The work in Boston, represented by Dr. Lawson, is the result of adjustment of organization to environment. There are some churches which are doing a work that astonishes us with its results, as we look upon it only from without. We talk, sometimes, as if these results were achieved by an organ-

ization similar to that under which we work, in our ordinary churches. Again and again, I have had St. George's in New York held up to me, by way of reproach. People point to its work and say, "See what St. George's is doing!" But have you even been to St. George's? Have you examined the "Tracy Memorial House," in which so much of its Christian work is done? Do you know the size of its staff of workers? There are at least five ordained ministers who give their whole time to its work, besides a goodly number of lay-helpers, Bible-women and canvassers. St. George's has done exactly this of which I have been speaking. It has adapted itself to its environment. That is the simple secret of its success. The Rev. Archibald Brown's church, in East London, is one of the phenomena of that great city. It would not be so, if it had but one minister to do all its work. The last statement I have seen of Mr. Brown's staff assigns nine as the number of its members. You cannot do such work as these churches are doing with such working-forces as we have in our ordinary churches. If you want to do such work, you must adapt organization to environment; you must multiply instrumentalities until they are adequate to opportunity. No matter how wide our church doors stand open in these cities; no matter how eloquent and earnest that one minister in the pulpit, the multitude of the poor, the friendless, the homeless will not come to your worship. They want first the touch of the Church's hand, the beat of her heart. The Church must first go to them before they will come to the church.

Finally, a word as to endowments. This is fundamental to the whole question. One of the worst ills that can befall a church, with reference to its own pastor and his work for the church edification, is an endowment for his support. It is a curse and not a blessing—such an endowment. But with reference to a church's missionary and evangelistic work, I believe an endowment never fails to receive the approval of God. Let the church support its own pastor, and pay out of its own pocket, for that which it is itself receiving. But the fund for missionary and evangelistic work on the local field must be a special fund. In some cases, it can be raised, annually, by voluntary offerings; but in many cases (and these the ones where the opportunity for such work is greatest), it cannot be so raised. If, in such situations, this outreaching work is done at all, it must be through endowments. It has been asserted recently in one of our religious Reviews that the average life of a family church, on one field, is only that of one generation. Facts warrant the assertion. It was stated in the Congress of the Protestant Episcopal Church, in Philadelphia, yesterday, that at

least ten thousand people had moved into New York, below Fourteenth street, in the same period of time in which fifteen Christian churches had moved out of that locality. The remedy for this evil is in such endowment of the missionary forces of a church as will make them independent of fluctuating offerings; as will enable these missionary forces, in turn, so to keep the self-sustaining life of the Church renewed, that it will be independent, also, of those forces of life and resources of support that will inevitably drift away from it, in time. I hope to live to see the day when, in some of our churches, at least, the employment of a staff of workers will be made possible, through an endowment provided for their support. When every church is seeking to care for the whole population that surrounds it, constituting it human field, irrespective of class or national distinctions, then, and not till then, will the solution of the problem of great multitudes in great cities be at hand. (Applause.)

DR. SAMUEL W. DUNCAN, formerly of Rochester, said:

I shall not attempt to make a speech but simply give you a little experience. Every word that my brother who has just left this platform has said is true, and so is every word of the brethren who have preceded him. But I am somewhat afraid, with the elaborate programme that has been outlined, some will say, "It can never be carried into effect." Let me suggest some feasible steps that may be taken, in the direction of the grand ideal indicated. You must begin by creating in your church an appetite for Christian work; a desire for just this very thing that has been so forcibly set forth, and the money and means will come. Any work that sets aside the individual membership would be a disaster to the Church of Christ. We must utilize every member of the church so far as possible.

We must not overlook the membership; here is the center of power. I began my ministry in 1866, in Cleveland, and our hearts were moved with the necessity of pre-empting that rapidly growing city for Christ. We organized the Cleveland Baptist City Mission Union, and I acquired valuable experience in connection with it. I then went to Cincinnati, and became stirred, as was Paul at Athens, with the sight of this great city, in our fair land, so given up to the reign of immorality and sin. My charge of Ninth Street Church was undertaken at a time when the raising of large sums of money for mission work was quite impossible. There were, however, a good many young people in the church, living in the midst

of Romanism, and rationalism and irreligion of every kind. I said: I can keep these young people loyal to Christ and His Church only in one way; I must give them something to do; I must bring them in direct contact with dying, perishing men. But how? At first I did not quite know. I found half a dozen or more young men and women whose hearts were aflame for Christian work, and said to them, "We must have a mission." I strolled over Cincinnati without money to purchase a site. All we could lay our hands upon was a dilapidated carpenter's shop, in a wretched portion of the city, that could be had for a hundred dollars a year. I said: This is the only door open and we will enter it. We opened our mission, and such an audience as used to gather upon week nights and Sunday afternoon and evening, you will not see, unless you go to the Five Points in New York City. But the young people began their work, and their hearts soon were filled with it. The old conservative church said "what folly, 'casting your pearls before swine;'" and some thought it was really a silly expenditure of religious enthusiasm. I said: "Very well, we will see." We kept at it, and soon these young people began to come up to the Ninth Street prayer meeting, overflowing with their experiences at the mission. The people were led to pray. The work grew in power. The police encouraged us, saying: "This is a different neighborhood since you came here." We went into the most degraded homes—if homes they could be called at all. We grappled with the worst sorts of people, and God blessed the effort.

This humble movement was the beginning of great things for the Baptists of Ninth Street. As one result of it, quietly but surely, a new spirit took possession of the church. From being wrapped up in self, it began to yearn for the erring and the outcast, and to feel that a church that did not reach the neglected and the poor had no place on God's earth. The church became ready for the adoption of new measures of enlarged usefulness one after another. Thus, this movement was the necessary precursor; it prepared the way for the large enterprises—the kitchen garden, the sewing school, the outstations, the effective relief work—which offer to-day a spectacle of moral power and Christian activity absolutely inspiring, and have placed "Ninth Street," under the intrepid and devoted Myers, my successor, in the foremost rank of Cincinnati churches. Before I left the field, it was my delightful privilege to watch this transformation; to see how changed was the spiritual tone of the church; how much broader had become its idea of what a church exists for; how greatly enlarged its capacity for Christian work.

Would that time permitted fuller reference to the present issues

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of this feeble and experimental beginning in "Ninth Street," the number of outstations, where the Gospel is preached, and lived and taught, has been increased. The fruits from self-denying, persistent effort at these stations may be inferred from such testimonies as the following: A correspondent of the *Commercial Gazette*, not one of the workers, writes of one of these stations: "Since this work has begun, several saloons have sought other locations; tenement houses are being occupied by a more respectable class of people; ladies can now pass along — avenue without being offended by the sight of street brawls, and their ears filled with the most outrageous oaths and filthy language." Says the chief of the police of another, "I am able to reduce the police force in this district, its moral character has been so changed."

The church itself is correspondingly enriched by accessions through baptism, as the result of this work, and by a constantly augmented throng of new worshippers, flocking to its services from every quarter.

So, brethren, do not wait till you can start out with all the agencies you desire for doing Christ's work, but begin somewhere, and at once. Be willing to do the one thing, and the only thing it may be within your reach, no matter how humble it is. If your aim is pure, and your reliance on God intelligent and firm, as sure as He is true, "A little one shall become a thousand, and a small one a strong nation."

Brethren, we must attain unto the advanced methods that have been commended to us, this morning, for believe me, it is the only way in which, in these days, we can effectually propagate the Gospel.

REV. WALTER SCOTT, of the Suffield Academy, Connecticut, said:

Mr. Moderator, and Brethren,—I find a great many things in my mind I would like to say in regard to these admirable papers, but I will simply refer to a few points. We are somewhat afraid of the federative principle. We need to work out in connection with our desire to develop the individual, the federative principle in connection with our denomination.

Some of these titles here, as Brotherhood and the like, strike us unfavorably, because they seem to place us in the attitude of imitating others, notably the Roman Catholic Church, which has made much of what they call brotherhoods. If we set out to make a definition of Christian Brotherhood, we may find these-called brother-

hoods of the Roman Catholic Church are far from Christian brotherhood. The Christian idea of brotherhood must be realized, it seems to me, in the churches; if not realized there, I do not see that it can ever be realized. I am a little afraid of deaconesses, that is Deaconess Institutions, as our Methodist Brethren are founding them, but I am a profound believer in having deaconesses in our local churches. Adam Clark said a woman was worth seven men, I do not know as to the truth of that (laughter), but it seems that churches, situated as ours are, need that tactful, wise, adaptive talent which women will bring to the conduct of church affairs.

I wanted especially to speak of the home, for many of these points brought up run into the question as to what we are going to make of the home and the church. I think some of our reformers are trying to put a fifth wheel to the coach, instead of repairing one or more of the four wheels and making the vehicle move on smoothly. There are difficulties in connection with the home life. Reference has been made to down-town sections of the city, one difficulty there is, society is not guarding the home.

To prepare ministers for exceptional and abnormal work is not wise. I would differ from Brother Conwell in the matter; we must train our ministers and workers for the average work, and while training them for the average work of life they will fit themselves for exceptional work that may arise. Brother Conwell refers to exceptional men who have done work for God along these lines. For such men we are thankful to God. Put side by side with them, Thomas Guthrie, of Scotland, a college-bred man and brought up in the country pastorate, and others who have done remarkable and exceptional work. These exceptional men will take care of themselves. Men of conspicuous ability or genius do the work given them, though they may not foresee what their special work may be while under training.

In regard to the voluntary element in Christian work, we have many unused facilities for doing what God designs we should do. How many elements of power are latent? I know a lady of wealth in one of our large cities, of high social standing, who gathers together in her own home, from week to week, a society of young people with the idea of aiding them in education, in a religious and in other ways. How many homes there are, and how many ladies there are in our churches, with charming manners, of polished education and social graces who can use these elements of power for the uplifting of those who are about them. There is a teacher of whom I always think with a great deal of reverence; I refer to the shoemaker, John Pounds, of Portsmouth, England, who gathered

the neglected children of his town into his shoe shop, and there taught them. A picture of that man at his work of shoemaking and teaching set Thomas Guthrie on fire with zeal, and he went up and down Scotland and England as the advocate of ragged schools. The point I make is that if we have a consecrated man or woman, if we develop the individual Christian, according to free and true lines of development, these other matters in the discussion will all come in good time.

PROF. E. H. JOHNSON, D. D., of Crozer, said :

I have carefully abstained from taking part in the debates since the first one, because I wanted it to be decent for me to keep the ball rolling this afternoon; but when Col. Conwell gave the theological seminaries such a tongue lashing, it tickled me so that I must make acknowledgements. I have been just aching for such a scoring as that, and have done my best to secure it at a congress. (Laughter.) If he had only been kind enough to add that the theological seminary also refrigerates the piety of the students, he would have warmed the cockles of my heart. (Laughter.) I can feel comfortable enough while the punishment is going on, for the matter does not belong in my department. I do not teach practical theology, but the other sort, and nobody looks to me for sensible advice. It would be an intrusion upon Dr. Weston's department for me to make a practical suggestion to a student. And the intrusion is not necessary. Dr. Weston has more influence to-day as a practical man in the city of New York, after an absence of twenty years, than he has in Philadelphia, where for twenty years he has been a seminary president. If men do not take away wisdom with them when they leave the seminary it is not his fault. And I notice that it is only the towering geniuses who recommend ministers to get along without a seminary education. You never hear those who have missed an education and have failed in the ministry propose the same omission to others. And is it not still more extraordinary that as soon as you have your Spurgeon and your Conwell, the next thing he does after securing his own success without a seminary education, is, if it be Spurgeon, to set up his Pastor's College, or if it be Conwell, to set up his Temple College, all for the purpose of educating men for the ministry? (Laughter.) They know well enough that if *they* can get along without an education, the rest of us cannot.

It was worth while for Col. Conwell to say what he did, for it

affords a chance to get some good for once out of me. I really think that what he said was perfectly just. The theological seminary ought to fit men in the practical way he proposes. But it is not to be by changes in instruction. The Union Theological Seminary has solved the problem. It gives \$300 a year to certain students, and expects them to go out on Sundays to city missions. This relieves them from financial embarrassment and gives them work to do. If our Baptist people will look upon the provision for beneficiary aid as a provision for city missions, and will give the worthy indigent student \$300 a year, the case is provided for. Then, again, you cannot get the preacher to study his art as men of any other profession study theirs. Where is the minister who fairly sets himself at work studying and mastering the art of sermonizing. I did not do it, and have not known anybody but Humpstone that has. (Laughter and applause.)

REV. W. C. BITTING, of New York, said :

Inasmuch as the Baptist churches of New York city did me the honor to make me the president of the Baptist City Mission, I may have something to say on this subject.

First of all we need to get a right conception of our work. There are a great number of persons who do not appreciate the divinity of the great principle of adaptation, which is also thoroughly scriptural in all its applications and manifestations. There are some who believe that the old, old gospel, preached now as in the beginning, and in the same sort of way, is sufficient for the salvation of the world. Adaptation is one of the great principles of this old, old gospel. In time past God spoke a little at a time, and in various ways to people, accommodating His revelation to their capacity to receive. In these last days He spoke by His son. The incarnation itself becomes a sublime illustration of this principle. To the Jews, Jesus spoke of His coming death in terms of Jewish altars and sacrifices, because they were familiar with such things. To the Greeks he spoke in terms of comparison with the seed that fell into the ground and multiplied itself. Paul acted on this principle, for he tried to be all things to all men, if by any means he might save some. And so we must use the grand principle of adaptation in our church work if we are ever to succeed.

I have before me, say, somewhere near an hundred combustibles, chemicals, woods, oils, and minerals. I go from one to another with a lighted taper to ignite these substances. How furiously one

flame shoots upward, another dies down dim and low, another will appear incandescent. There are flames of various colors, and some almost colorless. The essential thing in each is the fire, the heat, the warmth. It is so with every age, every town, every local church environment. What was effective in the first century will not do for the nineteenth. What worked well in the middle ages will not do for our modern times. What is good for up-town New York is not good for down-town. We must consider the various substances of time, and race, and locality about us, set all on fire with the gospel of Christ, and let each give out its own peculiar flame. The essential thing is to preach the gospel. Consult the principle of adaptation for suggestions as to methods.

My friend from Brooklyn has said that every church should study its own environment. It is well. Dr. Conwell's church does this, and becomes cosmopolitan. He has the whole city of Philadelphia sounding his praises. He is shaking that old Quaker town, of which Hyatt Smith once said, that in the last great day when Gabriel blew his horn, New York would have risen from its grave, assumed the spiritual body, been judged and assigned to heaven or hell, by the time that the inhabitants of that slow place would wake up, rub their eyes and say: "Gabriel, did thee blow?"

May I tell you what one up-town church is doing? One Sunday a Bible class of fifty young ladies said they would be glad to give some of the children of the slums a breath of fresh air. I asked for \$1,600 and got it. We opened a home by the waters of the Sound, furnished it completely, and took these children, thirty at a time, and gave each one two weeks of pleasure. It was noticeable that the expense was small. The reports of the *Tribune* fresh air fund show that it costs between \$2.50 and \$3 to send children broadcast to farmers' homes where they receive no special attention. We had the children in our own home, under our care and instruction, and the cost of everything, including lodging, three good meals a day, and transportation to and from the city, was one dollar a week for a child. The most beautiful thing about it all was that these young ladies divided themselves into bands, each one of which spent a week in the home teaching the waifs manners, morals and cleanliness. It was pitiful to hear their remarks about the beds and food. One, as he looked on the snow white sheets of his comfortable cot, said: "Golly, boys! What nice beds we've got. We won't sleep on the old planks to-night." There some children learned to thank God for the first time in their lives for the food they ate. Their hunger was as great as their delight. Said one: "I feel like getting some one to kick me all over New York because

God has not given me a stomach large enough to hold more." All sounded the praise of these ladies who took care of them, taught them to pray to God, and gave them other religious instruction. Some hid their tearful faces in the folds of the dresses of their benefactors and begged to stay there forever. One cursed the day of his birth, and declared that he did not want to go home.

It was because the Christ-life in the souls of these godly young women had stooped down and touched these boys and girls and lifted them up that the good was done. Since the days when Jesus knelt in the upper room and bathed the feet of his disciples who were to deny and forsake him ; since the day when the Son of God, under the consciousness that all things were in his power, that he had come from God and was going to God, did the lowliest act of which human history has any record ; since the time when that act set us the example, no better way of duplicating that sublime deed can be found than by sending your own church members down to the lowest parts of the city in which you live, and reaching, by self-denying acts, those who now have little sympathy, little care, and little love. The church of the classes can make a church for the masses when it does the work of Christ that lies just about it.

THE REV. DR. NORDELL, of New London, Conn., said:

I have not any special wisdom to impart on this subject this morning. I would like to speak of some personal experience in one of the smaller cities of the country, in doing this very kind of work to which reference has been made. There is no question of the power of the Gospel to reach all men everywhere, and to lift them into the kingdom of our Lord Jesus Christ. It is able to take men in all conditions of life, in the humbler spheres as well as in the higher, to take all our literature, and thought and art, and all forms of civilization at the present day, and christianize them and win them for Jesus Christ. We all agree as to that. And yet the question comes, How to do this very work? Has the Gospel achieved the end for which it was given to the world? Have we really, as Protestant churches, considered the opportunities that have come to us? Only a little while ago, I think it was last week, a mission was started in New London. There had been a feeling there, for some time past, that the churches had not been doing the work they ought to have done—had not been reaching the part of population that in our larger cities is called the dangerous class, and that threatens the welfare and the peace of our civilization. An effort was made on the part of the churches to undertake religious

work in Bradley street, one of the lowest streets of the city. My soul was made sad when the statement was made that that mission was established for the purpose of doing work which our churches fail to do, and seem altogether unable to do. Is it possible that I have so wrongly misapprehended the mission of the Church of Christ as to have supposed all these years, that it was instituted for the purpose of reaching only the upper classes in the community? Is not the Church of our Lord Jesus Christ to be a missionary organization? Is it not to possess the spirit of its Master, and to go forth into the highways and the hedges of life and bring men in, that they may be influenced by the Gospel? This mission in New London has been started by Christian men and women who are interested in reaching these classes of our population that never have darkened our church doors before. How to get them into our churches was the problem. I could not send our men and women down there. They would not go. Many of them had no time, even if they had the disposition. We employed a consecrated Christian man, a man not trained in the schools, an uneducated sailor, but full of the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ, and with the English Bible at his tongue's end, though he does not know a word of Greek or Hebrew. He has gone down there, into the slums of our little city, into the gin-shops, into the dives, into the places where Christian men and women would hardly dare to go at the peril of their lives, and brought these outcasts into the mission. And the result is that during this present week, although the mission has only been opened a few days, over a dozen men, hardened men, men who seemed to be lost to themselves and to their families and to the world, have been brought in, and on their knees before God have been led to ask for the blessings of salvation. And Capt. Potter, the leader of the mission, said yesterday, that he had been around to some of these dives to see if these men were there and found they were not in their accustomed haunts. Even this little effort on the part of our churches in New London has succeeded already in reaching a portion of the population that we had not reached before. If we are ever to solve this problem, it must be done by churches that are not contented simply by ministering to their own spiritual needs. We cannot rest satisfied with that. We must return to the simple methods and principles of the primitive Apostolic Church. Every church should be a missionary organization to reach the men and women around it. It should never be satisfied with having a pastor to preach to them on Sunday. They must themselves be willing to go out into the community and carry this Gospel to men who will not come into our churches until they are drawn in

by Christian sympathy and love. Very few in our churches can do this work. A great many of our pastors even cannot do it. We must have men and women especially trained for this work, and who are not, like some of us pastors, cursed, it seems, by the disadvantages of an elaborate theological education. (Applause.)

The REV. LEIGHTON WILLIAMS, of New York, Secretary of the Congress, said :

We must have a continual nourishing of love and fire again if we are to do anything of the kind of work talked of this morning. My own heart is greatly stirred sometimes by having a little prayer meeting in tenement houses, while I am constantly seeking to learn the very newest and best methods, yet at the same time too many methods are instructions as to how to work with the long-handled shovel, when the best thing would be to throw away the long-handled shovel and get down into the ditch yourself. In the celebrated trial of Horn Took, Lord Eldon, in the close of his fervent plea, commenced to speak of the little patrimony he had, but he wished to hand down his honor untarnished, and it was part of his honor to convict the defendant. Lord Manners commenced to weep at this point, and as the two learned jurists wept together, Horntook feared the effect on the jury, and so in a loud stage whisper he said to the one sitting nearest him, "You know what Sir John Manners is weeping at. He is weeping to think of the destitute condition of Sir John Scott's children when the little patrimony comes to be divided." (Laughter.) I did not know when we were speaking of spiritual needs and destitution whether a moral could be drawn from this story or not, but feared perhaps it might. Certainly we cannot love those whom we do not intimately know. We cannot love humanity in general. We must get right close down in the districts where we work, and learn their needs. There is in New York a guild which operates on just that principle, and they do seem to get at the people, because they live in the district, vote in the district, and are interested in the people. No sort of method is going to succeed which does not look to interest all the members of every kind and age of both sexes. What would you think of a regiment in which the Colonel was the only fighting man and the rest all suttlers and camp followers? Our methods must be such as to arouse all the membership. Look in every direction in learning methods, the Roman Catholic Church and the Episcopalians, they do get at the poor wonderfully in our great cities. One Father Huntingdon gets at the people, and I know

they thoroughly respect him. In England they have gone further than in this country. I would advise some of our brethren, if their health fails them next summer, to spend time in London studying what the polytechnic is doing.

THE HON. E. NELSON BLAKE, of Boston, said :

The first speaker said in some churches the minister was the only working man and the laymen were doing nothing, and the minister did the work of twelve. If I had been the pastor of that church one year or ten years and could not infuse my spirit into those members, I should think I was to blame. Let me give you a little bit of experience. In Chicago, in the Second Church, every Sunday night, Pastor Lawrence preaches to from 1,500 to 1,700 people. There are other churches of the same denomination in that city to whom four pastors do not preach to the same number. An early pastor of that church, Dr. Edgar Goodspeed, was a man who took it when it had only about 200 members, but when that church membership had run up to twelve hundred, he knew them by name and could locate them on the street and recognize them. Do you wonder that church was built up? Now, brethren of the clergy, if I am to be the only laymen to speak to you, I want to speak from the layman's side. There is a blame here. I know of churches where the laymen have had to resist the tendency to move out of the business portion of the city into more fashionable quarters, where the laymen have had to resist the pastor. Some of you are ambitious; you want a fine church in a fine locality. Have not some of you, who are pastors of city churches, been a little ambitious to take your church out of the masses into the better portion of the city? If any one should remain, I think, it should be the old church; let the old church remain, and let your mission be placed in the new quarter. It is far easier to bring the rich to the poor man's home than to bring the poor to the rich man's home. That is true in social life and true in religious life. I know a church in one of our large cities that had a large membership and a large Sunday-school in its original location, but they moved it out where the rich members lived, and now they hold from thirty-eight to forty sessions of the Sunday-school during the year, and its membership in the Sunday-school is small. The tendency is to have a church for the rich and a church for the poor. The Rev. Mr. Faunce referred to that in his masterly address at the last meeting of the Boston Social Union. The Church of the "Acts of the Apostles" was a church where the rich man came in and helped the poor man. John D.

Rockefeller is doing more for the poor all over this country, than if he gave up his business and went to preaching. God honors all men who honor Him, and gives them the means to help others—and that is their place of labor. Brother Humpstone is right. A man may have a call to labor and be successful in business, so that he can give something; but put him up as a preacher or teacher, or missionary, and he would be a miserable failure. God calls the laymen to take some part in this work; if to business, let them do it faithfully for Him. And, brethren, remember what Paul said: “For I determined not to know anything among you save Jesus Christ, and Him crucified.” Take that as your determination and you will have no difficulty about filling your churches. Preach Jesus Christ and let all “isms” alone. (Applause.)

REV. JOHN SCOTT, of Waterbury, said :

I felt, when sending in my name, that it was almost presumption on my part. What is the matter with the cities? (Laughter.) The trouble is there is a class of people in the cities who feel that self-improvement is impossible. The old methods will reach the other class to a certain extent. I say this out of an experience of ten years in the South, and ten in the West. In the South, among the colored people, this difficulty was largely removed, from the fact that the great benevolent organizations make the colored people, among the poor, feel that wherever they are they can be improved; and to a certain extent this difficulty is removed in the West, because those that are able to get into the West and begin work there have gone there with the idea of self-improvement. But there is a large class of people in our Eastern cities that do not feel that self-improvement is possible, and for this reason they need some help. Until they are made to feel, by some method or other, that self-improvement is possible, they cannot be lifted up. For this reason something outside the old ways of working must be organized. You can see the extreme of the case in Europe. I went to Southern Europe and felt like saying, What is the matter with Europe? Look down through the streets of Rome, or any of those Southern European cities, and there are a class of people swarming in those back streets and alleys to whom the preaching of the Gospel *per se* would not raise them; you must make them feel that self-improvement is possible. If you could go among these people in these Eastern cities and persuade them there are means of self-improvement open to them; means of educating themselves to some extent; clothing themselves, and, to some extent, of acquiring some of the refine-

ments of life—make this beginning and make them believe it, then you can begin to lift them up, and you cannot reach these people to make these impressions altogether with the old method. If you can first get them out and get them started, there is nothing better than to make men believe that a certain amount of self-denial will enable them to improve themselves. But what are you going to do with the hundreds and thousands of mechanics, that feel they cannot earn more than enough to barely live; that they cannot improve; cannot take care of their families; cannot educate their children? And it is this impression that the simple preaching of the Gospel will not remove. These means have to be furnished to them as a basis for this improvement, and it is because of the force of this thought that I wanted—although a stranger just coming into the Baptist denomination—to say what I knew, out of my own observation, in regard to this one point.

Third Day.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

The President called the session to order at ten minutes after two.

After the singing of the hymn "Hark, the voice of Jesus calling," the REV. ALBERT G. LAWSON, D. D., of Boston, engaged in prayer.

The President then introduced the REV. AUGUSTUS H. STRONG, D. D., LL. D., President of Rochester Theological Seminary, as the reader of the first paper on Divine Immanence in Recent Theology.

THE DIVINE IMMANENCE IN RECENT THEOLOGY.

BY PRESIDENT AUGUSTUS H. STRONG, D. D., ROCHESTER THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.

Every great system of error has in it a grain of truth, and it is this truth rather than the falsehood mingled with it, that gives the system its hold and power among men. This is what Frederick W. Robertson meant when he spoke of "the soul of good in things evil." The single good kernel is buried in a heap of chaff; but we

must find and set aside the good before we can deprive the evil of its seeming weight and influence. It is the immeasurable distinction of Christianity and the proof of its divine origin that it not only contains all these grains of truth which give power to other systems, but presents them in clear and exalted forms without the slightest admixture of error.

EXCLUSIVE TRANSCENDENCE IS DEISM.

There are two great truths of Scripture and of theology which are essential to our conception of God; the truth of God's immanence on the one hand, and the truth of God's transcendence on the other. They are mutually complementary hemispheres in our rounded globe of doctrine; like the pillars Jachin and Boaz, they are twin warders of the sanctuary. But either one of them taken by itself to the exclusion of the other, may become a great error. A half truth is a whole falsehood. The English deism of the seventeenth century was simply an exaggeration of the truth of the divine transcendence. It had influence even upon subsequent defenders of the faith. Christian apologists, such as Paley, conceived of God as a workman who lives outside of his work, like the watchmaker who makes the watch, but sells it to the owner; like the shipwright who launches the ship, but commits it to the sailors. Such doctrine wrought incidental harm to theology and merited the scornful characterization of Carlyle: "An absentee God, sitting idle ever since the first Sabbath at the outside of the universe and seeing it go."

Yet it would be wrong to say that the opposite truth of God's immanence has ever been lost out of the experience of the church. The presence of God in nature, the consciousness of which gives such a warmth and glow to the 104th Psalm, has its counterpart in the experience of every New Testament believer. The indwelling of a divine Redeemer in the heart has been a part of the Christian consciousness ever since Christianity began—in fact, "Christ in you, the hope of glory," is the very essence of the Christian religion. God's indwelling is a truth without which no true religion is possible; and Augustine, who has been accused of ignoring it, has left to the world no more famous saying than that in which he recognizes it: "O, God, thou hast made us for thyself, and our heart is restless till it find rest in thee!"

EXCLUSIVE IMMANENCE IS PANTHEISM.

As deism is an exaggeration of the truth of divine transcendence, so pantheism is an exaggeration of the truth of divine immanence.

Its plausibility and attraction consists in this, that it continually emphasizes and exclusively inculcates God's universal and perpetual abiding in the things and the beings he has made. The error of pantheism is that it holds to God's immanence alone, and makes this an exhaustive expression of the truth. The truth of God's immanence needs to be qualified by the truth of God's transcendence. And this the Scripture does. There we read of "One God and Father of all, who is above all, and through all, and in you all." There is the truth of pantheism—God is "through all, and in you all." But then, the apostle who writes these words shows the incalculable superiority of Christianity to pantheism, by putting in the forefront the truth of which pantheism never dreamed. Before he speaks of God as "through all, and in you all," he speaks of God as "above all." Now, we have a basis for immanence, in the transcendent existence of God. Before the world, and outside of the world, God is forevermore.

In the great pendulum-swing of human thought, this last truth of God's transcendence is now coming to be ignored. We live in a time of pantheistic tendencies, and all our literature is affected by them. As Paley was unconsciously influenced by the very deism which he attacked, so many Christian thinkers of the present day are powerfully influenced by the pantheism with which they intend to be at war. They dwell upon God's immanence, to the exclusion of God's transcendence. They so merge him in the universe, that the personal and living God is in danger of being lost sight of. It will be of service to consider this exaggeration of the divine immanence, and to point out the perils to which it is exposed. I desire, first, to notice certain tenets by which this method of thought is characterized; then, secondly, I shall attempt to furnish the antidote, by calling attention to facts which refute it.

CONTINUOUS CREATION VS. CREATION.

This method of thought substitutes, for creation, the idea of continuous creation. It denies that there ever was any real beginning of the universe. God has always been creating, and he is creating still. Creation is a continual necessity, because no single thing in the universe has any independent existence or power. The moon in the sky does not owe its existence at this moment to the fact that it existed a moment ago,—God must at each successive instant create it over again. Even God cannot make anything that shall last a moment after he has created it.

Now it is true that science cannot tell us of beginnings,—it only records changes. Geology, as has been well said, is the auto-

biography of the earth; no autobiography can tell the story of its author's birth; and geology cannot tell how the world first came into being. But what science cannot do, revelation does do; the problem before which science stands petrified, as by the stare of a Gorgon, Scripture solves: "By faith we understand that the worlds have been framed by the word of God, so that what is seen hath not been made out of things which do appear." How significant it is that the very first word of the Bible is one that asserts, over against this false doctrine that God is only *in* the world, the great truth that God existed *before* the world; that creation is not a series of acts without beginning; that the entire universe had a beginning; that this beginning was due to God: "In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth." How significant it is that the Sabbath day has been established as a perpetual monument to God's creative activity, so that Sabbath bells and Sabbath worship are ever recurring divine testimonies to God's transcendence, to the fact that he is above the world as well as in it, to the fact that "heaven, and the heaven of heavens, cannot contain him."

EVOLUTION VS. PROVIDENCE:

This method of thought substitutes, for God's providence, a merely natural evolution. It will not grant that there are any second causes in nature. All is the direct work of God, and God works only in lines of regular development.

Now we grant that there was a time when too much was ascribed to mere external fiat, and too little to natural growth. But this was not the fault of Scripture, it was the fault of man's short-sighted interpretations of Scripture. The Bible recognizes development; the earth brings forth, the tree yields fruit whose seed is in itself, and man is fruitful and multiplies. But the account in Genesis is not only prefaced by the originating act of God, it is supplemented by successive manifestations of creative power in the introduction of brute and of human life. Here, too, Scripture gives an answer to questions which science cannot solve. Along the line of development there are breaks which science cannot fill. How could the organic come from the inorganic, the vegetable from the stone or the clod? Science cannot tell us. How did the animal originate from the plant? Science is silent. Did man come from the brute? Science cannot prove it; the links are missing. Can Christ be explained as a natural evolution from the Pharisees and Sadducees? Was Paul, the apostle, only a natural outgrowth from Saul, the persecutor? Who does not see that these gaps in the line of development need to be filled in by new-creating activities of

God; that they prove the existence of a God above nature, as well as in nature; that they witness to God's transcendence, as well as to his immanence ?

NATURAL LAW VS. MIRACLES AND INSPIRATION.

This method of thought would substitute, for miracles and inspiration, a God who works only through natural law. We are asked whether the daily miracle of the sunrise and the sunset is not better than sporadic exhibitions of divine power. No, we reply, not if sin blinds men to the presence of God in these uniformities of nature. The dull heart needs special proofs of God's power and special communications of his love. To say that everything is miracle, is simply to say that nothing is miracle; to say that everybody is more or less inspired, is simply to say that nobody is inspired, and that one book is no more authoritative than another.

Why do we have Christmas presents in Christian homes? Because the parents do not love their children at other times? No; but because the children's minds become sluggish in the presence of merely regular kindness, and special gifts wake them up to gratitude. Shall God alone be shut up to dull uniformity of action? Shall God alone be unable to make special communications of his love? Frances Power Cobbe says well: "It is a singular fact that, whenever we find out how a thing is done, our first conclusion seems to be that God did not do it." The more law the sinful soul sees, the less God it recognizes, and, therefore, God at times mercifully breaks through the chain of ordinary sequences, and shows that they do not exhaust his power. Miracle and inspiration prove that God is not entombed in nature, but that he is above nature, a transcendent as well as an immanent God.

DIVINE ACTIVITY VS. SIN.

This method of thought substitutes, for sin, a form of the divine activity. The tendency to identify all natural causes with God's working is also a tendency to identify the human will with God's working. To those who hold this view, there really is but one substance,—man and nature alike are but modifications of the divine being. And, therefore, sin is the product of divine causality, the strange creation of the all-working God. Such a conclusion is, of course, so plainly immoral, and so destructive of our fundamental conceptions of God, that it needs to be spoken with bated breath and to be veiled in ambiguous phrase. Sin is called a metaphysical necessity, a mere negation, a dark back-ground without which good could not appear in its true brightness.

But all this is the direct contradiction to conscience and to Scripture. These testify that sin is the abominable thing that God hates, that it is the product of the human will, not of the divine activity. Man is himself a creative first cause, and he has used his creative activity in the production of moral evil. Here we have the proof that monism is false. God and man are not of the same substance—else moral evil had been impossible. Every monistic system breaks in pieces when it attempts to deal with the fact of sin. The accusations of conscience and the threatenings of God are swift witnesses to disprove any exercise-theory, or negation-theory, which would transfer the blame of sin from man to his Maker; and those who make the human soul the mere manifestation of an *anima mundi*, or world-soul, need well to ponder God's words: "Woe unto them that call evil good, and good evil; that put darkness for light, and light for darkness!"

HUMANITY VS. DEITY IN CHRIST.

This method of thought substitutes for deity in Jesus Christ, a mere humanity after the model of our own. The old way of denying Christ's deity was by making him to be only man. The new way of denial is much more subtle and ingenious; it simply says that we are all God. "Jesus Christ is the only God," said William Blake to Crabb Robinson, "and so am I, and so are you." Because God is in all men, all men are therefore God; and Jesus Christ is a being not different in kind from ourselves. So we find Hegel writing: "I can say with Christ, not only that I teach the truth, but that I am the truth." And in the *Paradise Lost*, John Milton represents even the prince of fallen angels as saying:

"the son of God I am, or was;
And if I was, I am; relation holds;
All men are sons of God."

Yet these utterances are only logical consequences of this exaggeration of the divine immanence of which I have been speaking. When the only God that exists is the God in us and in the universe, then the transition is easy to self-deification and the deification of nature.

But, as if in preparation for this modern doctrine that all men are sons of God in the same sense that Jesus is, the Scripture speaks of "the only-begotten Son which is in the bosom of the Father," and of "the glory which he had with the Father before the world was." Christ is Son in a sense not predicable of the most exalted creature. He is Son by being of the same essence or substance

with the Father, uncreated and eternal. The essence or substance of man's being is of a different sort—it once was not, and it now is, only by the creative act of God. Christ saves us from idolatry of the creature, by presenting in himself the true image of the Godhead, by showing us that there are heights of divine purity and power which our human nature cannot reach. Without belief in this transcendent God who manifests himself in Christ, the arch of Christian faith loses its keystone and falls. As the apostle John declares: "Every spirit that confesseth not that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh is not of God; and this is that spirit of Antichrist, whereof ye have heard that it should come; and even now already is it in the world."

SUBJECTIVE VS. OBJECTIVE ATONEMENT.

This method of thought substitutes, for an objective atonement to God for human sin, the mere subjective moral influence of Jesus' life and example. Everything on this theory is internal. Our thoughts are turned within. We hear of salvation by character. The trouble is that we have no character that we can be saved by. Our character is a bad character. We need to hear, not of salvation *by* character, but of salvation *from* character. Good character is the result, but it is not the ground, of our acceptance with God. And over against the bad character of which conscience accuses us, and corresponding to the sense of ill-desert within, is the objective holiness of God which condemns us.

How be rid of guilt for ill-doing and ill-being? This theory can consistently answer only by denying the fact of guilt, and identifying it with subjective impurity. How be free from fear of God's judgment? This theory can consistently answer only by denying that justice in God is anything more than love. The necessity of atonement is removed by annihilating the fundamental attribute of God. Man does not need forgiveness, but only reformation. I do not see how this doctrine of a merely immanent God, working in man's heart, can ever satisfy the clamors of the remorseful conscience, or give peace to the sinner. Nothing but the atonement made to God in our behalf by a crucified Saviour can do that. When we come to the question of salvation, we must remember that it is a transcendent God with whom we have to deal. It is an objective guilt that needs to be removed, a God above us who needs to be reconciled. We want one who has gone into the heavens, and has presented there, as our priest, the blood of Calvary. When we

see Christ as our atoning Saviour, then, and not till then, can we sing :

“ A guilty, weak, and helpless worm
On thy kind arms I fall ;
Be thou my strength and righteousness,
My Saviour and my all.”

NATURAL CONSEQUENCES VS. PENALTY.

This method of thought substitutes, for penalty, the mere natural consequences of transgression. Punishment is regarded as only the reaction of natural law, the impotence of the broken limb, the pain which disease brings in its train. The only results of sin are subjective results. We are told that the present generation has not so great an appetite for retribution as our grandfathers had. It is thought unscientific to insist that there is a soul to be punished—psychology without a soul answers all our needs. And, with belief in a soul, belief also in a God who can destroy both soul and body in hell is relegated to the realm of exploded superstitions.

Now, we grant that natural consequences are a part of the penalty of sin, but we deny that they exhaust it. In all penalty there is a personal element—the personal wrath of the lawgiver—which natural consequences only partially express. The boy's disobedience may have cost him the tearing of his clothes and the bruising of his body, but it is not that which makes him afraid. What he fears is the sight of his father's face, and the infliction of the threatened punishment. So, over and above nature and nature's laws, is the living God, into whose hands it is a fearful thing to fall. Men fear death, because they fear to meet God. Natural law works *before* death—but *after* death comes judgment. When we so exaggerate the doctrine of God's immanence as to deny that there is any difference between this world of probation and the other world of retribution, when we hold out hopes of grace and mercy in the next world to those who die impenitent in this, we are not only going beyond all warrant of Scripture, but we are imperilling men's souls. I know nothing about the terms of salvation but what the Bible tells me, and that speaks of a great gulf fixed, and of a time when change of state is impossible. God is transcendent, as well as immanent ; before him we are to give account ; there is to be a revelation of his righteous judgment different from anything which natural law discloses ; “ to fall into the hands of the living God ” is to fall into the hands, not simply of the law, but also of the lawgiver.

It costs us too much then to accept the doctrine of the divine

immanence as an exclusive statement of the truth. With the loss of the divine transcendence, we lose the personal and living God, identify him with nature, and endanger the most important articles of the Christian faith. We can intelligently hold to Creation, Providence, Miracles, Inspiration, Sin, the Deity and Atonement of Christ, and Future Retribution, only so long as we maintain with the apostle that God is "above all," as well as "through all" and "in you all." But there are certain facts of our mental and moral nature which even more conclusively refute the prevalent exaggeration of God's immanence and demonstrate the truth of his transcendence. They are the facts of free-will on the one hand, and of conscience on the other. To this second portion of my theme I now invite attention.

FREE-WILL PROVES TRANSCENDENCE.

There is no fact of our moral nature more important or significant than that of free-will. Free-will is proof that we are not simply *in* nature, but that we are *above* nature. The brute is not so,—he is a purely natural being; he acts only as he is acted upon; to use the apt simile of Dr. Samuel Harris, he is like a balloon driven hither and thither unresistingly by the currents that set around him. But man is distinguished from the beast by the fact that in him is a supernatural element; he has a power of initiative and self-movement; he acts, at least sometimes, from within; he is like a ship, which, though subject to influences of wind and tide, can yet set its sails and determine its course at pleasure.

There is, of course, an automatic element in man; heredity and environment and character, to a large extent, bind him; most of his acts are, probably, determined by what he is and by the influences that work upon him. But this is not the whole of him; at times he shows a power to work against his surroundings and his past character, and to strike out a new course; he can act upon nature, and accomplish what nature, left to herself, never could. I show my *freedom* when I decide, after long debate, that I will walk to the centre of the town instead of remaining at my house; I show the *automatic* exercise of will when I put one foot before another, and almost unconsciously take the multitude of successive steps which are necessary to the carrying out of my purpose.

DETERMINISM ONLY A HALF-TRUTH.

Determinism, or the theory that I am merely the creature of my surroundings, takes account of my automatic or executive action, but ignores the higher function of my will—that free choice between

alternatives. Consciousness testifies that we are not shut up to one course alone. And when the determinist insists that the freedom of the will is freedom to act only in one way, we reply that such freedom is no freedom at all. "Johnny," says the mother, "did you give your little sister the choice between those two apples, this morning?" "Yes, mother," says Johnny, "I told her she could have the little one or none, and she choose the little one." Evidently there was not much freedom there.

Let us deny and denounce the doctrine that the human will can run only in a groove; that it is incapable of unique decisions; that it is a part of nature. But, if *man* be above nature and greater than nature, shall not *God* be so also? And shall we not also deny and denounce the doctrine that *God's* will can run only in a groove, that *it* is incapable of unique decisions; that *it* is a part of nature? So the consciousness of a transcendent element in us gives the assurance of a transcendent element in God. Knowing free-will in ourselves, seeing that God has disjoined from himself a certain portion of force and has constituted it into independent wills, we find no difficulty in believing that God has also in nature disjoined from himself certain portions of force, and has made them second causes.

God is not the only agent in the universe. The world is not a ghostly procession of divine ideas. Divine *will* has gone to the making of it. In *nature* we have a realm of necessitated agencies yet with powers of their own; in *humanity* we have a realm of free beings, not parts and particles of God, but relatively independent of him and capable of subduing nature to their control; in *God* we have the primary Cause of all, free from all limitations except those which he has himself chosen; the Maker of the world and the Lord of it, not buried and hidden within its sequences, not shut up to uniform and automatic action, but able to do unique things, things never done before and never to be done again, like the creation of the world and the resurrection of our Lord Jesus Christ. Wisdom does not mean monotony with God, any more than it does with us. Single acts with him, as with us, mark crises in the development of his plans and the revelation of his character. The laws of nature are the habits of God, but through the laws of nature break now and then flashes of his almightiness that prove him to be not simply an immanent but also a transcendent God.

CONSCIENCE PROVES TRANSCENDENCE.

There is another fact of human nature which throws light upon our subject, and that is the fact of conscience. Conscience wit-

nesses to the existence of an authority above us and above the world. As Diman has said: "Conscience does not lay down a law; it warns us of the existence of a law; and not only of a law, but of a purpose—not our own, but the purpose of another, which it is our mission to realize." In the words of Murphy: "Conscience proves personality in the Lawgiver, because its utterances are not abstract, like those of reason, but are in the nature of command; they are not in the indicative, but in the imperative mood; it says, 'thou shalt' and 'thou shalt not.' This argues Will."

"The atheist," says Tullock, "regards conscience, not as a skylight, opened to let in upon human nature an infinite dawn from above, but as a polished arch or dome, completing and reflecting the whole edifice beneath." But conscience cannot be the reflection and expression of nature, for it represses and condemns nature. "Like the magnetic needle, it indicates the existence of a mighty power which from afar controls its vibrations, and at whose presence it trembles." The moral law to which it witnesses is not self-imposed, and the threats of judgment which it utters are not self-executing. Conscience is not itself God's voice—it is, rather, the echo of God's voice; it is not God, but a part of self. And yet it tells of something above self and above the world—of God, not as immanent but as transcendent.

CONSCIENCE REFLECTS GOD'S HOLINESS.

This testimony of conscience is the most sublime fact of human nature; and, if we interpret it rightly, it will, more than any other fact of our nature, disclose to us the nature of God. "The relationship between the terms consciousness and conscience, which are in fact but forms of the same word, testifies to the fact that it is in the action of conscience that man's consciousness of himself is chiefly experienced." "As perception gives us Will in the shape of Causality over against us, so Conscience gives us Will in the shape of Authority over against us." It is a perpetual monument and memento of the Holiness of God, in whose image we are made. We learn that, as Conscience is supreme in the moral constitution of man, and before it every other impulse and affection has to bow, so Holiness is supreme in God and conditions the exercise of every other attribute of his nature.

God's holiness is symbolized and reflected in our moral constitution, but it is not exhaustively exhibited there. That holiness is not only outside of our conscience, but it is greater than our conscience. "If our own heart condemn us, God is greater than our heart and knoweth all things." So, in our ethical nature as well

as in our voluntary nature, we have the evidence that God not only is "through all," and "in you all," but is also "above all"—in other words, our own being gives us proof that God is transcendent as well as immanent.

EXCLUSIVE IMMANENCE DESTROYS THEISM.

If we give up this transcendence, and believe in nothing but the immanent God to whom so many modern teachers would confine us, we might as well give up our Theism as well as our Christianity. For a God who is simply conterminous with the universe, and necessarily bound up with it, is neither almighty nor sovereign, nor blessed nor free. Nothing is left us but a God who is only the obverse side or secondary aspect of the universe itself; a God who is in constant process of growth and evolution, and so is neither infinite nor perfect, neither personal nor living, nor holy. Since there is no God outside the process of existing things, God exhausts himself in his present work; everything, good or bad, is the best that now can be; even God himself could not better my lot, for he has no strength beyond what he now exerts; there is no eye to pity and no arm to save. This is only the God of pantheism—a blind, dumb idol, substituted for the living God.

But does this exaggeration of the divine immanence cost us the loss of God only? Ah, no! we lose man also. For with the freedom and holiness of God, we lose man's freedom and responsibility also. A *God* who is only another name for natural law must have for his complement a *man* who is but another name for natural law also. Man is but the creature of circumstance; his high ideals are dreams, impossible of fulfilment; there is no God, outside of and above the stream of things, to utter to him words of love or to satisfy his infinite desires; his very being is a mere part of nature, and, like nature itself, transitory and vanishing; "his self-consciousness is a spark struck in the dark, to die away in the darkness whence it has arisen." With what poetic justice is the truth avenged! Man, in his sins, cannot bear the august picture of the God who is above all, and so makes for himself the image of a God confined to nature; but, worshipping this, he finds himself divested of his higher powers of will and conscience, and comes to picture himself also as confined to nature. In attacking God, we ruin ourselves. We tear the crown from our own brows when, in our blasphemy and folly, we "limit the holy One of Israel."

RELIGIOUS VALUE OF TRANSCENDENCE.

But, on the other hand, how great is the advantage to Christian faith and to Christian life of a strong hold upon the truth of God's

transcendence. Only as we believe in it, do we apprehend the real greatness of God. The universe is finite, and a God confined to the universe is limited in wisdom and in power. Therefore, the Scripture sets God above, puts his dwelling-place in heaven, represents him as coming down to behold what is going on upon the earth. This, of course, is one side only of the truth, but it is, after all, the most important side. Immanence would be of little value, but for this background of transcendence. But, when we are told that the nations are before him but as grasshoppers, the small dust of the balance of which the tradesman makes no account in weighing, the drop of the bucket that trickles and falls into the well unnoticed, then we begin to appreciate how great a God he is, with whom we have to do.

God is not in the universe, so much as the universe is in him. The universe is but the breath of his mouth—the drop of dew upon the fringe of his garment. God has never yet expended the tithe of his resources. Nature only partially reveals him. The eye of imagination can sweep over the whole vast collection of things which he has made, and yet say with Job : “ Lo, these are but the outskirts of his ways, and how small a whisper do we hear of him ; but the thunder of his power who can understand ? ” In God are yet unopened treasures, an inexhaustible fountain of new beginnings, new creations, new revelations. “ Mercy shall be built up forever,” says the psalmist—the revelation of God’s mercy is an edifice that is ever building, never built ; stone shall be added to stone forever. Never throughout the endless future, as Christ leads forward his sacramental host to ever larger knowledge and joy, will there come a time when he cannot turn and say to them : “ Greater things than these shall ye see ! ”

It is a wonderful thing that the humblest believer can call this transcendent God his friend. That an infinite being should think of me, love me, save me from myself, make me his son and heir, this is something beyond the power of mere human reason to discover or to grasp. But it was precisely to remove my doubts, and to convince me of this, that the transcendent God came out of the light which no man hath seen or can see, and entered into the darkness of this world. A supernatural and miraculous Saviour, God manifested in human flesh, crucified and buried, but the third day risen from the dead—these simple and attested historical facts are my guarantee, as against all speculative difficulties and unbelieving fears, that he is not dead, or shut up in nature, or reduced to mere uniformities of action. In the cross of Christ eighteen hundred years ago, and in the work of the regenerating spirit to-day,

I find the proof and assurance I so sorely need, that there is "One God and Father of all who is above all," as well as "through all, and in you all."

TRANSCENDENCE IN ART.

In many of our cities the "Angelus" of Millet has recently been exhibited. It represents two toil-worn peasants at sunset, ceasing from their work at the sound of the distant church-bell, to lift up hearts of gratitude and worship to the God above. As the two sombre figures with bowed heads stand there against the evening sky, the whole heaven is luminous and the very silence seems to speak. The picture has been criticised because the landscape is not minutely painted, and the gradation of aerial effects is not technically correct. But the obvious reply is that Millet has aimed to paint, not *air*, but *prayer*. The artist is more than an artist; more than a mere imitator of nature; he sets before us the ideal truth of which nature is the symbol; we see the dignity of humble labor, the dependence of man upon a higher power, the glory of communion with the infinite and invisible One.

Millet's "Angelus" was born of Bible-reading and religious reverence; it expresses the deep sense of God's transcendence; and this, even more than its artistic quality, makes the picture great. The highest art is the handmaid of religion—that only is the highest art which leads us from nature up to nature's God. It is not the God who is interfused through all things that is the subject and inspiration of the "Angelus."

The soul, oppressed, and benumbed by the unvarying round of nature, seeks outlet and relief; and, if there be no transcendent God, the deepest want of our being is forever unsatisfied. At times we feel that we cannot longer live unless God reveal himself to us. We cry like David: "O, Lord, my Rock, be not silent to me; lest, if thou be silent to me, I become like them that go down into the pit." Amid our heavy burdens we pray, as Moses prayed: "I beseech thee, show me thy glory!" And then, while we are hidden from the world as in a cleft of the rock, God makes his glory to pass before us, and proclaims to us his ineffable name, and in the strength of that meat we go many days.

THE BEST PROOF OF TRANSCENDENCE.

So we have proofs of the supernatural, better than any picture can give,—namely, the personal dealings of God with our souls. To many and many a Christian the beginning of the Christian life was marked by such a revelation to him of the living God. He has,

moreover, the promise of yet other revelations along the Christian way,—Christ has given definite assurance that he will manifest himself to his followers as he does not to the world.

It is the business of the believer to seek the fulfilment of this promise,—to pray for special communications of this grace and love. But not for his own sake only,—for the sake of others also. God certifies himself to the Christian, that the Christian may certify him to the world. So the Psalmist prayed: “O God, forsake me not, until I have showed thy strength to this generation, and thy power to every one that is to come!” In the design of God each individual joined to Christ is to be, in the answers to prayer which he receives, in the pure and spiritual life which he leads, in the benignant and quickening influence which he exerts, a living demonstration of the supernatural, a proof stronger than any syllogism can afford that God has come down out of the heights of his glory to redeem and save. May we not hope that, in spite of the mighty drift of our time toward a denial of God’s power and divinity, a multitude of his saints will still have in themselves, and will still give to others, this mightier and more convincing witness to the transcendence of God?

REV. DR. MOXOM, instead of reading, spoke as follows :*

While listening to Dr. Strong’s paper I forgot during a part of it that I was listening to a philosophical discussion, and thought I was listening to a sermon with its fervid and glowing periods. It will have something of the effect of a sudden cold shower bath to recall your minds to the definite philosophical question that I submit is presented in the theme before us. Many of the consequences, or the differences, from the doctrine of the Divine Immanence which have been stated to us in Dr. Strong’s able paper are not only not legitimate but not fairly tolerable. If I rightly understand the word immanence as applied to the being of God, I conceive it from the point of view of the Christian thinker. It is impossible for me even to attempt, in the few minutes I have this afternoon, and with the scant opportunity I have had to prepare for this meeting, to give you anything like a careful and connected philosophical dis-

* It is right to say that Dr. Moxom was appointed not to read a paper but to make an address, after two papers by careful writers, on another and entirely different subject. At a late date the subject was changed, and not until within three or four days of the time for the Congress to assemble was he informed that there was to be but one paper on the substituted subject. So much explanation is due both Dr. Moxom and the Congress.

course on this theme, but I wish to point out certain truths that are involved, which are fundamental to the whole discussion.

The idea that we have of God is determinative of all our thinking on man and the universe, especially on the nature and the destiny of man. In the conception of God which is given to us pre-eminently in the New Testament of our Lord Jesus Christ, in the naive and unphilosophical terminology of our Lord and his Apostle, immanence and transcendence are not antithetical but complementary; they both belong to the fundamental idea of God, each as necessary as the other, both inseparable. The separation of one or the other leaves us but a caricature of Deity. Let me clear your minds, if they need clearing, by reminding you that immanence is not identity, and that transcendence is not externality; that the idea of immanence is involved in the very idea of the absolute and infinite being of God; that God, as the absolute and infinite, is unthinkable, apart from the idea of His immanence; and that the idea of moral personality is the idea of transcendence. God is transcendent as well as immanent—because He is the infinite personality as well as the Absolute Being. The terms “in” and “over” are misleading. Is God in the universe? Yes. Is He over the universe? Yes; for He is the absolute and the infinite, without whom nothing exists. In Him all things, all creatures, have their reason of being. He is always immanent and He is always transcendent. Creation—the term itself is a confession of our incapacity to conceive that which seems to be apart from God. What is creation? Have we reached any deeper or truer thought than that things, or what we call things, are but the objectifications of a will and an intelligence that are the ground and the reason of all being?

Now Pantheism is not, I should say, an exaggeration of the doctrine of immanence, but it is rather an identification of God with the universe, which is an essentially different idea. Pantheism, if it does not identify God with the phenomenal universe, does identify Him with the noumenal universe. Its fundamental defect is its identification of the whole of God with the noumenal universe, and its denial of free self-conscious personality, which is the essence of transcendence. I have distinguished between the ideas of immanence and pantheism because pantheism is the identification of God with the universe, while immanence is not. The term pantheism brings at once to mind the name of Spinoza, who stands as the chief representative of pantheistic thought. With him God is the one substance, of which no attributes can be predicated, and yet of which he does predicate “thought” and “extension.” The proc-

esses of the evolving order of the universe, the development of man, all the stages in the life processes of the world, are the unfoldings of the Divine. Man coming to consciousness is God coming to consciousness. Man attaining morality is God coming to morality. Then we have the curious and interesting suggestion of M. Renan, that when God attains the perfection of consciousness and of morality he will wish to go back and repair the innumerable iniquities of the past which took place while he was coming to consciousness.

Spinoza's view may justly be characterized as absurd. The fascination which Spinoza's teaching has had for the world is due to the fact that it asserts, even if it caricatures that which is as fundamental and vital to the true conception of God and of the world in the mind of man as the idea of the divine transcendence, namely, the idea of the divine immanence.

But there is a Christian doctrine of the divine immanence. Baldly stated, it is that God is the always immanent and the always transcendent life, the free, self-conscious, infinite Personality who is the absolute ground of all being, who is Himself the source and absolute end of all things. Faith implies transcendence, communion implies immanence. The idea of the divine immanence alone makes possible a rational conception of revelation, and a rational conception of salvation. The exaggeration of the doctrine of transcendence, with the suppression of the doctrine of immanence is responsible in the history of theological thought for those distortions of the idea of God, and those wrong conceptions of nature and the world which in our day have turned upon the church to plague it and make it the victim of doubt and internal struggle, to fill it with weakness and perplexity. The whole conception of the supernatural and the miraculous has been confused and made irrational or unreal by the failure clearly to apprehend the doctrine of the divine immanence.

The idea that every appearance of the supernatural is an irruption of the outside Deity, the *deus ab extra*, into the sphere of nature and human life has perpetuated a dualism that has wrought mischief, not only in theological thinking, but also in the practical life of the world. It is only the exaggeration of the idea of the divine transcendence, with the suppression of the idea, or the failure strongly to apprehend the idea, of the divine immanence that has made possible the sacerdotalism which has possessed and perverted the Christian Church. Despotic sacerdotalism, ostensibly a support and help to man, in reality is an obstruction between the soul and the soul's original, which is God. The whole history of

priesthood and ordinances claiming to operate as mediating means between man and God is a testimony to the exaggeration of the idea of transcendence, which has marked especially the whole course of the Latin theology.

So many lines of thought are suggested by the subject itself and by the paper to which we have listened, that I find myself in a state of embarrassment as to which points to take up.

The question of the relation of this idea of the divine immanence to nature is a commanding question. It is interesting to observe how certain reflex operations have been going on in the scientific and philosophical thought of men of our time. As men studied the phenomena of nature and familiarized themselves with the multitudinous facts of the natural world, and co-ordinated them into orders, and made their ever-widening generalizations, there arose the great conception of law, and that became the dominant idea of the whole scientific world,—the idea that all nature is under the control of law. For a time the abstraction law took on body and became an omnipotent force in the minds of men. It was not perceived that “law” is an abstraction, that that which it describes is not an entity but a process, and that “law” accounts for the order of things but not for the things themselves, or the motions through which they pass. Then men conceived of the idea of a universal force, the one animating force of nature manifesting itself through the laws of nature, and producing the multifold series of phenomena disclosed to the eyes of men. Then rigorous thought carried the thinker from the conception of force to the conception of will, as the very ground and source of the idea of force. Thus, the mind was led on to the apprehension of the one absolute will, of which all force is the manifestation and all law the orderly expression. So when the great idea of evolution arose in the minds of men and became a practical working force, instantly this conception filled the whole field of vision. There was seen but the one thing, evolution; evolution was the magic force which accounted for everything in the world. But as men penetrated more deeply, and the first spell of the new discovery passed somewhat from their minds, they began to work their way back to the truth that evolution is but a process; that while it is a conception of such broad utility in the interpretation of nature, and has immeasurable value as a key to many of the problems of nature and of the life of man, evolution, like “law,” is not strictly a cause but a process, and does not touch the deeper question of that which begins or carries on the evolution, or which has in it the aim and end of the whole evolutionary process. And,

so working on the basis of this great idea, the mind itself went back by severe logical and necessary processes to the idea of primordial will, the architectonic idea, the divine original mind, of which the process of evolution is but the reflection, the expression, the working out. And so, the study of nature, instead of leading the minds of the deepest thinkers away from God, has always led them back to the conception of God as necessary to a rational construction of the universe. But it is not to a God who sits enthroned afar from the world, having no interest in it save a governmental interest, but a God whom we name but cannot imagine, who is the Imminence, who is the Absolute Being, whose essence our loftiest and deepest words but hint, and of whom there are disclosures in the subtle and wonderful processes of nature—revelations of a divine presence and a divine power working in all things, revelations as direct as those which thundered from the smoking summit of Sinai, or spoke through the still small voice to the prophet. There is an ever-deepening conviction that in the process of man's mental growth a process of interpretation and harmonization is going on, and must go on until Scripture and human history and nature, the skies above us and the earth and the seas below us, all unite in one confession, in one voice of testimony to the Infinite, the Absolute, the Undefinable, the Transcendent, the Immanent Deity, of whom the universe is but the expression, by whom the things that are have come into being as the objectifications of an infinite will and an infinite reason that are the cause and ground of all being.

I have not time even to touch upon a multitude of thoughts that arise as we contemplate this theme, what is the relation of the doctrine of the divine immanence to the doctrine of second causes? The very term "second causes" is a confession of our ignorance, or rather it is but a convenience to express that phenomenal movement which we have not yet had the boldness to trace directly to its true origin. What are second causes? There is no true cause but will. There is no absolute and original cause but the Divine Will. The laws that rule nature, what are they but the expressions of that will? The forces that hold the planets in their orbits, what are they but the expressions of that one will? This universe is not a dualistic universe. However we may resist the implications of some that are put into, or seem to be put into, the term *monism*, there is a sense in which there is nothing but monism. The interpretation of the world and the course of human life become impossible, and any rational conception of man's origin and destiny is hopeless, apart from the monism of St. Paul, "In Him we live and move and have our being."

There is a difficulty, which many feel, of apprehending and trying to work out into a careful and coherent system the doctrine of the divine immanence in relation to men. The mistake is made of identifying the whole of Deity with the noumenal universe. That mistake of course involves the loss of the idea of the divine transcendence, which results from the failure to apprehend the idea of the free self-conscious moral personality in which transcendence inheres. The element of personality brings before us the fundamental mystery of human life. That man is a person, differences him from all orders of creation below him, and from all orders of being he has any idea of, except God himself. It is as a free self-conscious personality that man is in the image of God. Jean Paul Richter tells us of the birth of his self-consciousness. One day, when he was about four years old, he was looking out of the back-door of his father's house upon the woodpile, when suddenly there flashed upon him, as lightning from heaven, the consciousness, "I am I." "In that instant," he says, "I knew myself as I, for the first time and forever." A little child sitting in my house suddenly looked up and said to his aunt: "Auntie, I ain't you and you ain't me," and that child also was discriminating himself from all other beings, and beginning the mysterious process of an individual and personal life. There is that in the consciousness of personality which isolates man not only from every other thing in the world, but from his nearest fellow, and sets him absolutely alone and solitary amidst creation. There is that absolute separation between personalities, which scientists tell us exists between atoms. No atom ever touches atom; their contact is but virtual. "An ultimate sphere of force surrounds each atom with a repulsion absolutely invincible. Were the total universe made a press and brought to converge on two atoms, that dynamic investiture could not be broken through." So the element of personality separates each man from every other.

The one point at which humanity comes into actual and vital union is just at the point of the entrance of Deity into the soul of man. God himself is the ground of the unity of man. The unity of humanity inheres in the Divine Being, who is himself the unity of all things. The difficulty that arises is that of conceiving of God as immanent in the free personality, man. Jesus Christ, who came to the world, not to teach philosophy, but the truth of God concerning the way of life and salvation, in simple phrase, has yet given us in His teaching the fundamental principles of all philosophy, and He has shown us in His own person and His own sayings this truth of the unity of the personalities of men in the being of God.

He has given us the illustration and the prophecy of that union between God and man, which is to be the fulfilment of man's moral development, the realization of the divine idea in man when all shall be one in God. The words of Jesus are: "That they all may be one; as Thou, Father, art in Me, and I in Thee, that they also may be one in us." Of this unity Peter speaks as becoming "partakers of the Divine Nature." What is Jesus himself, the Word manifest in the flesh, but "the man Christ Jesus" in whom God is perfectly immanent? And what are the perfected saints of the far future, whom the eye of our faith has seen, but souls in whom the immanence of God has become perfect in self-consciousness and love? Thus, the sublime prophecy and promise of our Saviour's prayer is fulfilled, and all have become one in Him who is the bond of all unity, the source and ground of all being, and the goal of all life.

I will close with one suggestive word which I take from Frederic Henry Hedge, substituting the word immanence for pantheism and transcendence for theism. "Immanence and transcendence are not contradictory, but complementary the one of the other. Transcendence gives us the holy person, the Providential care, the moral rule; immanence gives us the diffused presence, the all-pervading life, the Divine nearness in the outspread landscape. To immanence belongs the world of Nature; to transcendence the world of Spirits." (Applause.)

The discussion of the topic was opened by Dr. E. H. JOHNSON, of Crozer, who said:

If one of Dr. Strong's boys could intimate that his old teacher had gone a little astray in his criticism, the three or four of my fellows who are here, if they got the chance to follow me, would tell you that I did not know anything about this subject. And in so doing they would consider that, though they were not saying much for me as a theologian, they were paying me a high compliment as a teacher. You noticed that a good part of Dr. Strong's paper emphasized the mischief we are going to get into if we lay stress upon the Divine immanence. I noticed that Dr. Moxom took up his time in emphasizing the mischief of not emphasizing the Divine immanence. It must have occurred to you that this is very curious doctrine. Well, so it is. The doctrine of Divine immanence is one of the curiosities of Christian theology. It may be well to indicate how this is in a few particulars; first, as regards

its relation to certain general schemes of doctrine, and then as regards the evidences for the Divine immanence.

If we find our interpretation of the relation of God to the world about us swinging all the time from the deistic notion that God is isolated from His universe, over to the pantheistic confusion of Him with His universe, it is only for just the same reason that we find our interpretation of the relation of God to ourselves, inclining to one extreme or another. We are disposed to interpret it either by Divine sovereignty or by human freedom. That correspondence of the notion of God's relation to the universe around us with His relation to the world within us has not always been noticed. For instance, Prof. Allen's book on the Continuity of Christian Doctrine, which might rather be called the Interruption of Christian Doctrine, does not notice what I have been telling you. Do you not see, if any one has the idea that God threw this world and the other worlds out and made them run themselves, the man that believes this ought to believe God flung us out and let us run ourselves? It is the Arminian that should hold to the deistical interpretation of God's universe, and so it was in Limboreh's time. If there is anybody who believes the Sovereign Author selected any individuals for salvation unconditionally from eternity, and has carried his election into effect by prevenient grace and irresistible grace, and the effectual calling of the Holy Spirit, this man, who believes the Divine Spirit is in so close a relation to us as to have its way, this man is the one who ought also to believe God is immanent in all material things. I rather like that correspondence of Calvinism with the doctrine of the Divine immanence. Because the Calvinistic doctrine as to God's relation to human souls is not agreeable, but the Calvinistic doctrine of the Divine immanence in the physical universe is highly poetical. All the loveliness and the charm are on that side.

There is considerable oddity in regard to the testimony also for the doctrine of the Divine immanence. Suppose we interrogate scripture on the subject. The Bible says, as to God's relation to all things in the sum, that in God all things consist. That is immanence, is it not? They exist in Him. If we want to learn from the New Testament God's relation to the continued existence of the souls of men, Paul tells us, as he told the Athenians, that "in him we live and move, and have our being." And this is immanence, is it not? The curious feature of Paul's statement is the sort of argument he offered. You remember that poetical quotation, "For we are also his offspring." That God is the Creator carries with it the doctrine of Divine immanence. To be our Creator is to be our con-

tinuous Creator. It only illustrates what Dr. Strong said, that God must be *before* all things in order to be *in* all things, and by being the Creator of all things introduces himself into a position to be immanent in all things.

What does physical science say on this subject? Its most magnificent achievement is the doctrine of the convertability of force. If you believe that God put forth an energy of such sort as to produce what we now call physical force, that doctrine of the correlation of energy teaches us that the energy which he put forth was simply transformed; so that physical force is divine force, manifesting itself in the physical universe.

When first considering this subject, I thought I had run against a snag in entering upon the relations to it of mental and moral science. Certainly at this point fresh curiosities of the topic begin to appear. Perhaps you noticed that, if Dr. Strong wished to make out that not all the force in the universe is divine, he appealed to the conscious freedom of the human will; while if Dr. Moxom wanted to show that all force in the universe is necessarily divine, he made his appeal to exactly the same witness. Is not this a singularity in the evidence? Where now do you get your idea of force or causal energy? Is it not in the exercise of your conscious self-determination? Even John Stuart Mill admits this, and Herbert Spencer's reference of the idea to sense of muscular resistance amounts to the same thing. If we would interpret in any intelligible way what goes on in the universe, we are actually compelled to acknowledge causation as spiritual, divine. But ask the human will again, and you get an exactly opposite response. It is precisely the human will which assures me that I decide upon my own actions, and so here, on the supposition of that all energy is divine, is a part of the divine energy which is my energy. But no, this cannot be. My energy is mine. The force with which I decide upon my conduct is my own. And some are so perplexed over these contradictory responses from the same oracle that they say, while all other energy and activity are divine, that of man constitutes an exception, and is his alone.

May we then accept this distinction? Yes, if we are prepared to admit that substance can be separated from quality; otherwise, no, for if all quality and all energy are divine and inseparable from substance, then all substance must be divine, too. But modern physics teaches that all qualities are but modes of motion, manifestations of energies. As then qualities belong to substance, inhere in it, are inseparable from it, and cannot even be thought of as actually separable, why then, the substance in which the divine qualities and

energies inhere is itself divine. The doctrine of the Divine immanence, when interpreted as an identification of all force with the Divine, cannot stop short of out and out pantheism.

(Not to be left in the predicament of advocating pantheism, the speaker has leave to add that the next sentence would have pointed out the flaw in the argument for pantheism; namely, that the doctrine of convertibility of force does not apply to the spiritual sphere; and that, if this had been made out, it would have appeared that, while God conserves and is immanent in his universe, the identification of his energies and natural forces is merely an untenable explanation of the relation called either conservation or immanence.)

Prof. NORMAN FOX, of New York, said:

It is unwise in me to take any hand in this battle of the giants, but there are one or two things that occurred to me when Dr. Strong was speaking. I could not see the force of some points that he raised against this doctrine of the Divine immanence. It seemed to me that his doctrine was indeed a belittling of God, a saying what God could not do. For instance, regarding the doctrine of creation, he says this stands in opposition to the idea of Divine immanence for the very first verse of Scripture is: "In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth." In the beginning, what beginning? When this globe was created? No, for when it came into being there were morning stars already created that sang at its birth, and it is allowable, at least, to believe that when these morning stars were created still earlier choirs of heavenly bodies sang at their birth, and so on, back, and back, and back, till when? What man is there who can stand up and say that God could not have been creating back of such a time? Does not Scripture suggest the belief that just so long as God has had a being, so long he has been putting forth the act of creation? Does Scripture anywhere teach that for endless eons God was inactive, asleep, to use a human term? What is the objection to our believing that the beginning in which God began to create was the beginning of his own being; that creation is eternal as God himself; that the creating God is as ancient as the living God? Take it again in regard to extension. I remember how, in my early thoughts, I used to think of the universe as an island with a shore, and away off outside of it God sat, and the heavenly bodies floated in space like a group of insects in the sunbeam; in other words, that the creation was limited. Does Scripture teach that? As the power of the telescope

is increased it reaches further and further into the depths, and still on and on there are created worlds, and the shore of the universe has never been reached. Is there any shore? Is there anything in Scripture that forbids us to believe that wherever God exists there the creative energy of God has been put forth. In other words, is there anything that forbids us to believe, does not the Scripture suggest rather, that the works of God are as eternal and as omnipresent as God himself? Or take the idea of penalty. Dr. Strong says there is a penalty beyond the natural results of transgression. There may be, but I do not find it taught in Scripture. I am not prepared to say that God cannot inflict the whole penalty of sin through the workings of natural causes. I do not find it taught anywhere in Scripture that God does not find, through nature, scope for all his workings. Take again the idea of evolution. Dr. Strong says this doctrine of the Divine immanence turns the idea of creation into evolution which is contradicted by Scripture. Is it contradicted by Scripture? Does not the Bible rather supplement the teachings of science on this point. The scientific difficulty in the subject of evolution is to find a bridge from the inorganic to the organic. How is it possible that organic life can come from inorganic matter? Science does not answer the question. But turn to Scripture and it says that the earth, inorganic, brought forth grass, the organic. The waters, the inorganic, brought forth fish and birds, the organic. Now I would not draw any scientific argument from these texts of Scripture. I do not think the first chapter of Genesis was written as a scientific text book, but if you quote Scripture on one side, it can be done on both sides. Dr. Strong's proof texts are very impressive, but Luther used with equal force the text: "This is my body." But if convincing texts, as strong as can be written down, do not prove the literal doctrine of transubstantiation, are there not explanations of the proof texts which have been quoted on this platform to-day, which would show they do not have the force attributed to them? I think it fortunate this subject has been brought up. We owe a deep debt to Dr. Strong for that marvellous paper, which he read us to-day. (Applause.) This subject is to be the important subject in theological discussion in the next ten or twenty years.

REV. PHILIP A NORDELL, D. D., of New London, Conn., said:

A few years ago I was led into an investigation of the biblical doctrine of the Spirit of God, especially as revealed in the Old Testament. In the course of my study I was presented with two

facts—the fact of the Divine immanence in the universe, and the fact also of the Divine transcendence. It seemed to me that the doctrine of the Divine immanence, as held by the prophets of old, and by the inspired men who have given us the books of the Old Testament, was apprehended by them in a form something like this: They regarded the Spirit of God, whom we under the light of the new dispensation hold to be the third person of the Trinity, not as a personal being, but simply as a Divine energy filling and permeating the universe. It expressed the mode of the Divine omnipresence, or, rather, of omnipresent omnipotence. Pursuing the investigation further, it seemed as though this Divine Spirit were, after all, resolvable only into the Divine will. We have heard here something of the latest generalizations of science, that all force in the universe is only an objectification of the Divine will, that in the last analysis of force it can be resolved into will power alone. If so, all the forces that we see manifested in the universe, material and spiritual, are simply manifestations of the Divine will. If the Divine Spirit is conceived of in the Old Testament as the free, active power of God—the display of the Divine energy in creation and in human history—may it not suggest that this Divine Spirit is in a certain sense also the manifestation of this Divine will everywhere present, everywhere working, everywhere displaying the power and the glory of the Divine Majesty? If this comes dangerously near to denying the personality of the spirit, yet the Old Testament holds I think also to the doctrine of the Divine transcendence just as much as to the doctrine of the Divine immanence. These two may appear contradictory and mutually exclusive, but they find their perfect harmony in the great revelation which God has given us in the person of Christ in whom we see an illustration of the Divine transcendence; for he came from God into this world and thereby proved the separation, the eternal separation, of God from the world, and thereby he refuted also every form of Pantheism into which an exaggeration of the doctrine of the Divine immanence may lead us. On the other hand, we see in Him also an illustration of the Divine immanence, for God was in Christ and Christ is in us, formed in us the hope of glory through the power of his indwelling life. Thereby He refutes every form of Deism into which an exaggeration of the Divine transcendence may lead us.

In hours of deep darkness or distress when I have withdrawn from my work and gone into my closet to be alone with God, and there, on my knees before Him, have sought strength and comfort, I did not commune with a Deity merely immanent in myself. I

knew there was a God nearer to me than my own thoughts. But this was not all. I bowed before a transcendent God; a God outside of myself, a mysterious power with which then and there I came into personal contact. How did I know it was a personal power? How do we know any kind of force? Simply by its effects. How do we discriminate forces from each other? Only by their effects. And here my soul came into contact with a new power. It was not merely a physical force, one of the forces of the material world around me. Its effect upon my own nature was exactly that of a personal power, a power from God. I felt then that the Spirit of God which came into contact with my soul was outside of myself, and yet mysteriously immanent at the same time.

I believe that we ought to-day to return to this thought of the immanence of God in the universe. To my own heart and mind the thought has been full of comfort and strength. I used to think of God as removed to a distance, but now I love to think of God as right here, operating in this world, present in the higher thoughts of every human spirit. Instead of thinking of God in His relation to the material universe as a being who simply looks on from a distance, I like to think of God as present in all law, in all manifestations of force, in all social movements, in all religious life, in all personal life, and yet above all. I want to conceive of this universe as a unity, and not as a duality. I want to conceive of this universe as one wherein law is a continuous fact all the way from the physical forces of the material universe up to the highest exhibition of the Divine will. It is all law, and law is but a manifestation of the Divine will. What do we know of force but as will? Do we know any spiritual force but this will of a God who is both immanent and transcendent? Nature hides God from the man who has not discerned Him spiritually. Unless we have a true and high conception of God as a transcendent being, it is impossible for us to derive any comfort from the thought of His immanence. We cannot behold Him as immanent in the universe unless we have first learned to bow before Him as the God who is over all. (Applause.)

THE REV. ARCHIBALD WHEATON said:

As these brethren have gone up and down before me I thought, there go the leviathans; when they went down where I could not follow, I calmly waited until they came up again. I have not attempted to comprehend the whole of this discussion, in the same way that I have not yet attempted to comprehend God. The phase

which has taken the strongest hold upon me now is the thought of the immanence of Jesus Christ. I cannot and never have been able to conceive of God. The world has always been trying to form some conception of God. The names given to the various images created for worship have been the infantile efforts of the nations of the world to form and embody to themselves some conception of God. But God cannot be manifested by an image or a formula. For that reason the Mosaic dispensation was practically a failure. But Jesus Christ came, God in the flesh, "Immanuel," to manifest God to us. He reveals to us that love of God which makes us feel that He is our brother. On the other hand He reveals to us the character of God, the power of God, the wisdom of God, as well as the love of God, and when I desire to have some apprehension now of what God is like, of how He can be immanent in the world, and how He acts in nature and in man, I have recourse to the history of Jesus Christ. I remember how he made bread for the hungry multitude, and how He healed with a word people afar off, how He brought the dead to life by His mighty power, stilled the tempest on the sea. I believe if it had been a part of His mission, and necessary for that mission, He could have blotted the sun from the heavens. He is the very God and was exhibiting himself that you and I might understand this tremendous subject we have been discussing by metaphysics and psychology and logic here this afternoon. What we can understand is that for all practical purposes we know God when we know Christ, and take His hand as we go along through life.

THE PRESIDENT: It has been the custom in past conferences that almost the closing word be spoken by the Chairman of the Committee, Dr. Sanders, of New York.

REV. DR. SANDERS said :

We have been among the heights, and I do not know whether we can get our feet down to solid earth again or not. Our discussion this afternoon has reminded me of the old lady who, after hearing a learned discourse to prove the existence of God, said that she could not help thinking that after all *there was a God*. I have thought also of that verger who said he had heard every sermon preached in the Cathedral for fifty years and thanked God he was a Christian still. Possibly some of you have been wicked enough to

recall the minister who was said to be like God in two respects, incomprehensible on Sunday and invisible through the rest of the week. But I have been delighted to see how this large audience, composed largely of ladies, has been interested in these metaphysical addresses. It has been the custom, I know not by what sense of propriety or necessity, for the Chairman of the Executive Committee at the close of our sessions to say a few words. I have always looked upon our Committee as the scene shifter, who was merely to present and parade before your vision the programme and the speakers, but themselves to be kept in the background. I suppose the custom arose originally from it being deemed necessary that some one who could speak with authority should say something that might justify, to apprehensive minds, the right of this Autumnal Conference to be. I say Autumnal Conference. We used to call it that you know, and I am very glad I had nothing to do with the change of name, for I always liked that word Autumnal Conference. There was music about it. It suggested, in a very vague way perhaps, the rich, and ripe, and rare fruit of wisdom, which we here gathered and took away for future consumption. And I used to like that word autumnal as indicating that fact. But it has been changed to "Congress." Perhaps the rose by this other name will smell as sweet and do as much good. The justification of it has suggested the propriety of the Chairman saying a few words, but it seems to me, at this, the close of the ninth annual session, it is the very superfluity of naughtiness for any one to undertake to justify the right of this annual gathering to be. Certainly, if during these sessions it has not only justified its right, nay, even its necessity to be, no words of mine could bring that conviction to your minds. Nevertheless it may be well to say a word. Burning questions are rising amongst us, and thinking men are obliged to have something to say about them. We cannot escape them any more than a bird can outfly the atmosphere, the very thing that conditions its flight. And it is every way proper that a great denomination of thinking, earnest Christian men should come together in some more or less representative capacity for the discussion of these great questions. We have no other adequate occasions when we may do so. We have our Pastor's Conferences, Associational meetings, and State Conventions, and our national gatherings of the Missionary Societies, but they do not afford appropriate opportunity for a thorough-going discussion of these pressing questions. And it has seemed every way wise that such provision should be made, when brethren from all over the country can come together and give us the fruit of their thought upon these themes.

If any of you have thought that the arch heretics of the denomination were going to be paraded here, I doubt not you have been disabused of that prejudice. We are heretics in the literal sense of that word. Every man ought to be a heretic, *αἰρεσις*, the man who chooses. We ought to be sceptics, *σκεπτομαι*, the man who looks around and examines things carefully. The man who has never known the agony of candid doubt can never know the luxury of earnest conviction. You need not be afraid of this Congress and its essential principle of free, open, full, frank discussion of all questions. You need not be afraid of agitation. You cannot make butter without it, or anything else that is worth anything in this world. We do not need to apologize for this institution. The thing we deprecate here is the commonplace and the platitude. We try to get themes that are fresh, burning, aggressive, important, and we seek to get men to discuss them who shall bring to their consideration, minds alert, alive and abreast of the times. Not that we expect to create truth, but our conceptions of the truth can be enlarged, and that is what we are seeking. Therefore, we bespeak your sympathy, and your prayers, and your hearty co-operation. We should like, if I may speak a practical word, suggestions from the brethren. We invite, and I sincerely hope brethren from abroad will write to our Secretary, or to me, or any member of the board, suggesting topics, and naming men qualified to speak upon them. While here, I have had several given to me. There are many laymen who are perhaps better qualified to speak on many of these so-called secular topics, than the ministry. But the Executive Committee do not know of these men, and brethren from abroad can render us good service by telling us about such men.

I not only voice my own sentiments, but, I think of you all when I say that we have had a most profitable and delightful session. I will leave it to you if the topics have not been fresh, stimulating, inviting, and have been treated with most conspicuous ability. It is quite unusual out of so large a programme, made so long ago, that there has been the failure of only one appointee to be present to read his own paper; but even that paper was read by another. We have been glad to be here and glad to see so many of you here. In Union Theological Seminary in New York it is the custom for the students to preach occasionally to the convicts, on Blackwell's Island. On one occasion, when one of our students went there to preach and the prisoners, numbering some 600, came into the audience room, as they were compelled to do to attend Divine Service, he arose and said, "My dear friends, I am so glad to see so many of you *here*." (Laughter.) When we chaffed him afterwards about

his mistake, he retorted by saying, "Well, my sermon up there accomplished very much more than you can ever hope to accomplish by any of your sermons, for when I had finished every man in the audience was under conviction." (Laughter and applause.) We shall be very glad if, as the result of our coming among you, you shall have obtained clearer and stronger convictions of truth, and you shall go away feeling not only that this conference has a right to be, but that there is for it a necessity in our denominational life. (Applause.)

PROF. W. R. HARPER said :

We have been greatly helped by the presence of this Congress with us. There were not many of us in New Haven who knew much about the Congress for some reason or other, and I think it is explicable that New Haven Baptists were unfamiliar with the personelle of the Conference, its purpose, and its customary meetings and the details. One city certainly has been enlightened, and the custom of the Congress to hold but one meeting in a place is certainly to be commended. Can any one who has been present at this meeting doubt for a minute that they are and will be more and more productive of good results. If that is the feeling of all who attend—and it certainly is—should not the membership of this Congress and the work of the Congress be larger and greater? Why should the membership be not a thousand instead of one hundred or one hundred and fifty?

Why should there not be five hundred from abroad in attendance here upon this meeting, instead of 50, 75, or 100? If there is any denomination in the country that needs a Congress, and that can be helped by such a platform as this Congress presents, it is our denomination. Shall we not hope, and still more, shall we not work in order that this work, the work of which we have had a specimen, may not only continue, but grow? Every meeting is a source of enlightenment in the locality in which it meets; and were it not for the large number of meetings which we are all compelled to attend, it might well be considered whether two meetings in the year instead of one might not be advantageous. We are grateful to the members of the Congress itself for coming to New Haven. We invited the Congress to New Haven because we felt we should be benefitted by its coming; and as you go away we wish you to feel that we *have* been benefitted, and we wish to express to you our appreciation of what has been done; for we feel that it is a help not only individually, but to the denomination as a whole. We are

sure that we have been lifted up in a way that will be of practical service to us in all our work in this city in the future. We wish that we could have done more for you than we have done, and we trust that you will not forget New Haven. (Applause.)

Dr. BULLEN moved a vote of thanks to this people for their hospitality and kindness. Dr. JOHNSON seconded the motion.

THE PRESIDENT: The motion will be taken as passed without being put, it being against the rules of the Congress to put a motion.

THE PRESIDENT: I congratulate you on the uniform and entire success, if you will permit me, of this Conference, in the value and timeliness of the topics, in the ability and interest of all the papers, in the freshness and spirit of the debates, and above all, or certainly not less than all, in the absolute freedom from any bitterness, the entire freedom from guile or bile. (Laughter.) Anna Maria said there were only two wrong things in this world, sin and bile. And so we separate with kindly feeling for others and the most undiminished confidence in ourselves. (Laughter and applause.)

Prayer having been offered and the Benediction pronounced by Rev. Dr. DUNCAN, the Congress adjourned.

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