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ARTICLE III.

THE POSITION AND CHARACTER OF THE AMERICAN
CLERGY.

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I PROPOSE to write of the American clergyman in certain relations. The foundation of the paper is Dr. Sprague's *Annals of the American Pulpit*.¹ Before entering, therefore, upon the theme it is not unfitting to premise a few words concerning the author of the work.

William Buell Sprague, descended from the Spragues of Duxbury, was born in Andover, Conn., in 1795. He graduated at Yale College in 1815 and at Princeton Seminary in 1819. In the latter year he accepted a call to become colleague of the Rev. Dr. Joseph Lathrop as pastor of the First Congregational Church of West Springfield, Mass. In 1821, on the death of Dr. Lathrop, he became pastor. In 1829 he was installed pastor of the Second Presbyterian Church of Albany, N.Y., a position he held forty years. In 1869, he removed to Flushing, L.I., where he died 7th May, 1876. In addition to the duties pertaining to a metropolitan parish he performed a large amount of literary labor. He published at least twenty-four volumes. He wrote many introductions to the books of other authors. He was a contributor to Appleton's *American Cyclopaedia*, as well as to magazines and reviews. His acquaintance with the religious history of America, especially with the life and work of those who had been prominent in the various branches of the American church, was extensive and intimate. He made

¹ *Annals of the American Pulpit; or Commemorative Notices of Distinguished American Clergymen of various Denominations from the Settlement of the Country to the close of the year 1855. With Historical Introductions.* By William B. Sprague, D.D. 9 vols. New York: Robert Carter and Brothers. 1856-1869.

the largest collection of religious pamphlets to be found this side of the Atlantic. His greatest work, to which he devoted about twenty years, is comprised in the nine octavo volumes known briefly and familiarly as "Sprague's Annals." It is a collection of biographical sketches of the more distinguished American clergymen from the early settlement to the middle of the present century. Two volumes are devoted to the Trinitarian Congregational, two to the Presbyterian, one each to the Episcopalian, Baptist, Methodist, and the Unitarian denominations. The last volume is divided among the Lutheran, the Reformed Dutch, the Associate, the Associate Reformed, and the Reformed Presbyterian branches of the church. Biographies are given of not less than thirteen hundred clergymen, of which not a few contain an elaborate account of their life and careful estimate of their character and work. The contributors to the volumes number about five hundred and forty. The work is generally regarded as accomplishing a subordinate yet important design which its author set before him—freedom from denominational partiality. Its fidelity to the truth and its delicacy in treating difficult points of doctrine or of individual character are worthy of warm praise. This design was naturally gained by the method of the preparation of the work. "The rule, in every respect practicable, has been," writes Dr. Sprague in the general preface, "to procure from some well known person or persons, a letter or letters containing their recollections and impressions illustrative of the character." Among those thus contributing sketches are the Rev. Dr. Joseph P. Thompson, President W. A. Stearns, President Porter, Professor Park, Dr. Elam Smally, Hon. Harrison Gray Otis, Dr. Francis Wayland, various bishops of the Episcopal church—as Burgess, Doane, and Clark,—Professor Andrew P. Peabody, Rev. Dr. Henry W. Bellows, and Ralph Waldo Emerson. In case "recollections or impressions" were not available, Dr. Sprague employed the next best means of obtaining a portrait of the individual's character, "the testimony of contemporaries," as embodied in funeral sermons and obituary

notices. By reason of this method the work is free from a certain dulness which naturally belongs to books of its class.

Dr. Sprague, however, neither proposed nor attempted the induction of certain general truths from the multifarious details he had collected. It is the purpose of this article to gather up certain facts regarding the place of birth, the education, the literary work, the connection with colleges and theological schools, of the clergymen sketched in Dr. Sprague's volumes.

Excluding the ninth and last volume,¹ eleven hundred and seventy clergymen are represented in the work. Of this number, so far as can be learned, three hundred and eleven were born in Massachusetts, one hundred and eighty in Connecticut, one hundred and eight in England, ninety-six in Pennsylvania, seventy-nine in Virginia, seventy-three in New York, forty-four in Maryland, forty-three in New Jersey, forty-one in Ireland, thirty-four in New Hampshire, twenty-nine in North Carolina, twenty-seven in Scotland, twenty in South Carolina, fifteen in Wales, fourteen in Rhode Island, eleven in Delaware, nine each in Maine and Vermont, seven in Georgia, three each in Kentucky, Ohio, and Tennessee, two each in Iowa and Germany, and one each in the District of Columbia, West Indies, Nova Scotia, Switzerland, and Sweden. Of the three hundred and eleven clergymen born in Massachusetts, nearly one half, one hundred and forty-seven, were Congregationalists, twenty-two Presbyterians, twenty-five Episcopalians, forty-two Baptists, ten Methodists, and sixty-five Unitarians. Of the one hundred and eighty clergymen born in Connecticut more than one half, one hundred and two, were Congregationalists, twenty-four Presbyterians, twenty-one Episcopalians, nineteen Baptists, eleven Methodists, and three Unitarians. Of the one hundred and eight born in England, fifty-nine were Congregationalists,

¹ The comparative numerical insignificance of several of the denominations considered, and the small number of clergymen whose lives are described, render it not unfitting to exclude the volume from the present comparison.

two Presbyterians, twenty-four Episcopalians, ten Baptists, eleven Methodists, and only two Unitarians. Of the ninety-six born in Pennsylvania only two were Congregationalists, more than half, fifty-five, Presbyterians, twelve Episcopalians, eleven Baptists, and sixteen Methodists. Of the seventy-nine to whom Virginia furnishes a birth-place thirty-one were Presbyterians, five Episcopalians, sixteen Baptists, and twenty-seven Methodists. New York is the birth-place of seventy-three ministers. Seven of this number were Congregationalists, fifteen Presbyterians, thirteen Episcopalians and Baptists each, twenty-four Methodists, and one Unitarian.

It is interesting to trace the causes of the large proportion of these clergymen born in Massachusetts and Connecticut, and to indicate the reasons of the birth of a large number of the clergymen of one denomination in one state, and of the small number of the same denomination born in an adjoining commonwealth. The consideration of these causes is simply the repetition of the oft-repeated story of the individual, moral, and religious character of the settlers of New England, and of the commercial character of the settlers at the mouth of the Hudson and on the James. It is estimated that down to the year 1640, when immigration substantially ceased by reason of the opening of the Long Parliament, about twenty-one thousand Englishmen had landed on the shores of what is now known by the loyal name of New England.¹ This number contained a large proportion of educated men. There is evidence for the belief that in the sixty years between 1630 and 1690 there were as many liberally trained men in New England as could be found in any population of a similar size. Professor F. B. Dexter of New Haven has, by careful investigation of the records of Oxford and Cambridge shown, that in the population of twenty-one thousand were about one hundred graduates of the English Universities. These scholars founded Harvard College in 1636. They, with their fellow-citizens, passed the first school laws of

¹ F. A. Walker's *First Century of the Republic*, p. 215; also Hildreth, Bancroft, and Palfrey.

Masachusetts Bay in 1642 and 1647. They opened public schools in New Haven, Hartford, Salem, Boston, and other of the larger settlements. Although the settlers of Plymouth were not educated as were the Connecticut and the Bay men, and although their first corporate action concerning public schools was not taken till forty-three years after their landing, yet the New England colonies as a whole were settled by a race of students and scholars.

The religious spirit, however, was no less pervasive than the intellectual. No class of men were more intensely in earnest than the Puritans, and their earnestness was mainly directed in the religious channel. As Professor Moses Coit Tyler has finely remarked; "Religion, they said, was the chief thing; they meant it; they acted upon it. They did not attempt to combine the sacred and the secular; they simply abolished the secular, and left only the sacred. The state became the church; the king, a priest; politics, a department of theology; citizenship, the privilege of those only who had received baptism and the Lord's supper."¹

In Virginia, on the contrary, commercial aims prevailed as strongly as the intellectual and religious purpose in New England. Education was neglected. So slight was the attention paid to it that the historian Burk asserts that "until the year 1688 no mention is anywhere in the records, of schools or of any provision for the instruction of youth." In 1671, the notorious Sir William Berkely, who was governor from 1641 to 1677, wrote to the English commissioners: "I thank God there are no free schools, nor printing; and I hope we shall not have, these hundred years; for learning has brought disobedience, and heresy, and sects into the world, and printing has divulged them, and libels against good government. God keep us from both." His prayer was for a time answered. No record is found of a printing-press in the Old Dominion earlier than 1681. From 1683 to 1729 no printing was done in Virginia; and from 1729 to 1766 the province had only one printing-house, and this

¹ History of American Literature, Vol. I. p. 101.

was thought to be too much under the control of the governor.

The moral and religious character of the settlers of Virginia fails to command the reverence due these qualities as possessed by the New England colonists. It was a current complaint that the majority of the Virginians were either too idle or too incompetent to earn their livelihood. Convicts were transported to the province. Women were stolen from English homes, brought over, and sold, each for a hundred pounds of tobacco, as wives for the colonists. The immigrants to Virginia for the first forty years were, as has been said, "broken men, adventurers, bankrupts, criminals."¹ But those that came over during the last half of the century were of a higher character; not a few were churchmen and cavaliers; and about 1660 certain followers of Cromwell, who no longer found England congenial, landed in Virginia. Yet, despite these influences favorable to the establishment of religion, the prevailing sentiment was opposed to the growth of Christian institutions.

It is evident that the possession of free schools and colleges in New England, the founding of a state church, the intellectual and religious character of the settlers help to explain the proportionally large number of ministers born in Massachusetts and Connecticut. The school and the college give that education which is at once the cause and the result of a body of clergymen in a state. The religious character of a people demands the presence of clergymen, who in turn develop this type of character.

The varying number of births of clergymen of the same denomination in different states, or of clergymen of different denominations in the same state, forms an important problem. Its solution, as well as the explanation of the comparative absence of the clergymen in certain commonwealths, is found in the religious denominational preferences of the settlers. New England, colonized by Pilgrims who were Congregationalists before they left the mother-country,

¹ Green's Short History of English People (Am. ed.), p. 498.

and by Puritans who became Congregationalists when they landed on the shores of the New World, has furnished a birth-place to a large proportion of the Congregationalists. This branch of the church had the authority of the law as well as of the gospel. Men of all denominations were taxed for its support; taxes which were, however, remitted in Massachusetts in 1727 and 1728 against Episcopalians, Baptists, and Quakers, and in Connecticut and New Hampshire in 1729, on the production of evidence that they had paid their dues to their own church. It was not, however, till 1833 that the last vestige of the involuntary contribution for the support of the church was expunged from the statutes of Massachusetts. Previous to the present century the Congregational polity had not gained a firm foothold beyond the boundaries of New England. Congregationalists who moved into Southern or Western States joined Presbyterian churches; and so prevented the growth of their body in the new parts of the country. Although a so-called "Plan of Union" was adopted between the General (Congregational) Association of Connecticut and the General Assembly of the Presbyterian church in order that the two denominations might work together without friction in the same field, yet the result perhaps tended more to the spread of Presbyterianism than of Congregationalism; and the "Plan" was discarded by the Old School General Assembly in 1837, and has since been discarded by the New School body.

The strength of the Presbyterian church, as indicated by the birth-place of its more distinguished ministers, has lain in the States of Pennsylvania and Virginia. Fifty-four of its two hundred and fifty-five clergymen were born in the former State, and thirty-one in the latter. This church however was not in its origin in this country so centralized as the Congregational. Its adherents did not form one compact community, as was the case with the Puritans, but were scattered throughout the different colonies. Yet before the eighteenth century churches of this order were established in Maryland and Virginia, and the first church in Philadelphia

was founded, as nearly as can be discovered, in 1698. As early as 1706 the Presbytery of Philadelphia was formed, the first organized in America. Among the settlers of Pennsylvania, of Virginia, and of New Jersey were many of Scotch extraction, and of course they established on the shores of the New World the church of both Scotland and the north of Ireland. Those states, therefore, in which the Scotch predominate are the birth-place of the larger proportion of Presbyterian clergymen.

Unlike the Congregational, and like the Presbyterian, clergymen, the Episcopal clergymen are natives of many different states. Of the whole number of one hundred and fifty-two of whom Dr. Sprague presents sketches, twenty-five were born in Massachusetts, twenty-three in England, twenty-one in Connecticut, twelve in Pennsylvania, eleven in New York, ten in Ireland, and ten in Maryland, eight in Scotland, six in South Carolina, five in Virginia, and the remainder are distributed in groups of two or three among other States. Although the Episcopal church was established in America with the settlement of Virginia in 1607, it was nearly two centuries before it attained a vigorous growth. The historian Hawks affirms, that after two hundred years it possessed only about as many ministers as it had at the close of the first eight years of its existence. In Maryland and the Southern colonies, it was supported by law; but the commercial interests of the settlers failed both to foster their religious character and to increase their devotion to any branch of the visible church. In New England the situation was different. Its settlers were devout, but their opposition to the Episcopal church was great. For more than sixty years after the landing at Plymouth no Episcopal church had been established in that part of the country. Toward the close, however, of the seventeenth century the opposition to the English church had so far diminished as to allow the (English) Society for Propagating the Gospel to begin its distinctive work in New England. Its labors were so vigorous that, despite many difficulties, near the outbreak of the Revolution

it supported about thirty clergymen in the New England colonies, and fifty in the others. In 1748 Connecticut had no less than seventeen Episcopal churches, and Massachusetts twelve. The growth of the church in the two leading colonies of New England serve to explain the fact that nearly one third of the distinguished clergymen of this church had their birth-place in those districts which were settled by Puritans and which, for two generations at least, were governed by them.

The educational advantages offered by New England also help to account for the relatively large number of those who are natives of those States. Although William and Mary College was established for the training of candidates for the Episcopal ministry, the general influences of Virginian society failed to foster that literary spirit which prompts the choice of the clerical profession. In New England, however, these influences, inspired and guided by the colleges at Cambridge and New Haven, were potent, and seemed to turn the thoughts of men toward the ministry.

As of the Episcopal clergymen, a large proportion of the Baptist, find in New England the place of their birth. Dr. Sprague's sixth volume contains biographies of one hundred and seventy-one Baptist ministers. Nearly one-half of them, eighty, were, as far as can be learned, born in New England. Forty-two were born in Massachusetts, nineteen in Connecticut, nine in the State to which Roger Williams emigrated, four in New Hampshire, and three each in Maine and Vermont. Of the States beyond the limits of New England, Virginia is the native place of the largest number, sixteen, New York of thirteen, Pennsylvania of eleven, as well as Wales of the same number, New Jersey of ten, as well as England of an equal proportion, South Carolina of five, Georgia of four, Maryland of three, and Delaware, North Carolina, and Kentucky of two each.¹ The reasons which have been previously suggested in the case of other denominations serve to explain the relative proportion of births found in the different States.

¹ The place of birth of two Baptist clergymen is not stated in the biographical sketches.

In respect to the birth-place of clergymen of the Methodist church, New England loses its superiority. Of one hundred and eighty-one ministers of this denomination, Virginia leads with the largest number as children of her homes, twenty-seven; New York follows with twenty-four, and Maryland with twenty-two. Pennsylvania claims sixteen, North Carolina, Connecticut, and England eleven each, Massachusetts ten, New Jersey and Ireland eight each, South Carolina, New Hampshire, and Vermont five each, and Delaware, Ohio, and Tennessee three each.¹ The first Methodist churches of America were founded in New York and Maryland some twenty years after Wesley had lifted the standard of Methodism in the mother-country. The early efforts of the denomination were outside of the limits of New England. At the close of the Revolution probably nine tenths of its adherents were to be found south of Mason and Dixon's line. In Maryland and Delaware it became the dominant religious power. The system of itinerancy, which was rigidly enforced in the earlier as well as in the later period, prevented its localization, and it spread through all the Middle States as well as into the Southern, and even across the Alleghanies. The earnestness of its preachers, and their deep conviction that the work of salvation was their only work, gave the denomination, notwithstanding the lack of the intellectual training of its representatives, a firm foothold in New York, Pennsylvania, and Virginia, as well as in other States. Already was New England better equipped with churches than these more Southern colonies, and it did not obtain an influential position in Massachusetts and Connecticut till a later date. The demand, also, of New England for an educated ministry seemed to keep out a denomination not one-eighth of whose distinguished divines had received a college training.

As we come to the consideration of the birth-places of Unitarian clergymen, the supremacy returns to New England, and especially to Massachusetts. The record is re-

¹ The place of birth of nine Methodist clergymen is not stated in the biographical sketches.

markable. Of eighty-one ministers whose lives Dr. Sprague sketches, no less than sixty-five were born in Massachusetts. New Hampshire has seven, Connecticut three, England two, and one each belongs to Rhode Island, North Carolina, New York, and Germany. The reason of this large proportion found in Massachusetts lies in the general consideration that American Unitarianism arose and has chiefly flourished in the Bay State. Although Rev. Dr. Gay of Hingham, whose ministry began in 1718, was one of the first, if not the first, Unitarian clergyman in New England, it was not till the close of the century that any departure from the Puritan faith had become prevalent. So strong, however, had the so-called liberal wing of the Congregational church grown, that in 1804, when the Hollis Professorship of Theology of Harvard College became vacant by the death of Dr. Tappan, it was filled by the election of a declared Unitarian, Dr. Ware. The reasons that this form of belief has not spread to any extent beyond Massachusetts form a most interesting subject of discussion; and we therefore venture to pass outside the more regular line of thought for its consideration. In order to place certain bounds to the question we shall limit the field for examination to Massachusetts and Connecticut.

In 1810 there were three hundred and sixty-one orthodox churches in Massachusetts; before 1840 ninety-six of these churches, besides thirty parishes, had adopted the Unitarian faith. According to late enumerations, Connecticut contains two hundred and ninety-eight orthodox churches, and only one Unitarian church, at Hartford. In Massachusetts at the present time are five hundred and twenty-nine orthodox, and one hundred and eighty-seven Unitarian churches.

The first and most prominent cause of the failure of Unitarianism in Connecticut is the consociation of its churches. One of the questions submitted to the synod of 1662 — the synod that formed the Half-way Covenant — was, “whether, according to the word of God, there ought to be a consociation of churches, and what should be the manner of it?” The answer declared the independence of the local church

and reaffirmed the principles of the Cambridge platform regarding the communion of churches. It defined consociation of churches as "their mutual and solemn agreement to exercise communion in such acts as aforesaid among themselves, with special reference to those churches which by Providence are planted in a convenient vicinity, though with liberty reserved, without offence, to make use of others, as the nature of the case or the advantage of opportunity may be had thereunto." The synod commended the formation of consociations to the entire country. But, notwithstanding the recommendation the government of the Connecticut churches was still lax. The interference of the civil authority only intensified the evil which it purposed to remedy; and the ecclesiastical authority was without sanction. In May 1708, therefore, the legislature passed an act requiring the formation of an ecclesiastical constitution. Accordingly the churches and ministers met by delegates at Saybrook, and drew up a constitution known as the Saybrook Platform. For the present purpose the essence of its fifteen rules may be condensed into the single duty of formation of a consociation of churches, "for mutual affording to each other such assistance as may be requisite upon all occasions ecclesiastical." The platform received the approval of the legislature. Thus the principle of consociation, originating in the synod of 1662 and re-established at Saybrook in 1708, was adopted as, and has continued to be, the rule of practice in the Congregational churches of Connecticut down to the second half of the present century.

In Massachusetts, however, the consociation was never formed. Though, in accordance with the recommendation of the synod of 1662 a scheme was drawn up, it failed of execution. The abrogation of the ancient charter had increased the dependence of the colony upon the king, and it was apprehended that the establishment of a more strict form of ecclesiastical government might subject the churches to the rules of English Episcopacy. The consociation failed, therefore, to become an element in the ecclesiastical order of

Massachusetts. Consociation in Connecticut prevented, and its absence in Massachusetts allowed, the growth of Unitarianism in several ways.

1. Consociation fostered the growth of individual piety and hindered the spread of heresy. It brought layman and clergyman into intimate relations of personal and religious friendship. From the union of the speculative wisdom of the clerical with the practical wisdom of the lay body a high degree of Christian character is attained. Heresy springs from the clergy, but its piety is warm ; religious indifference springs from the laity, but its orthodoxy is sound. In the gatherings of the consociation the indifference of laymen was dispelled by the piety of the clergy ; and any heretical tendency of the clergy was thwarted by the orthodoxy of the laity. This was the case in Connecticut ; but in Massachusetts the absence of the consociation permitted heresy to exist unrebuked, and piety to decay.

2. A second means by which the consociation opposed the spread of Unitarianism was by its great moral authority. Its organization was permanent. It was impressed with the responsibility of its position more forcibly than can be a council, which in its nature is temporary. In every proceeding, therefore, its reputation for consistency, intelligence, and spiritual activity was at stake. Each case, therefore, submitted by its decision was, as a rule, examined with great wisdom and caution. Heresy was, therefore, restrained.

3. Consociation emphasized the ecclesiastical *esprit de corps*. It increased the strength of the prevailing sentiment, and diminished the weight of the less influential. In Connecticut the prevailing belief was orthodox and consociation augmented its strength. In Massachusetts the prevailing creed was also orthodox ; but the state contained no consociation to increase the influence of orthodoxy. Therefore, as Unitarianism arose in the commonwealth it was not opposed by that weight of the public religious sentiment embodied in the consociation, as in Connecticut.

4. The consociation possessed a constitution. Upon the

appearance, therefore, of the first symptom of defection it was prepared to apply the remedy of ecclesiastical discipline. Whenever, therefore, a sign of Unitarianism appeared in a Connecticut church its spear was in rest to deal with the offender. But in Massachusetts there was no consociation to hinder a church drifting away from the orthodox moorings.

A second cause of the prevalence of Unitarianism in Massachusetts and its absence in Connecticut is embraced in the General Association of Connecticut clergymen. This cause lies along the same line as the preceding. But while consociation included both the laity and clergy, membership in the association was limited to the latter body. Although local associations were formed in Massachusetts in the earliest periods of the colony, no general association was organized till the second year of the present century. But in Connecticut a general association was formed in 1709; and for one hundred and seventy-three years its annual meetings have been held. This association had a superintendency of an advisory character over all the ministers and churches of the state, and its suggestions were generally obeyed. Its influence, therefore, in curbing Unitarian tendencies was similar to that of the consociation.

The third cause that I shall suggest for the prevalence of Unitarianism in Massachusetts and its comparative absence in Connecticut, is the orthodox influence of Yale College under the rule of President Dwight, and the Unitarian tendency of Harvard immediately previous to and under the presidency of the gifted but erratic Kirkland. At the close of the last and the opening of the present century the moral and religious condition of the students of these colleges was lamentable. Nameless immoralities prevailed. Scepticism was potent. The political liberty achieved in the war was succeeded by license in religion and morals. The popularity of the French, in consequence of their bestowment of material aid opened the door for the entrance of the infidelity raging in Paris. The evils prevailing in the nation

prevailed in the colleges. In the midst of this moral and religious riot Timothy Dwight entered on the presidency of Yale College. The influence he exerted over the students for the next score of years is comparable to that exerted by Washington over his soldiers during the war of the Revolution. The intimacy of his personal relations with the students favored the overthrow of erroneous notions in religion. His instruction in philosophy and kindred subjects revealed the superficial and dangerous character of the positions assumed by the young "Frenchified" sceptics. His sermons, now forming his system of theology, were for the large body of the college-men who listened to them, a complete vindication of the truth of Christianity. Thus President Dwight saved Yale College from atheism, and aided the cause of orthodox religion in Connecticut.

But Harvard had no President Dwight. Kirkland, Unitarian in belief, as phlegmatic in temperament as he was gifted in intellect, favored the anti-orthodox party both within and without the university walls. Thus while Yale College opposed Unitarianism in Connecticut, Harvard fostered its interest in Massachusetts.

The presence of consociations and associations in Connecticut, and the opposite theological tendencies of Harvard and Yale Colleges, indicate the general reasons why to-day there are in Massachusetts nearly two hundred Unitarian churches and in Connecticut only one.

I now proceed to inquire concerning the education of those clergymen whose place of birth has been considered. Of the eleven hundred and seventy clergymen cited, it appears that no less than seven hundred and fifty-six received a college training. Sixty-four per cent were liberally educated. The denominations the proportion of whose college-bred clergymen is less than this average are the Methodist and Baptist. Only twenty-one of one hundred and eighty-one Methodist clergymen, or twelve per cent, and sixty-three of one hundred and seventy-one Baptist ministers, or thirty-one per cent, were graduates. Above this average are the Episcopal, Presbyte-

rian, Congregational, and Unitarian churches. Seventy-four per cent of the Episcopal clergymen, seventy-eight of the Presbyterian, eighty of the Congregational, and ninety-seven of the Unitarian represent the proportion of college graduates in these churches. The reasons of the varying proportions of liberally trained ministers in the different denominations are found in the peculiar character of each. The Methodist church has been, both in England and America, a church pre-eminently for and of the masses of the people. The masses, not being liberally educated, do not demand ministers of college training with that urgency felt on the part of the higher classes of the community. The early ministers of this church in this century possessed zeal that no defeat or discouragement was able to quench, and courage that impelled them to penetrate to the uttermost parts of American civilization. In the new West and the South at the opening of the century they kept pace with the advancing pioneer. But the church rather opposed than favored the necessity of an educated ministry. It hardly comes within the scope of this article to say that in the present generation the duty of affording opportunities for a liberal training has come to prevail in this church; yet the colleges and theological schools of the Methodist church are proof of the truth of the fact. The history of the Baptist church for a century and a half after Roger Williams entered Rhode Island plantation is not dissimilar from the early history of the Methodist denomination. Like the Methodist it was pre-eminently a church for the common people, and therefore only slightly more than a third of its ablest clergymen received a complete education. But the Episcopal, the Presbyterian, the Congregational, and Unitarian churches have always emphasized the necessity of a college-bred ministry. The first colleges, Harvard, William and Mary, Yale, were founded with the express purpose of fitting men for the clerical profession. Those who were born in the Old World and served as ministers in the New were with few exceptions graduates of either an English, Scotch, Irish, or German University.

As has been already indicated, the largest proportion of educated clergymen is found in the Unitarian church. Only four of the eighty-one Unitarian clergymen sketched in Dr. Sprague's volumes did not receive a college degree. The cause of this remarkable exhibit lies in the fact that the Unitarian movement was in its origin and early stages limited to Massachusetts; and the people of this commonwealth have laid special stress upon the liberal education of the clergyman. The Unitarian church has, further, been a church of the higher classes of the community; and therefore an ignorant or uncultured ministry it would not tolerate. The American branch of this church was in its first quarter century specially fostered by Harvard College, an institution one of whose purposes has ever been to train students for the church. These reasons contribute to explain the fact of the large proportion of college-bred men among the early and distinguished ministers found in the Unitarian body.

The number of clergymen educated at each college, as well as the number of those of each denomination so educated, is found in the annexed table.¹ Of the total, seven hundred

	Cong.	Presb.	Episc.	Bapt.	Meth.	Unit.	Total.
¹ Oxford,	7		5		1		13
Cambridge,	21		4				25
Harvard,	115	5	17	6		67	210
Yale,	97	22	24	4		3	150
Glasgow,	1	7	1				9
Edinburgh,		7	2				9
College of New Jersey,	8	49	3	6	2	1	69
Williams,	5	5					10
Amherst,	1	4		1			6
Brown,	1		1	20		2	24
Dartmouth,	20	6	2	1		1	30
Bowdoin,	1			1	1	1	4
Union,	1	9	3	1			14
Middlebury,	3	3	2	2	1		11
University of Pennsylvania,	1	11	6	2			20
Hamilton,		4		2			6
Washington (Penn.),		12	3		1		16
Hampden Sidney,		9					9
Michigan University,					1		1
Dickinson,		10	1				11
Columbia,		4	12	2			18

and fifty-six, more than one fourth, two hundred and ten, are graduates of Harvard. One hundred and fifteen of this number belong to the Congregational, and sixty-seven to the Unitarian church.

Down to the beginning of the eighteenth century Harvard was the only college in New England, and more than one half of its graduates for this period entered the Congregational ministry. Although it no longer deserves to be called Unitarian, yet for the first half of the present century it was governed by representatives of this church, and therefore a large proportion of Unitarian clergymen received its degree. Yale has given an education to one hundred and fifty ministers. It is natural that nearly one hundred of these should belong to the "standing order"; and, considering the relative strength of the Presbyterian and Episcopal church in Connecticut, not unnatural that the larger proportion of the remainder should be about equally divided between these

	Cong.	Presb.	Episc.	Bapt.	Meth.	Unit.	Total.
Liberty Hall (Wash. Coll., Va.),	7						7
Randolph and Macon,					1		1
Jefferson,	5						5
Rutgers,	1				1		2
Transylvania,	1				1		2
University of North Carolina,	2		1	1	2	1	8
University of South Carolina,	2		2	1			5
Hanover, Indiana,	2						2
University of Virginia,	3						3
Wesleyan University,					1		1
Aberdeen University,			3				3
Dublin University,			1				1
English Jesuits University,			1				1
University of Nashville,			1				1
University of Vermont,					1		1
Trinity,			2				2
Waterville (Colby Univ.),			1	2			4
Franklin,				2			2
Mercer University,				1			1
University of Geissen (Germany),						1	1
Jefferson,			2				2
William and Mary,			3				3
Other Colleges,	10	10	7	6			33
	<u>282</u>	<u>200</u>	<u>118</u>	<u>68</u>	<u>21</u>	<u>77</u>	<u>756</u>

denominations. Colleges in Pennsylvania and New Jersey graduated the larger part of the Presbyterian divines, of whom about one fourth claim the institution at Princeton as an *alma mater*. The strength of this church in those states furnishes explanation of this fact. Excepting Yale and Harvard the largest number of Episcopal clergymen, twelve, are graduates of Columbia (Kings) College, which was in its origin an Episcopal institution. It is worthy of note that although the College of William and Mary was specially designed for the purpose of training up Episcopal ministers for the Virginia colony, only three of its graduates named by Dr. Sprague entered the ministry of that, or indeed of any church. Brown University, the principal college of the Baptist church, has trained a third of its college-bred ministers, and Yale, Princeton, and Harvard about an equal proportion. Only fifty-nine clergymen were educated abroad. America has trained her own ministers. Thirty-eight were educated at Oxford and Cambridge, twenty-eight of whom were Congregationalists. Twenty-one of this number received their degrees from Cambridge, which was in the reign of James I. and of Charles I. the Puritan stronghold.

The examination of Dr. Sprague's work proves the vastness of the debt which American literature owes the American clergyman. The literary fertility of the clerical far exceeds that of any other profession. The number of volumes written by ministers is much larger than that composed by either lawyers or doctors. This is true not only in respect to technical works, but also in respect to works which belong to literature proper. The clergymen sketched in Dr. Sprague's volumes produced nearly six thousand separate publications, or exactly five thousand nine hundred and thirty-eight. Many of these were single sermons, and the large proportion of these works was of a religious character. The average number, therefore, belonging to each clergyman is five publications. The one hundred and eighty-one Methodist divines produced sixty-nine works, about one third of a publication each. The one hundred and seventy-one Baptists

are credited with four hundred and seven, or somewhat more than two publications each. The two hundred and fifty-five Presbyterians wrote nine hundred and seventy-six works, or nearly four apiece. The one hundred and fifty-two Episcopalians furnish six hundred and seventy-three publications, or slightly more than four each. The three hundred and forty-nine Congregationalists are the authors of twenty-eight hundred and twenty-nine publications, averaging somewhat more than eight for each minister. And the eighty-one Unitarian divines claim nine hundred and eighty-four works, a proportion which places twelve to the credit of each.

Of the Baptist clergymen, sixteen wrote one book each;¹ twelve, two books each; seven, three books each; nine, four books each; six, five books each; nine, six books each; three, seven books each; two, eight books each; one, nine books; and one, ten; two, fifteen books each; one, eighteen books; one, twenty-three; one, twenty-nine; one, thirty-one; one, thirty-five; and one, thirty-six. Of the Episcopalians, eight wrote one book each; eight, two books each; nine, three books each; four, four books each; nine, five books each; five, six books each; seven, seven books each; three, eight books each; and three, nine each; five, ten books each; two, eleven books each; five, twelve books each; one, fourteen; one, fifteen; and one, sixteen books; two, eighteen each; and one, twenty; one, twenty-six; one, twenty-eight; one, thirty; one, thirty-two; one, forty-one; and one, forty-five books. Among the Presbyterian ministers eighty-eight have written from one to five books each; twenty-two, from six to ten books each; thirteen, from eleven to fifteen books each; six, from sixteen to twenty books each; two, from twenty-one to thirty books each; and five, from thirty-one to eighty books each. Of the Congregational ministers, eighty-eight have produced from one to five books each; thirty-five, from six to ten; seventeen, from eleven to fifteen; twenty,

¹ The word *book* is here, and in certain other paragraphs, used for *publication*. It cannot always be determined whether the book is a small pamphlet or a large volume.

from sixteen to twenty; thirteen, from twenty-one to thirty; and ten, from thirty-one to one hundred books each. Of this denomination, as well as of all, Increase Mather seems to be the most voluminous author. His name is attached to no less than three hundred and eighty-two publications. Of the Unitarian clergymen twelve have written from one to five books each; four, six books each; seven, seven books each: three, eight books each; seven, nine books each; five, ten books each; one, eleven; one, twelve; one, thirteen; two, fourteen; two, fifteen; two, sixteen each; one, seventeen; three, eighteen; two, nineteen; one, twenty-one books; and one each, twenty-two, twenty-three, twenty-five, twenty-six, twenty-nine, thirty-two, thirty-three, fifty-one, fifty-three, fifty-six, and ninety-one books.

In reference to the reasons of the greater literary activity of the members of the clerical than of any other profession, it is to be observed, first, that sermons possess deeper public interest than the discussion of cases in either law or medicine. Therefore a larger number of sermons are published than of medical or of legal addresses. But further, as a rule, clergymen are better educated than either physicians or lawyers. All the older colleges, — Harvard, William and Mary, and Yale, — and not a few of those of recent establishment, were founded with the special design of training ministers. More than one half of the early graduates of the two principal colleges of New England entered the ministry. To-day, in the cities and in the rural districts, a larger proportion of the clergy than of the members of other vocations are found to be college-bred. It is evident that the more liberal the education possessed by those pursuing any calling, the greater will be their literary activity. As clergymen, therefore, are better educated, the volumes they write and publish outnumber the volumes issued by those of other professions.

And yet, perhaps, the most important reason of this productiveness lies in the consideration that the work of the clergyman naturally trains him to a literary life. His duties oblige him to reflect upon the fundamental problems of

society. He is compelled to consider the great questions of philosophy, of theology, of ethics, of science, and of education. His labors for the pulpit and in the parish cause him to ponder upon matters of the gravest importance, which invite elaborate treatment. As one, in writing of the "Dignity and Importance of the Preacher's Work," has said: "As a man, as a scholar, he must be able to draw analogies to moral truth from the mineral, vegetable, and animal kingdoms; but as a Christian orator he should be at home in the philosophy of the human intellect. His appropriate work begins with studies which were the end of many of the labors of such men as Descartes, Stewart, and Brown. He is to answer some of the fundamental questions in theology by a reference to the analyses of intellectual operations. He must search out the laws of mind as they are developed in the structure of language, and must learn to interpret the Bible from the principles of mental suggestion. He must investigate the nature of the intellectual as he is to use them, and the susceptibilities as he is to address them in the pulpit. He must learn how to instruct, to convince, to enchain attention, to keep fast hold upon the memory. Not satisfied with the bare rules of rhetoric, he must seek for the reason of these rules in the nature of man. Nor is he to linger too long upon our intellectual faculties. His higher theme is our moral constitution. He must learn how to touch the secret springs of the heart; how to evoke that volition which will be followed by an eternity of reward; how to check the indulgence of that feeling which brings in its train an eternity of punishment. The exalted and impressive designation of his office is 'the care of souls.' Immortality, free-agency, interminable joy and pain, such are the themes of his prolonged attention."¹ The training, therefore, of the clergyman fits him for a literary life. Hence, his activity in the creation of literature is great.

The reasons for the literary productiveness of Congrega-

¹ Preacher and Pastor. Introductory Essay by Professor Edwards A. Park, D.D., p. 14.

tional and Unitarian ministers in comparison with the ministers of other denominations, are to a degree similar to the reasons suggested for the greater literary productiveness of members of the clerical profession in general. The education of Congregational and Unitarian clergymen, as has been already pointed out, is superior to the education of ministers of other churches. A larger proportion of them have received a college training. This education directly tends to produce activity in literature. For education disciplines the mental faculties, and so specially fits one for writing with force and with beauty. Education broadens the field of knowledge, and makes the creation of literature possible. Education also influences one to maintain a high literary standard in all the products of his pen. Therefore, the superior education of Congregational and Unitarian clergymen promotes their literary activity. In reference to the clergymen of the Unitarian church, it is to be observed, that the period of their labor falls within the last hundred years. This is a period in which the general literary influences have been far more potent than in any previous time. The mechanical means for the production of books have greatly increased. Every denomination, in common with the Unitarian, has been affected by these literary influences, but the Unitarian has by reason of its recent origin been specially moulded by them. Harvard College, moreover, which near the beginning of the century was the centre of Unitarianism, has specially emphasized the study and the production of literature. Her professors have inspired students to lead a literary life. Her graduates include the ablest and most distinguished men of American letters. The clergymen of that church, therefore, to which she has till recent years specially adhered, have to a large extent devoted themselves in the midst of their peculiar vocation to literary pursuits.

The clergy and institutions of education have from the earliest times in both England and America borne most intimate relations. If colleges and schools of theology have been founded for the education of ministers, the ministers

have in turn contributed their counsel, their knowledge, and indeed their substance to the support of these institutions. A large proportion of the trustees of the higher institutions of learning have been, and still are, ministers. A proportion, though not as large, of the professors and teachers in these institutions have been ordained ministers. Of the number under consideration in this paper, eleven hundred and seventy, one hundred and ninety-two have served as teachers in either colleges or theological seminaries. The three hundred and forty-nine Congregational ministers provide eighty-eight professors; the two hundred and fifty-five Presbyterian, fifty-two; the one hundred and fifty-two Episcopal, seventeen; the one hundred and seventy-one Baptist, eighteen; the one hundred and eighty-one Methodist, nine; and the eighty-one Unitarian, eight.

The general cause of differences in the proportion of ministers of the various churches connected with institutions of learning lies in the fact that in the last fifty or more years the relative number of ministers engaged in teaching in the colleges has decreased. Therefore, denominations which were of late established in this country, as Methodist and Unitarian, exhibit a smaller proportion of clergymen connected with institutions of learning than those churches, like the Congregational and Presbyterian, which were founded here in the seventeenth, and in the early part of the eighteenth century. The varieties of emphasis, also, that the churches place on the importance of the education of their clergymen help to explain the differences.

The examination of Dr. Sprague's work that has been made illustrates the importance of the clergy. It illustrates their importance not only in their influence on the general community, but also in their influence over certain specific professions. Not only the moral, but also the intellectual character of the people they help to form. As has been well said in the essay to which reference has already been made: ¹
"The clergyman has more frequent communion than other

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 19.

literary men with the middle classes of the people, and through these his influence extends to the higher and lower. He is the guardian of the language and the reading of the most sedate portions of society; and in their families are trained the men of patient thought and accurate scholarship. His influence on the popular vocabulary is often overlooked, and is not always the same; but he often virtually stands at the parish gate, to let in one book and keep out another; to admit certain words and to exclude certain phrases, and to introduce or discard barbarisms, solecisms, impropriety, and looseness of speech." But the subject also illustrates the influence of the clergy over the professions, as that of law, statesmanship, and letters. The author from whose essay liberal quotations have already been introduced further remarks: "A late professor in one of our universities, who has been famed throughout the land for his eloquence at the bar and on the floor of Congress, says that he first learned how to reason while hearing the sermons of a New England pastor, who began to preach before he had studied a single treatise on style or speaking; and two or three erudite jurists, who dislike the theological opinions of this divine, have recommended his sermons to law students as models of logical argument and affording a kind of gymnastic exercise to the mind. It is thus that one of the most modest of men, while writing his plain sermons, was exerting a prospective influence over our civil and judicial tribunals. The pulpit of a country village was preparing speeches for the Congress of the nation. The discourses and treatises of such divines as Chillingworth and Butler have been often kept by lawyers and statesmen on the same shelf with Euclid and Lacroix. Patrick Henry lived from his eleventh to his twenty-second year in the neighborhood of Samuel Davies, and is said to have been stimulated to his masterly efforts by the discourses of him who has been called the first of American preachers. He often spoke of Davies in terms of enthusiastic praise, and resembled him in some characteristics of his eloquence."¹

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 17, 18.

The influence of the clergyman in literature is potent not only in the creation of works of standard worth, but also in the inspiration for letters which he has breathed into other minds. A clergyman of Concord, Rev. Dr. Ripley whose pastorate continued for half a century, helped to make a small village of Massachusetts the most influential factor in American literature. The famous historian of the New World is the son of a Unitarian clergyman, himself a historian, and from the elder's sermons as well as other writings were drawn the son's intellectual and literary tastes. It has been said that "the sermons of Leighton, Smith, Howe, Bates, Atterbury, and Paley show somewhat of the extent to which the literature of England is indebted to her priesthood." So, likewise, it might be shown that to no small extent the literature of America is indebted to the sermons of Shepard, of Cotton, of Hopkins, of Edwards, and of Payson, for its power, eloquence, and purity.

The importance of the clergy is also made clear by their influence upon education. No small number of ministers have served as trustees of academies, colleges, and professional schools, and so have directed the course of American learning in its lower and higher grades. Not a few have taught in the higher seminaries, and have impressed their intellectual, moral, and religious character upon thousands of students. Many, also, in past times have received pupils into their own homes, and fitted them for college or for professional life. More than thirty young men have gone to college from a single parish of New Hampshire. Moses Hallock, of Plainfield, Mass., prepared about a hundred youth for college; Dr. Wood, of Boscawen, New Hampshire, prepared the same number, and among them his two parishioners, Ezekiel and Daniel Webster. A hundred and sixty-two young men were educated by a plain pastor in the neighborhood of Boscawen, and about thirty of them are members of the learned professions.

It is also worthy of note that the examination of Dr. Sprague's work illustrates the importance of New England.

Nearly one half of the whole number of clergymen, five hundred and forty-eight, were born in New England, and nearly one third in the single state of Massachusetts. Of the seven hundred and fifty who received a college education nearly one half also, three hundred and sixty, were educated in the two oldest and most famous colleges of New England. It is not, further, to be forgotten that the two denominations whose ministers have both directly and indirectly exerted the greatest influence upon American letters have ever claimed New England as the place not only of their origin but also of their greatest activity and success. Whatever may be the future of these six states, their past, of influence and of noble fame, is secure.

ARTICLE IV.

POSITIVISM AS A WORKING SYSTEM.

BY REV. F. H. JOHNSON, ANDOVER, MASS.

No. III.

“It is only to the mind that goes out beyond and above its own circle that what lies within that circle is clearly revealed.”—*A. P. Peabody.*

THE most marked characteristic of China to occidental observers is the *apparent absence of the principle of growth.* Here is a vast civilization that has sustained itself through thousands of years with a continuity that makes its history seem almost an exception to the law of human mutability. It is not to be wondered at that such a spectacle should impress profoundly the Western mind, accustomed as it has been to regard change as a necessary condition of vitality. Nor is it strange that thus impressed the imagination should overshoot the mark, exaggerate actual features, and form for itself a total conception wide of the truth. We are frequently confronted with statements of Chinese immobility which distinctly convey the idea that this immense organism which we call the Chinese nation was somehow, at a remote period