LYMAN BEECHER

Theologian
and
Social Reformer

By
John Elmer Frazee

Submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy, in the Faculty of Divinity,
University of Edinburgh

MCMXXXVI
To my wife
DOROTHEA ALLEN FRAZEE

this study is lovingly dedicated in remembrance of

Her father My mother
HERBERT MARSENA ALLEN PRISCILLA ROSS FRAZEE
"Bis vivit qui bene"

Inscription on the BEECHER Coat-of-Arms
On the seventieth anniversary of the birthday of Harriet Beecher Stowe some two hundred distinguished guests, "the literati of America," assembled to do honour to that celebrated daughter of Lyman Beecher. Mrs. Stowe's brother, Henry Ward Beecher, in an address befitting the occasion, called his father to remembrance with these words:

"A more guileless soul than he, a more honest one, more free from envy, from jealousy, and from selfishness, I never knew. Though he thought he was great by his theology, everybody else knew he was great by his religion.

A grandson of Harriet Beecher Stowe, in the "EPILOGUE" to his recent volume, recorded this conclusion:

"Lyman Beecher was a reformer not because of his theology but in spite of it."

If, in the light of these two conclusive observations, the dictum of Lyman Abbott is still true that, "Theology is at once the cause and the product of the religious life;" then certain questions are pertinent:

First, what was the theology of Lyman Beecher which made his religion great?

Second, what were the peculiarities of his doctrinal theology which made it incompatible with his social reforms?

In quest of satisfactory answers to these inquiries, the writer of this thesis has directed his researches. The results of his investigations are set forth herewith in a dissertation which he believes to be unique, since to his knowledge there exists nowhere a comprehensive, systematic statement of the theology of Lyman Beecher.

1 14th June 1882, at Newtonville, Massachusetts.
Other people have laboured in this field, as a glance at the
GENERAL BIBLIOGRAPHY will indicate. If the present writer has seen
farther than any of his fellows, it is because he has stood on "giant
shoulders." In that connexion he bears grateful testimony to the ex­
traordinary courtesy extended to him by the librarians of the follow­
ing institutions:

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Library of Union Theological Seminary, New York City
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Litchfield Historical Society, Litchfield, Connecticut
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Long Island Historical Society, Brooklyn, New York
Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston, Massachusetts
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New College Library, Edinburgh, Scotland
New England Historical Genealogical Society, Boston, Massachusetts
New Haven Colony Historical Society, New Haven, Connecticut
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New York Public Library, New York City
Pennypacker Long Island Collection, East Hampton, New York
Philadelphia Public Library, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
Princeton Theological Seminary Library, Princeton, New Jersey
Register House, Edinburgh, Scotland
Scottish Congregational College Library, Edinburgh, Scotland
University of Edinburgh Library, Edinburgh, Scotland
PREFACE

Virginia Library, Chicago Presbyterian Theological Seminary
Yale University Library, New Haven, Connecticut

In addition to the two faculty advisers at New College whose counsels have guided the work of preparing this study—the publication of whose names propriety forbids at this time, the writer is especially indebted to Dr. J. Stanley Durkee, D.D., Minister of the Plymouth Church of the Pilgrims, Brooklyn, New York, for his guidance to invaluable deposits of original source materials. A similar burden of indebtedness is hereby gratefully acknowledged to Mr. Morton Pennypacker, Suffolk County (New York) Historian, and Contributor to the Pennypacker Long Island Collection. The assistance of those scholarly counsellors and the encouragement of many interested friends have enhanced the joy of entertaining and presenting the thoughts of a truly great soul.

New College, Edinburgh
14th February 1936
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LYMAN BEECHER
I

BIOGRAPHICAL INTRODUCTION

A. Equipment and Preparation

It is given to but few to walk in fellowship with Moses and the Prophets, Peter and Paul, Augustine and Luther, Calvin and Knox. Their pathway approaches the meridian, and their figures stand out in majestic array. But, whereas God has formed only one Everest, he has formed also the lesser peaks which likewise have been the inspiration of many. Surrounding the Immortals there is a more numerous company of lesser names through whom God has spoken to each succeeding generation: "This is the way, walk ye in it."

Lyman Beecher was one of that larger company. Like John the Baptist he penetrated the wilderness of America, crying: "Repent ye: for the kingdom of heaven is at hand." Like the apostle on Mars Hill, he stood in the midst of the "Athens of America" and proclaimed to the people of Boston: "The times of this ignorance God winked at; but now commandeth all men everywhere to repent."

Six months after the outbreak of the American Revolution, Lyman Beecher was born in New Haven, Connecticut, 12th October 1775. A mixture of English, Welsh, and Scottish bloods flowed through his veins. Born amid the roar of cannons and the tumult of battle, his entire life was lived during the turbulent days of unrest and controversy, strife and upheaval. At the age of eighty-eight years he died in Brooklyn, New York, 10th January 1863, while America was still in the throes of the Civil War.

1. His Fathers

Lyman Beecher never forgot whose son he was.
"THE MEMORY OF OUR FATHERS,' should be the watchword of liberty throughout the land;—for, imperfect as they were, the world before had not seen their like, nor will it soon, we fear, behold their like again. Such models of moral excellence, such apostles of civil and religious liberty, such shades of the illustrious dead, looking down upon their descendants with approbation or reproof, according as they follow, or depart from, the good way, constitute a censorship inferior only to the eye of God;—and to ridicule them is national suicide."

Such was the veneration in which Beecher held the memory of the Puritan fathers; such was the power of their immediate influence upon his religious consciousness. This sense of reverence was intensified by reason of the fact that his own blood relatives were included in that "cloud of witnesses."

Seventeen years after the arrival of the "MAYFLOWER" at Plymouth, Massachusetts, seven years after the founding of Boston, and one year after the birth of Harvard College (the oldest college in America), John and Hannah Beecher, and their son Isaac, landed in Boston on the 26th of June, 1637. They were part of a company of three hundred pilgrims who had set sail from England under the leadership of the Reverend John Davenport, a prominent clergyman from London, and his friend, Theophilus Eaton. Many of Davenport's followers to America were members of his former congregation.

The BEECHER family name, however, has been traced to another part of England, as the following paragraph will testify:

"The Beecher' name can be traced beyond the 'Isaac, 1623, of your list.' .... My first record takes me back to the emigration to America in 1637, to Speldhurst, County of Kent, England, where we find them living in 'Chancellor House.' Having the right

1 "THE MEMORY OF OUR FATHERS," a sermon preached at Plymouth, Massachusetts, 22nd December, 1827, pp. 22-23.
2 Cf., "There was one Hannah Beecher, a widow (whose husband had died just before they sailed), and her son John." "AUTOBIOGRAPHY AND CORRESPONDENCE OF LYMAN BEECHER," Vol. I, p. 17.
3 Vicar of St. Stevens in Coleman Street.
4 Formerly ambassador to Denmark, and deputy governor to India.
to display a 'Coat-of-Arms,' and in the after years connected, through several generations, with the Army or the Government Service...."

The Massachusetts Bay Colony in 1637 was in a state of civil and religious chaos, due to the Antinomian controversy initiated by the fanatical enthusiasm of Mrs. Anne Hutchinson. The newly arrived colonists, desiring to avoid that paroxysm, decided to resume their independance and establish a permanent settlement elsewhere. An exploration party led by Eaton chose the present site of New Haven, Connecticut, on account of its good harbour. Seven men were delegated to remain behind to hold the claim during the winter of 1637-1638. As a result of exposure to the rigours of the climate, one of the seven men perished—John Beecher, husband of Hannah. When the colonists arrived in the spring, the allotment of land which normally would have been assigned to John Beecher was given to his widow, Hannah. There she and her son Isaac established the Beecher ancestral home in America, on what is now the corner of George and Chapel Streets, New Haven. On Sabbath, 15th April 1638, John Davenport preached his first sermon to the New Haven Colony from under an oak tree which grew on the property of Hannah Beecher. The stump of that same tree became the foundation upon which rested the family anvil for at least three generations.

1 MRS. ANNE HUTCHINSON came from England to Boston in 1634, driven by the "revelation" that she must go to New England to suffer persecution. She attached herself to the church of her favourite minister, the Reverend John Cotton. Her doctrinal innovations were condemned by the Synod in 1637, and the General Court banished her from the Colony in 1638. She was killed by the Indians in 1643.

Her peculiar theological doctrines included: the personal indwelling of the Holy Spirit in the justified person, giving immediate justification to the soul, independent of faith or of sanctification; and a radical contrast between evidences based upon the "fruits of the Spirit" and the "witness of the Spirit," the former being the result of trust in a "covenant of works," and the latter in a "covenant of grace."

2 "I think that the man who died was John Beecher, as his name does not occur in the earlier records, and there was a Widow Beecher whose son Isaac was old enough in 1644 to take the oath of fidelity." Edward E. Atwater, "HISTORY OF THE COLONY OF NEW HAVEN TO ITS ABSORPTION INTO CONNECTICUT," p. 63.
**BEECHER**

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Exhibit "A" of the above chart represents the generations of the BEECHER family in America, according to the data derived from Chapters I and II of the "AUTOBIOGRAPHY AND CORRESPONDENCE OF LYMAN BEECHER," Volume I. Exhibit "B" represents the family genealogy according to the data derived from additional sources.

Assuming that Exhibit "B" is a correct representation of the data available up to the present time, several points should be noted:

1) Especially the following:
   "ANCESTORS OF HENRY WARD BEECHER AND HIS WIFE EUNICE WHITE BULLARD," by Josephine C. Frost.
   "BEECHER FAMILY DESCENDANTS OF ISAAC OF NEW HAVEN, CONNECTICUT," by Helen McGraw.
   "THE BEECHER FAMILY IN AMERICA," by George Loomis Beecher.
1 That John was the husband of Hannah Beecher, and the father of Isaac;

2 That the husband of Hannah died in what is now New Haven, Connecticut, and not in England, as is recorded in the "AUTOBIOGRAPHY;"

3 That Isaac was the son of John and Hannah Beecher, and not John;

4 That the wife of Joseph Beecher was Lydia Roberts, a Welsh woman, through whom Lyman Beecher's Welsh ancestry is traced.

5) "John (Roberts), Roxbury, came, says the church record 'in 1636, brought his aged mother (widow) and children Thomas, Edward, Elizabeth, Margery, Jane, Alice, Lydia, Ruth, and Deborah. He was one of the first fruits of Wales that came to New England .... ' In its proper place the record has this: '7 Jan. 1645/6, old mother Roberts, a Welsh woman, d. in the 103rd. yr. of her age. She was above 90 yrs. old when she left her native country.'"

David Beecher, father of Lyman, was born on the ancestral farm in 1738. Like his father and his grandfather, he too was a blacksmith. "His anvil stood, as had theirs, on the stump of the great oak tree under which," a century before, John Davenport had preached. "He (David Beecher) was five feet seven and one-half inches in height and weighed between one hundred and forty and one hundred and fifty pounds--the exact height and weight of his son Lyman, and his grandson Henry Ward." Being subject to severe attacks of dyspepsia, resulting in similar attacks of hypochondria, "he would

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1 According to the New Haven Probate Records, Vol. I, Part I, p. 80, Hannah Beecher left an estate appraised at 5L, 5s, 6d. "On March 3, 1659, Isaac Beecher acknowledged receipt of his one third of her estate. The above will was copied for the compiler by Donald Lines Jacobus, an authority on New Haven families, and in closing his letter he states: 'I do not see how it can be questioned that Isaac Beecher was the actual son of Hannah.'" Josephine C. Frost, "ANCESTORS OF HENRY WARD BEECHER AND HIS WIFE EUNICE WHITE BULLARD," p. 7.

2 "..... a Roberts from Forlallt, Cardiganshire, Wales. From her, his great-great-grandmother, came the fervid Welsh blood with which Henry Ward (Beecher) was always so well pleased." "A BIOGRAPHY OF HENRY WARD BEECHER," by Beecher, Scoville, and Beecher, p. 19.


4 Lyman Beecher Stowe, "SAINTS SINNERS AND BEECHERS," p. 16.

5 Ibid., p. 17.
pass from a state of cheerfulness to one of acute distress, apparently
without any cause." Otherwise, he was humorous, fond of fun, and
thoroughly relished a good joke.

Unlike many of his fellow tradesmen, however, David Beecher had a
lively interest in current events and scientific knowledge. He was extra-
ordinarily well read and enjoyed the respect and the confidence of the more
cultured leaders of his community. College students and legislators were
among the boarders in the Beecher home. His evenings were frequently spent
in their rooms where he studied along with them. While he possessed a
tenacious memory for everything that he read, he was habitually careless
of his dress and forgetful with respect to his tools and personal belongings.

Lyman Beecher's mother was David's third and "best-loved" wife, Esther
Lyman. It was through her that the Scottish tributary entered the Beecher
blood stream.

"Her father was John Lyman, of Middletown, Connecticut,
son of Ebenezer, or Samuel, who came from Scotland to Boston. So
you see I have a little Scotch blood, as well as Welsh, to mix with
the English, in my veins. This Scotch ancestor was a man of large
stature, strong mind, and excellent character. Mother herself was
of a joyous, sparkling, hopeful temperament."

2. Boyhood and Youth

Esther Lyman survived the birth of her only child, Lyman, for but
two days.

"Mother was tall, well-proportioned, dignified in her
movements, fair to look upon, intelligent in conversation, and
in character lovely."

---

2 "LYMAN" is unquestionably an English name, and the writer has
traced its origin in America to the family of "RICHARD LYMAN;" who, prior
to their emigration to Boston, Massachusetts, in 1631, lived in High Ongar,
County of Essex, England.
3 "AUTOBIOGRAPHY," Vol. I, p. 21. The writer has striven to identify
this Scottish ancestor; but, he regrets to add, without success. There
are grounds for the belief that the person referred to might have been a
certain maternal grandfather by the name of "THOMAS THOMPSON," who landed
in Boston in 1635.
Her son was a seven months' child, weighing but three and one-half pounds at birth. Wrapped up in that infant child were the family characteristics of at least six known generations. Among those which were destined to an early fruition were: a rugged, indefatigable physique; a high-strung nervous mechanism; a bold adventurous spirit; a combative temperament; a restless disposition—all combined in a personal winsomeness. From his English ancestry he inherited his Puritan idealism; from the Welsh his sensitive emotional nature; and from the Scots his love of truth, noble pietism, and fidelity to the faith.

From his father and mother he was the recipient of a not unworthy legacy, including: a sunny optimism; a buoyant, trusting faith; an argumentative mind; intellectual curiosity; absent-mindedness; a keen sense of humour; a generous disposition; and a dyspeptic stomach. That constitutional weakness was a "thorn in the flesh" throughout his entire life. During the early part of his ministry especially, his work was interrupted for months at a time with periodic recurrences of stomach disorder. Those attacks were accompanied by mental lassitude and spiritual despondency. In a subsequent chapter it will be noted that out of those experiences there was born what Beecher called his "clinical theology"—a system of applying religious truth to sick souls suffering from physical, mental, or spiritual maladjustment.

Having considered those native endowments with which Lyman Beecher was equipped, the remainder of this section will be devoted to a consideration of the preparations that were made which fitted him pre-eminently for his life's work. Within a month after the death of his mother, Lyman was committed to the care of a maternal aunt—Aunt Benton, who, with her husband, 1

1 Chapter VII, "THE HOLY SPIRIT AND THE MEANS OF GRACE."
Lot Benton, lived on a farm at North Guilford, Connecticut. There the lad spent the first sixteen years of his life. That arrangement was indeed providential; for, while he had a thorough dislike for farming, it was during those years that he acquired a sturdy, robust physique. Besides the arduous tasks of farm work (tasks which he did not shun, but for which he showed an early ineptitude), there were all the other outdoor activities for which he showed an early fondness. Hunting and fishing were two of his favourite recreations to which he continually resorted throughout his years as the principal means of gaining and re-gaining his health on repeated occasions.

It was Annis, his nursemaid, who first talked with Lyman about his soul. He was ten years of age when his Aunt Benton became "pious." Family prayers and the daily reading of the Bible were the regular custom in the Benton home; but his Uncle Lot, in a fit of resentment, withdrew from the Puritan church and identified himself with the Episcopal church. In retrospect, Beecher recollected that as a boy he had had "a good orthodox education; was serious-minded, conscientious, and had a settled fear of God and terror of the day of judgment. Conscience, however, only troubled me about particular sins. I knew nothing about my heart."

Lyman had not reached the age of sixteen before it became perfectly clear that with that nervous, impetuous temperament of his he could not long endure the tedious life of a farmer. The lumbering oxen tried his patience to the point of exhaustion. Years later he "testified that it was his uncle's

1) Fifteen miles northeast of New Haven.
2) "Stories were told of his fishing and hunting with a company, who secured, as a guide, an Indian expert in the great wilderness of the west, who at first doubted his ability to undergo the toil and hardship of the expedition, but as day after day he exhibited increasing elasticity and power of endurance, extorted from the guide the admiring exclamation, 'This little man all Indian.'" Henry P. Hedges, "A HISTORY OF THE TOWN OF EAST HAMPTON, NEW YORK," pp. 162-163.
3) "AUTOBIOGRAPHY," Vol. I, p. 34.
fearfully and wonderfully home-made plough that drove him off to Yale College." After two years of preparation, he entered Yale in the autumn of 1793 when he was eighteen years old.

Before following him to New Haven, mention should be made of the deep filial regard in which Lyman Beecher held his Aunt Benton. The following paragraphs, written to his future bride (Roxana Foote) some years after he left North Guilford, reveal the tender relationship between aunt and nephew:

1) "June 29 (1799) ..... Aunt Benton's situation affects me much. But when she is dead, I expect to bleed from the very heart, for no one, not even yourself, perhaps, lies nearer it."

2) "Saturday, July 15. A memorable day in the history of my life. I received news of the death of my beloved Aunt Benton. The memory of my aunt's affection and unwearied attention to myself completely overwhelmed me, and I was obliged to give rein to passion."

3. Yale College

When Beecher entered Yale College (1793), it was slightly less than a hundred years old—having had its inception as a "Collegiate School," 4) 7th August 1701. Between 1777 and 1795 the College was under the administration of its seventh president, Ezra Stiles, "both a living polyglot and a living encyclopedia--who on one commencement day is said to have delivered a morning oration in Hebrew, Chaldaic, and Arabic, and an afternoon discourse in Latin." By recommendation of Benjamin Franklin, the honorary degree of Doctor of Divinity was conferred upon President Stiles by the University of Edinburgh in 1765. The College buildings were two in number. The laboratory equipment consisted of a few odd pieces of crudely constructed apparatus. There was also a collection of freak specimens, gathered and contributed by President Stiles, as the nucleus of a museum of natural history.

3 Ibid., Vol. I, p. 113.
5 M.A. De Wolfe Howe, "CLASSIC SHADES," p. 16.
Still more impoverished were the moral and spiritual resources of Yale College at that time. Following the War of Independence a tidal wave of deistic literature swept the shores of New England, inundating the campus at New Haven. French infidelity was the latest fashionable importation, and its spread was greatly accelerated by the French Revolution. The names of the great sceptics were on the tongues of everybody, while the teachings of Calvin and Edwards had long since lost caste among the students. Reason had become the touchstone both in philosophy and in religion. Rationalism was the legitimate offspring of deism. Said President Stiles,

"I have thought that the Deistical controversy has insensibly led the Christian pastors and even some of the best friends of the Redeemer, into a concession that nothing is to be admitted in religion, whose internal reason is not conspicuous and evincible."

No longer was it fashionable to be religious. The College church was all but extinct. Vice and licentiousness flourished in the miasma of infidelity. "It seems probable that, during the college year of 1794-1795, the Christian life of Yale was in a most perilous condition."

Toward the close of Beecher's sophomore year, President Stiles died—12th May 1795. He was succeeded by Timothy Dwight, a grandson of Jonathan Edwards. At that time there were, in addition to the president, one professor, three tutors, and about one hundred and fifty students. President Dwight was an able teacher as well as a wise administrator, and inherited a high degree of evangelical fervour from his famous forebear. Determined to counteract infidelity at Yale, he launched out immediately for a revival of religion. Radical reform measures were put into effect which won for him the appellation, "Old Pope Dwight." In a class in "forensic disputations" a series of debates were conducted which were calculated to prove the ignorance

2 "TWO CENTURIES OF CHRISTIAN ACTIVITY AT YALE," p. 51.
of the supporters of infidelity, by exposing the shallow thinking with which they endeavoured to support their claims. "The immediate effect of his courage was to make religion fashionable, but a higher effect was to establish in the College the principle that truth had nothing to fear from examination."

President Dwight was also the College preacher. In that capacity his influence was at once powerful and far-reaching. A special series of sermons to the graduating class of 1797 was epoch-making. The title of the series was,"THE NATURE AND DANGERS OF INFIDEL PHILOSOPHY." Some idea of the force of his utterances may be gained from the following:

"The spirit of infidelity has the heart of a wolf, the fangs of a tiger, and the talons of a vulture. Blood is its proper nourishment: and it scents its prey with the nerves of a hound, and cowers over a field of death on the sooty pinions of a fiend. Unlike all other animals of prey, it feeds upon its own kind, and, when glutted with the blood of others, turns back upon those who have been its co-adjutors, ...... "

Yale College, under President Dwight, was visited by a succession of religious revivals of great power. Whereas, previously, the students were prone to ridicule the idea of religion, during the latter revivals "the students themselves petitioned for a suspension of all college exercises in order that they might apply their thoughts exclusively to religion."

It was while Lyman Beecher was at home on a visit during his junior year that he underwent his conversion experience. It was not until his final year, however, that he offered himself for membership in the Old College Church, where he was baptised by President Dwight, 30th April 1798.

"I was not in the habit of prayer," he wrote. "I rose to pray, and had not

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1 Alexander Raymond Bellinger, "TIMOTHY DWIGHT," in the "MEMORIAL QUADRANGLE," by Robert Dudley French, p. 188.
3 Ibid., p. 32.
4 "The reason why he was not baptized in infancy probably is that his Uncle and Aunt Benton, by whom he was brought up, were neither of them Church members." "AUTOBIOGRAPHY," Vol. I, p. 78.
spoken five words before I was under as deep conviction as ever I was in my life. The sinking of the shaft was instantaneous." Prior to that awakening, however, Lyman had already made up his mind to preach. "Yet I had only a traditionary knowledge; alive without the law; sense of sin all outward; ignorant as a beast of the state of my heart, and its voluntary spiritual state toward God."

There followed then a long period of mental anguish and distress of soul which lasted even beyond his senior year. Being in a state of continual suspense, young Beecher was tossed between faith and doubt, hope and despair, light and darkness. During this struggle to possess his soul, he fell back upon the Bible and the sermons of President Dwight. Certain books were recommended, such as, "EDWARDS ON THE AFFECTIONS," concerning which he wrote, "-- a most overwhelming thing, and to common minds the most entangling. The impressions left by such books were not spiritual, but a state of permanent hypochondria-- the horrors of a mind without guidance, motive, or ability to do anything."

His senior year at Yale was by far the most successful. It was during that year that he met for the first time his future bride, Roxana Foote, who lived on her grandfather's farm at Nutplains, near Guilford. Of the thirty-one members of the class of 1797, fifteen became ministers of the Gospel and the other sixteen entered the legal profession.

During his college career Lyman Beecher did not distinguish himself as a scholar, but he "was early noticed as a remarkably vigorous and original thinker and reasoner." His ability as a speaker was recognised by his fel-

2 Ibid., Vol. I, p. 47. Through the guidance of President Dwight, Lyman Beecher finally became an earnest, appreciative, and life-long student of JONATHAN EDWARDS.
low students when they chose him to give the Valedictory Address on Presentation Day, and he was elected to receive Phi Beta Kappa honours during his year of graduate study.

"He was also, in Senior year, one of the founders of the Moral Society. It was designed, according to its constitution, 'for the promotion and preservation of morality among the members of the University.'" He was graduated in 1797 with the degree of Bachelor of Arts. In 1809 he was awarded the degree of Master of Arts from Yale College; and nine years later the honorary degree of Doctor of Divinity was conferred upon him by Middlebury College, Middlebury, Vermont.

The year following his graduation from Yale, 1797-1798, Lyman Beecher studied theology under Timothy Dwight. President Dwight was a Calvinist of the "Edwardean" (Jonathan Edwards) school. He aimed especially at practical results in theology. In his judgment, education reached its highest development and realised its noblest ends only as it impressed the mind and purified the heart with the knowledge of spiritual truth. His grandson, another Timothy Dwight, wrote:

"He made, as far as was possible, every man who was brought under his influence a thinker. By his example he rebuked narrowness and intolerance. By his precepts he urged men to follow truth, whithersoever it might lead them. By the magnetism of his personal presence and his spoken words he incited them to be fearless, large-minded, confident, believing theologians ....... "

Lyman Beecher, one of President Dwight's first disciples at Yale College, whose spiritual constitution required the strong meat of the faith of Calvinism and to whom deistic infidelity offered no sustenance whatever, fed both his mind and his soul with deep satisfaction on the solid doctrines of the faith as taught by his great teacher. This was he concerning whom Beecher wrote:

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3 "AUTOBIOGRAPHY," Vol. I, p. 44.
"He had the greatest agency in developing my mind .... Oh, how I loved him! I loved him as my own soul, and he loved me as a son."

B. His First Parish—East Hampton, Long Island, New York

On Sabbath, 1st January 1806, the Reverend Lyman Beecher, Minister of the Presbyterian Church at East Hampton, Long Island, New York, preached a sermon entitled, "A SERMON CONTAINING A GENERAL HISTORY OF THE TOWN OF EAST HAMPTON." He began by saying that the beneficial results of the study of history, apart from the sheer pleasure it communicates, are intensely practical. As the follies and accumulated wisdom of former ages pass in review, "they admonish us what to shun; they instruct us what to embrace without the hazard of personal experiment." The religious benefits to be derived from history are the evidences of the "eternal counsels" manifested in each succeeding generation.

The final appeal to his congregation was that the people of East Hampton should "behold, then, and admire the mysterious providence of God! This town he intended as a theatre, on which to make memorable displays of his mercy thro' Jesus Christ. He therefore took care to plant it with the choicest vine."

1 History of East Hampton

The first eleven years of the ministry of Lyman Beecher were spent in East Hampton, near the southeastern extremity of Long Island. Those shores were first visited by Hendrick Hudson and his men in 1609. "They found an interminable beach of snowy sand, on which the ocean never ceased to beat in sparkling foam; dark forests, overgrown with tangled vines; wild-fowl in countless flocks; and throngs of admiring and astonished savages." Originally, the town embraced some thirty thousand, seven hundred and twenty

2 Ibid., p. 32.
acres. The first proprietors were from Maidstone, County of Kent, England. At one time the town was called "Maidstone," as is shown in several instances in the records.

In 1657, East Hampton came under the jurisdiction of Connecticut, across Long Island Sound. Seven years later, 1664, Long Island, including the Town of East Hampton, was annexed to the Duke of York's government.

As early as 1784 East Hampton became famous as an educational centre. Clinton Academy, named in honour of George Clinton, first governor of New York State, was established in the heart of the village. It was constructed in 1784, and on 20th November 1787 was incorporated "For The Promotion of Literature The Oldest Academical Institution In The State of New York."

Prior to the coming of Lyman Beecher in 1799, there had been but three settled ministers in East Hampton during the period of a century and a half. Until 1747, the Congregational form of church government, after

1) The purchase price for the thirty thousand acres was 38L, 4s, Sd. The articles of payment were 20 coats, 24 looking-glasses, 24 hoes, 24 hatchets, 24 knives, and 100 mugs." Sermon on the "HISTORY OF EAST HAMPTON," p. 3.

2) "..... the Congregational Churches that accepted the Saybrook Platform, were in reality Independent Presbyterian Churches, and most of the Long Island Churches did not change their local organization when they joined the Presbytery because they were Presbyterian already." "THE PASTORATE OF LYMAN BEECHER, FOURTH MINISTER OF THE FIRST PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, EAST HAMPTON, N.Y., 1799-1810," by Earnest E. Bells, p. 8.

THE SAYBROOK PLATFORM was formed in 1708 by a Synod of Connecticut ministers convened at Saybrook, Connecticut. The Platform provided: first, that the elders of a particular church should have power to exercise discipline within that church; second, that the churches of each county should form a Consociation, the council of which should consist of the teaching and ruling elders of the churches, together with any lay messengers delegated by the elders; third, that lay delegates should be entitled to deliberate and vote, provided that no matter should be determined without a majority of the elders concurring; fourth, that the Consociation should try all questions of scandal within any of the churches; fifth, that the teaching elders of each county should form a county Association, to which lay delegates should not be admitted; sixth, that the Associations should consult respecting the duties of their office, resolve questions submitted to them, examine and recommend candidates for the ministry, enter proceedings for heresy or scandal, and care for and supply vacant churches; and seventh, that a General Association should be composed of two delegates from each county Association in the State, to meet once a year.
the model of New England churches, was maintained. With the settle-
ment of Dr. Samuel Buell (Yale College, 1741), third minister of the
parish, Presbyterianism was introduced.

2. Year of Probation

At the close of his divinity year at Yale College, Lyman Beecher was
licensed to preach the Gospel by the West Haven Association, at Nauga-
tuck, September, 1798. His first sermon was preached from the text: "And
where is now my hope," Job XVII, 15. The object of the sermon was "to
distinguish between the true ground of Christian confidence and various
false grounds, such as infidelity, chance, procrastination, good works,
spurious love to God, and the like."

Within a few months after his licensure Beecher was invited to preach
at East Hampton, on Sabbath, 2nd December 1798. The invitation was extend-
ed through Tutor Davis, who had been instructed by the church "to get a
man that can stand his ground in argument, and break the heads of these in-
fidels."

He continued to preach there for a period of months.

"I did not attack infidelity directly ..... I always
preached right to the conscience. Every sermon with my eye
on the gun to hit somebody."

The following lines, written to Roxana Foote, show his mind aroused
to a state of crisis. Such an attitude was characteristic of Beecher. He
saw vital issues in terms of crises which called for immediate decisions.

He was in that respect a "crisis theologian."

"Everything is at stake. Immortal souls are sleeping on
the brink of hell. Time is on the wing. A few days will fix
their eternal state ..... Eternity hangs on the present moment,
and it is our stupidity that makes all energy enthusiasm."

2 Ibid., Vol. I, p. 89. NOTE: Infidelity had gained a firm footing
among the students at the Academy, due to the sceptical tendencies of cer-
tain members of the faculty. A Bible was burned by a group of students at
one of their public infidel meetings.
A call was given to Lyman Beecher in April, 1799, to become the 1) settled minister of the East Hampton Presbyterian Church. The decision was made and the answer given after he had committed himself and the people of his parish to God.

2) "O Lord, grant me as strong affection for this people as is consistent with supreme love to Thee, and enable me to secure and preserve their affection so far as is shall conduce to my usefulness and Thy glory."

In preparation for his ordination which took place on 5th September 1799, he rode eighty miles to place the call in the hands of the Presbytery. Concerning the ceremony itself, he recalled that it was "an exceedingly pleasant, tender, and affecting ceremony."

It had been the custom among the people of East Hampton in "settling" 4) their ministers to "covenant" with each other to discharge their salary. 5) It was the town, and not the church, which called its ministers. Upon Beecher's settlement it was agreed that he should receive a salary of three hundred dollars a year. Seven years later the amount was increased to four hundred dollars.

3. Marriage to Roxana Foote

The marriage of Lyman Beecher to Roxana Foote took place at Guilford, Connecticut, 19th September 1799. The engagement months had been more than a pe-

1 While the church had become a Presbyterian church, its ministers had always been called from New England.
3 Ibid., Vol. I, p. 115.
4 "June 16, 1799. Covenant with Revd. Mr. Beecher-- On Sunday-- signed the Agreement made by the Inhabitants of E. Hampton with Revd. Mr. Beecher by which I obligated myself to pay 15$ per Annum until I provide a Chaplain for my own place.-- being determined not to sign the Covenant as others do for paying him in proportion to property. I consider this agreement as binding only on myself and no longer than to the year I provide a Chaplain.-- P.S. It was mentioned when I signed that I expected Mr. Beecher to preach to my family on Week Days as was common in the out posts of the town.--" From the "PERSONAL DIARY OF JOHN L. GARDINER," MS. in the Pennypacker Long Island Collection.
iod of ordinary romance. For the most part it was a period of emotional upheavals in which the uncertainty of the genuineness of his own conversion experience, his passionate love for Roxana, the haunting fears that the grounds for the evidences of her Christian faith were spurious, all contributed to the tumult and conflict. So much in earnest was young Beecher that he had resolved even to break off the engagement should their religious differences prove to be insurmountable.

"I explained my views, and laid open before her the great plan of redemption .... Still, I was troubled lest she should be deceived. I was afraid her piety was merely head-work and natural amiability, and that she had not had a true change of heart."

The correspondence which passed between them during their engagement was a strange mixture of romantic affection and experiential theology. "So successful was he in throwing her into alternate states of elation and gloom like his own that her family feared for her reason, but he failed to convince her that her love of God might be merely because of His blessings to her and hence selfish and sinful." The quotations which follow, taken from their extensive correspondence, epitomise the problems which perplexed the mind of each writer; which perplexities, in turn, tortured the minds of both. The first is from Roxana:

"I have long been sensible of my own inability to do right. But I never did, I do not now give up myself as lost. I feel, I can not help feeling a hope so strong that it has almost the effect of a certainty, that, helpless myself, I shall have help from God. This hope never leaves me. Ought I to encourage it or not? And what bad consequences may arise?"

The reply is in the form of a further inquiry:

"One inquiry I can not dispense with. When you feel calm, and a degree of joy, what does it arise from? Something you see in the character of God that charms you, or something you see in yourself that you think charms God?"

4 Ibid., Vol. I, p. 82.
"Roxana Foote had gentle blood in her veins. She could trace her
genealogy back through Nathaniel Foote, who came into Connecticut with
Hooker's company in 1636, to James Foote, an officer in the English army,
who aided King Charles to conceal himself in the 'Royal Oak' and was
knighted for his loyalty .... The tree stood in a field of clover, and
the Foote coat-of-arms still bears and oak for its crest and a clover leaf
in its quarterings, with the motto 'Loyalty and Truth.'"

Her father, Eli Foote, a man of "fine person" and "polished manners,"
was educated at the bar but later became a merchant. His father, Daniel
Foote, was a member of the Constitutional Convention. Throughout the Revo-
lutionary struggle the loyalty of the Foote family to King George remain-
ed constant. This attitude "subjected them to the determined opposition
of their neighbors, and stamped the family, perhaps, with something of
that independence of character which opposition to a prevailing popular sen-
timent is adapted to give, and which is so marked a feature in her (Rox-
ana's) descendents."

Her mother, Roxana Ward Foote, was the daughter of General Andrew
Ward, who served in the Revolution under George Washington. At the close
of the war he represented the town of Guilford, Connecticut, in the State
Legislature for many years. Upon the death of his son-in-law, Eli Foote,
General Ward brought his only child, Roxana, and her ten children to his
farm at Nutplains.

Roxana Foote, wife of Lyman Beecher, was the second born of her family.
She was no less remarkable in character and personality than her impetuous
husband, though strikingly different. She was of a poetic temperament,
fond of literature, and a devoted student of nature, art, and music. Among

1 Beecher, Scoville, Beecher, "A BIOGRAPHY OF HENRY WARD BEECHER,"
pp. 21-22.
2 Ibid., pp. 23-24.
her many accomplishments was her ability to converse with fluency in French. Moreover, she sang and played her own accompaniments on the guitar. In the use of the pencil and the brush she showed unusual skill, likewise in the use of the needle. Tall and beautiful in form and in feature, with a rare sensitiveness and natural timidity, she possessed a winning and commanding presence.

She was confirmed in the Episcopal church at an early age. Both her parents were confirmed at the time of their marriage, although they were both from strictly Puritan families. At the age of five Roxana was converted, yet she scarcely remembered the time when she failed to experience a close, intimate communion with God. "Gentle and yet strong, lover of peace yet glorying in her husband's battles and in his victories, wholly at one with him in a supreme consecration to God, her piety of spirit and her placidity of temperament combined to give her an equipoise which made her the trusted counsellor of her husband, on whose judgment he depended and in whose calm his own more turbulent spirit found rest."

4. Parish Activities

Soon after the settlement of Lyman Beecher and his bride, the Town of East Hampton was suddenly visited by a revival of religion which lasted for six weeks. Its power was felt throughout the entire parish, resulting in the conversion of eighty persons--fifty of whom united with the church. During the winter of 1808-1809, ninety-seven were added. In the year following, twenty-nine more were received, thus lengthening the enrolment of communicants to three hundred and seventy.

Mrs. Beecher, in a letter to her sister, dated, 15th November 1899, described her husband's amazing parochial activities:

1 Lyman Abbott, "HENRY WARD BEECHER," p. 23.
"As for Mr. Beecher, he is everybody's man. I will tell you a little how it has been this winter.

"Mr. Beecher has preached seven or eight times a week the whole winter. Last week, for example, he preached twice in town and two lectures, besides a funeral sermon on Gardiner's Island, and five sermons to the Indians and white people down at Montauk. He every week lectures at some one of the villages adjoining: .... Some weeks at two or three of these places; and when not at these places, there have been meetings afternoons and evenings, and sometimes in the forenoon."

In addition to his regular pastoral duties, his services were in constant demand for civic enterprises outside the church. For example, the following record from the "MINUTES OF CLINTON ACADEMY, FROM 1784 TO 1870," 1) shows that,

"1799 Sept. 16 Trustees chose Rev. Lyman Beecher Trustee and Principal."

Likewise, the following was found in the "MINUTES OF THE MEETINGS OF THE EAST HAMPTON LIBRARY COMPANY, COMMENCING IN THE YEAR 1805:" 2)

"A meeting of the Trustees of the East Hampton Library Company was held in the house of Abraham Miller Esq., on Friday the 15th day of February 1805 at 6 o'clock P.M. .... At which meeting the following persons, Abraham Miller Esqr., Lyman Beecher and Abraham Parsons were chosen a Committee to prepare a set of Bye Laws for the Library Company."

That the youthful preacher was a hopeless misfit in the teaching profession, is acknowledged in his own words:

"About this time I kept school in the Academy for a brief period. It was horrible-- a perfect torture. It was just like driving Uncle Lot's old plough, only worse, to sit there looking at my watch ten times an hour to see when I should get out!"

Also, for a time Beecher acted as Clerk of the Session of his own church. His records, apparently, were not without fault; as the following comment, copied from the "MINUTES OF THE SESSION OF THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH OF EAST HAMPTON, FOR THE YEAR 1808," will show:

1 Manuscripts in the Pennypacker Long Island Collection.
2 NOTE: The library of 1805 was a successor to the one organised in 1753, one of the first circulating libraries to be established in America.
"Thus far examined in Presbytery and found deficient, and it is hereby recommended to the session of the church of Easthampton to be more particular in future.

David S. Bogart
Moderator"

Within two years after his settlement, Beecher was seized by a severe attack of stomach disorder which disabled him almost completely for a whole year. At times it was feared that his ministry, and indeed his life itself, would soon be cut off. Carefully prescribed exercise and recreation, however, resulted in a remarkable recovery of health, and with it there returned also his former vigour and enthusiasm.

5. Genius and Inspiration

It was at the meeting of the Presbytery of Long Island, at Aquabogue, 16th April 1806, when Lyman Beecher preached his sermon, "THE REMEDY FOR DUELLING," that the world was first impressed by his extraordinary genius as a preacher of reform measures; but it was during his student days at Yale College that he "wrote a whimsical dialogue to take off infidelity. Infidels ridiculed religion; I thought I would show that infidelity was more exposed to ridicule than religion. This dialogue I rewrote somewhere in the latter half of my stay there (at East Hampton), and it was to be performed at an exhibition in Clinton Academy; but, lo and behold; the sceptics rallied, and wire-worked among the Democrats; called a meeting of the trustees, and passed a vote prohibiting it!"

The historian has recorded the fate of the "DIALOGUE" thus:

"In 1807, the teacher of the Academy, (in which one of the students, a few years before, to show his manly courage, had burned the Bible,) in preparation for a public exhibition, had got up a Dialogue, written with admirable ability and force, the design of which was to expose the weakness and futility of the arguments of infidelity, against the claims of revelation. The writer, in preparing the piece, had made a free use of Mr. Jefferson's philosophical argu-

ments ..... and he had turned the shafts of ridicule with most
tremendous force and withering effect, against those who had
claimed that instrument as their principle weapon of assault.
The Dialogue was an extremely well-timed production, and one
would have thought, that it would have been hailed with a
cordial welcome, not only by Christians, but by every man that
respected the Bible. But strange to tell, a few days before
the exhibition, the free-thinkers took the alarm, and by work­
ing on the political prejudices of the community, and making
them believe that it was improper to animadvert upon the sen­
timents, and even expose the infidelity of men occupying ex­
alted offices in the nation, a meeting of the Trustees was
called, and a majority was induced to vote, that the obnox­
ious Dialogue should not be presented at the approaching ex­
hibition of the Academy!"

This was Beecher's first known literary production. The inspira­
tion to write the "DIALOGUE" was undoubtedly his admiration for the ef­
tective way in which President Dwight waged war on infidelity on the
Yale campus. In 1806 the drama was published anonymously under the ti­
tle, "A DIALOGUE, Exhibiting Some of the Principles and Practical Conse­
quences of MODERN INFIDELITY."

On Wednesday evening, 17th December 1807, Beecher "delivered a dis­
course which was to remain the sweetest and purest of his utterances,
spiraling into the empyrean, all but flinging open a radiant heavenly
kingdom." It was his sermon, "THE GOVERNMENT OF GOD DESIRABLE," the
third in a series of sermons on the doctrine of Election. For most of
the year previous, he had worked with his "heart burning" for a revival
of religion, while the church went their way "feeling nothing."

"Surely," he argued, "by joyous exclamations, by irresistible
genius-- the numbers of the elect must be unimaginably vast, crowd­
ing and multiplying far beyond the limits of the human imagination!

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1 NOTE: Mr. Morton Pennypacker, Suffolk County Historian, assured
the writer that the "DIALOGUE" was published in a limited edition for pri­
ivate distribution only. "In all my experience as a collector of rare his­
torical books, I have run across only three copies of the "DIALOGUE:" one
of which is included in the Long Island Collection; another is my own per­
sonal property; and the third is owned by a university in the West." The
text of the "DIALOGUE" is included in full in the Appendix, pages xxxii-li.
Hope—a rushing, abounding measure of hope—he offered with an assuaging tenderness. His hardy people quavered and yielded; the mystic stir of spirit came at last, running like tidings from one group to another until the whole church was caught in a wave of exaltation."

Concerning that sermon, Dr. Leonard Bacon, of New Haven, Connecticut, spoke, saying:

"Well worthy is that sermon to be ranked with the greatest sermons of the elder Edwards, which it resembles in its solid massiveness of thought and in its terrible earnestness, while it excels them in a certain power of condensed expression which often makes a sentence strike like a thunder bolt."

"The light of the golden candle-stick of East Hampton began to be seen afar." Some of its beams shone clear up into the Berkshire Hills of the northwestern corner of the State of Connecticut and attracted the attention of Judge Tapping Reeve, founder of the Litchfield Law School—the oldest law school in America. The result was that early in 1810 an invitation was extended to the author of the sermon, "THE GOVERNMENT OF GOD DESIRABLE," to come and preach in the Congregational church of Litchfield. The visit was followed by a unanimous call for Lyman Beecher to become the minister of that church, at a salary of eight hundred dollars per annum.

By that time the accumulated family debt had grown all out of proportion to the yearly salary of four hundred dollars. Even with the tuitional fees from the students of Mrs. Beecher's select school, established in her home in 1805 (6), still the augmented income was not sufficient to permanently dissolve the debt. By 1809, there was a family of five children. Early in that year, the sixth child, a daughter one month old, died.

Within a year's time the indebtedness reached the amount of five hundred dollars. In good faith the church endeavoured to increase the minister's salary to five hundred dollars per annum and liquidate his debts;

1 "SERMON AT THE FUNERAL OF REV. LYMAN BEECHER, J.D., AT PLYMOUTH CHURCH, BROOKLYN, NEW YORK, 14th JANUARY, 1863," p. 13.
2 Ibid., p. 11.
but without the support of the disinterested, unchurched townspeople, the effort was unsuccessful. Perplexed at the fruitless appeal for financial relief, Mrs. Beecher shared her feelings with her husband in a letter addressed to him at Litchfield, dated at East Hampton, 10th February 1810.

"The very low estimation which people appear to have of the blessing of the Gospel ministry is strikingly exemplified when we compare what they are willing to pay for it with what they are willing to pay for their own gratification in a hundred other respects, and a people who are provided with all the comforts of life, and who, as a people, pay more annually for mere luxuries (tobacco, for example), ought to be willing to support a minister so that he shall not need to be harassed with worldly cares."

It was with reluctance, therefore, on the part of both minister and people, that by act of the Presbytery, 18th April 1810, Lyman Beecher was dismissed from his pastoral relation to the Church and Congregation of East Hampton, and commended to the Southern Association of Litchfield County, in the State of Connecticut. The concluding paragraph of his farewell sermon, here given, reveals the evangelical passion of the man:

"And what shall I say to you, my hearers, of decent lives and impenitent hearts, to whom, through the whole period of my ministry, God by me has called in vain? God is my witness that I have greatly desired and earnestly sought the salvation of your souls, and I had hoped before the close of my ministry to be able to present you as dear children to God. But I shall not. My ministry is ended, and you are not saved ......; and now I leave you still in arms against God-- still in the gall of bitterness-- still in the kingdom of darkness, and with the melancholy apprehension that all my labors for your good will prove only a savor of death. Once more, then, I proclaim to you all your guilt and ruin. Once more I call upon you to repent, and spread before you the unsearchable riches of Christ, testifying to all of you that there is no other name given under heaven whereby we must be saved, and that he that believeth shall be saved. And now I have finished the work which God has given me to do. I am no longer your pastor, nor you the people of my care; to the God who committed your souls to my care I give you up; and with a love which will not cease to glow till the lamp of life expires, I bid you all farewell."

2 That sermon was subsequently revised and published under the title, "THE BIBLE A CODE OF LAWS."
The character and personality of Lyman Beecher at that time are thus described in the pages of history: "Dr. Beecher is in size below the usual stature, spare and rigid, with bones of brass and nerves of steel-like elasticity. His walk and gesticulation are characteristically rapid and vehement; his gray eyes kindle instantly with the action of his mind, and the whole of his face indicates an energy unsubdued and unsubduable, with a moral fearlessness before which stern men will involuntarily feel their spirits quailing."

C. Litchfield, Connecticut.

"In May, 1719, the petition of Lieutenant John Marsh of Hartford, Deacon John Buel of Lebanon and others, 'praying liberty' to settle a town in the 'Western Lands,' was granted at a 'General Assembly holden in Hartford.' The settlement began the following year, 1720, in this area which was then known as Bantam, probably a corruption of an Indian name. The town, however, was called Litchfield, after the cathedral city of Lichfield in Staffordshire, England, though it retains the 'quaint spelling of bygone days.'"

Litchfield Hill, situated in the Green Mountain range which extends from the Gulf of St. Lawrence to the shores of Long Island Sound is more than a thousand feet above sea level. It was to that village that Lyman Beecher was called to become the fourth minister of the Congregational Church, 13th March 1810. The natural beauties of Litchfield have been

3 "Although a majority of the early population of the New England colonies were Independents, still many of the ministers and people who sought refuge there from the persecutions of England were, by conviction and preference, Presbyterians.... Thus, upon a vaguely-defined and varying basis, by the union of Independents and Presbyterians, were the Congregational churches of New England created." Samuel J. Baird, (continued)
the theme of countless authors, moved by moods of ecstasy and delight, rapture and transport, awe and wonder. The reminiscences of two of Beecher's children, Harriet and Henry Ward (both of whom were born in Litchfield), tell of the vivid childhood impressions of their hilltop village.

1) The following is from the author of "UNCLE TOM'S CABIN:"

"My earliest recollections of Litchfield are those of its beautiful scenery, which impressed and formed my mind long before I had words to give names to my emotions, or could analyze my mental processes. I remember standing often in the door of our house and looking over a distant horizon, where Mount Tom reared its round blue head against the sky, and the Great and Little Ponds, as they were called, gleamed out amid a steel-blue sea of distant pine groves. To the west of us rose a smooth-bosomed hill called Prospect Hill; and many a pensive, wondering hour have I sat at our play-room window, watching the glory of the wonderful sunsets that used to burn themselves out, amid voluminous wreathings, or castellated turrets of clouds—vaporous pageantry proper to a mountainous region."

2) The second testimony is from the great "Plymouth" preacher:

"Dear old Litchfield! how I love thee still, even if thou didst me the despite of pushing me into life on thy high and windy hilltop! Where did the spring ever break forth more joyously and sing at escaping from winter, ....... ? Where did the torrid summer ever find a lovlier place in which to cool its beams? What trees ever murmured more gently to soft winds, or roared more lion-like when storms were abroad?

"...... ;there we went a-wandering up and down forest-edges, and along the crooked brooks in flower-pied meadows, dreaming about things not to be found in any catechism."


THE WESTMINSTER CONFESSION OF FAITH, formally adopted by a Synod of the New England churches, at Cambridge, Massachusetts, in 1643, became the recognised standard, and was thus authorised by the "Cambridge Platform:"

"We do judge it to be very holy, orthodox, and judicious, in all matters of faith, and do, therefore, freely and fully, consent thereunto, for the substance thereof; only in those things which have respect to church government, and discipline, we refer ourselves to the platform of church discipline agreed upon by this present assembly." Cotton Mather, "MAGNA LIA CHRISTI AMERICANA," Vol. II, p. 155.


No less remarkable were the cultural advantages of Litchfield at that time. The early settlers were of excellent stock—forward-looking in their planning and liberal in their provisions for religion and education. The entrancing beauty of the village today is due in large part to the care and foresight with which its landscape was first surveyed to provide for its broad, elongated Green in the heart of the village. There on the central Green, commanding the view from all directions, the first meeting-house of the Congregational Society was erected in 1726. Along side of the church was built the school; and, a little later, the court house.

From the very beginning of its history Litchfield was noted for the far-reaching influences of its pulpit and the excellent character of its schools. Among its schools, two in particular stand out prominently as famous historical institutions. The Litchfield Law School, established by Judge Tapping Reeve, prior to 1784, was the first great law school in America. During its half century of existence, more than a thousand highly intellectual young men from some of the finest families in the land were attracted to Litchfield for a legal education. "Judge Reeve was distinguished for his piety, and interest in all benevolent operations, as much as for his learning. In him Dr. Beecher found a truly kindred spirit; and probably no man, through the whole course of his life, ever stood so near to him in Christian intimacy."

About the year 1792, Miss Sarah (Sally) Pierce, a native of Litchfield and a pioneer in the field of education for women, began her school in the village. It was later known as the "Litchfield Female Academy," to which some three thousand young ladies of culture and refinement were attracted.

Litchfield being the county seat, there were always large numbers of

visitors in the community attending the court sessions—lawyers, judges, and statesmen. The duration of their visits might be from a period of a few days to several weeks, or even months. Their presence at the services of the Congregational and Episcopal churches greatly augmented the regular congregations, which included a galaxy of outstanding personalities who resided permanently in Litchfield.

A letter written by Lyman Beecher's predecessor, the Reverend Dan Huntington, just before Beecher's first visit to Litchfield, describes 1) in one sentence the character of the new environment into which the Beecher family was about to come:

"A delightful village, on a fruitful hill, richly endowed with schools both professional and scientific, with its venerable governors and judges, with its learned lawyers, and senators, and representatives both in the national and state departments, and with a population enlightened and respectable, Litchfield was now in its glory."

1. Installation

Lyman Beecher, fourth minister of the Congregational Church and Society, Litchfield, Connecticut, was installed by the Consociation, 30th May 1810. The sermon was preached by President Dwight of Yale College. From the very beginning, Beecher preached and laboured for a revival of religion. The spiritual vitality of the churches was at a low ebb. A religious revival in any circumstances was the thing in comparison with which everything else was of secondary value and importance. The winning of souls for Jesus Christ was the summum bonum towards which all the powers of Beecher's being were directed. Revivals of religion were not only accurate thermometers by which the spiritual health of the churches was measured, but they were also the most effective antidotes for scepticism.

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2 Vid., page 15, footnote 2.
and infidelity, controversy and heresy. Consequently, Beecher's preaching, like that of his illustrious teacher, Timothy Dwight, was thoroughly evangelical. It was "never abstractly metaphysical or dry doctrinal statement. The doctrinal statement was only a foundation on which he based a strong personal urgent plea with the hearers to do something immediately, and with all their might. Nothing was reckoned success by him that did not result in the conversion of souls to God,— the radical change of heart and life."

"The New England mind in his day was thoroughly possessed and leavened by Calvinistic metaphysical theology. Often the absolute supremacy of the Divine Being was asserted in forms which practically nulified human ability, and left the impression that man was subject to the commands of a hard master, who required what he had received no ability to perform. Dr. Beecher asserted that perfect free agency was the only proper foundation of just government."

That style of preaching was most certain to produce results, and it was for that reason that Beecher's labours in Litchfield were expended in gathering in converts and building up the churches. A certain family letter written during the early part of his ministry there speaks of a "perpetual revival" as going on in Litchfield.

On the 14th day of June, 1811, Lyman Beecher's distinguished daughter, Harriet, was born in Litchfield, Connecticut; who, years later, became the "little woman" whom President Lincoln greeted on one occasion, saying, "So this is the little woman who wrote the book that made this big war." Two years later, 24th June, 1813, Henry Ward was born in that same village, the eighth child of Lyman and Roxana Beecher. It was to that famous son that Phillips Brooks referred when he said, just before his death in Boston,

2 Ibid., p. 715.
4 Quoted from, "SAINTS SINNERS AND BEECHERS," by Lyman Beecher Stowe, p. 205.
5 Quoted from "HENRY WARD BEECHER," a sermon by Newell Dwight Hillis, p. 7.
Mississippi, "I regard him as the greatest preacher Protestantism has ever produced."

2. Reform Measures

Soon after Beecher's arrival at Litchfield he attended two ordaining council meetings. On both occasions a variety of liquors were served to the members of the Consociation by the entertaining church. He was shocked as he observed that apparently drinking was universal, even among the clergy.

"These two meetings were near together, and in both my alarm, and shame, and indignation were intense. 'Twas that that woke my up for the war. And silently I took an oath before God that I would never attend another ordination of that kind."

At the General Association meeting convened at Sharon, Connecticut, in June 1812, he was appointed chairman of a committee of three to report ways and means of arresting the tide of intemperance. On the day following the committee reported its findings; which report, in the words of Beecher himself, was "the most important paper that ever I wrote." As a result of that report the Massachusetts Society for the Suppression of Intemperance, the oldest in America, was formed in 1813. "The report before the General Association of Connecticut, therefore, stands among the earliest documents of the great Temperance Reformation."

From that time on, Lyman Beecher ceased not to stir up agitation in behalf of state-wide moral reforms and was the moving spirit in the founding of the "Connecticut Society for the Promotion of Good Morals," 21st May 1813, at Hartford, Connecticut. In preparation for its establishment, Beecher

1 Cf., "HENRY WARD BEECHER," by Lyman Abbott, p. 17--"But contemporaries who were familiar with both (Henry Ward Beecher and his father) not infrequently rated the elder preacher as the equal in forcefulness and power of the younger."
delivered his discourse, "A REFORMATION OF MORALS PRACTICABLE AND DESIRABLE," in New Haven, 12th October 1812, while the state legislature was in session. Dr. Leonard Bacon remarked that that sermon was "the most eloquent, perhaps, of all his printed works."

"No people are more fitted to destruction, if they go to destruction, than we ourselves. All the daring enterprise of our countrymen, emancipated from moral restraint, will become the desperate daring of unrestrained sin. Should we break the bands of Christ, and cast his cords from us, and begin the work of self-destruction, it will be urged on with a malignant enterprise which has no parallel in the annals of time, and be attended with miseries such as the sun has never looked upon."

Thirteen years later (1825), just before he left Litchfield to enter upon his Boston ministry, Beecher preached his world-renowned, "SIX SERMONS ON INTEMPERANCE." The Reverend William Reid, of Lothian Road, Edinburgh, some years later (1846) made the following comments concerning those sermons and their author:

"To Dr. Beecher belongs the honour of first sounding the note of alarm; and calling the friends of morality to combined effort for the suppression of intemperance. All acquainted with the history of the temperance reformation, revere his name; ... Among the means employed for carrying forward the temperance cause, few have been more effective than his Six Sermons."

3. The Mission Enterprise

Throughout his ministry Beecher maintained a statesmanlike attitude toward all the major interests of the kingdom of God. Everything that was undertaken in the parish was done with an eye to the larger welfare of the domain of Christ. In 1810, the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions came into existence. Two years later it became an incorporated society. Beecher was not only vitally interested in the creation of that great missionary organisation, but the immediate prospects of advancing the

1 "SERMON AT THE FUNERAL OF REV. LYMAN BEECHER," p. 15.
4 From the "PREFACE" to a pamphlet, "SIX SERMONS ON INTEMPERANCE," Edinburgh Public Library.
frontiers of the Redeemer's kingdom fired his enthusiasm to a fervour which never died out. "Returning, full of zeal, from the first meeting of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, in 1812, he called together, in this village, several clergymen and laymen from various parts of the county, who organized the Litchfield County Foreign Mission Society -- The First Auxiliary of the American Board."

It was just about this time that Beecher became actively engaged in the establishment of a number of schools and societies for the promotion of training in religious leadership. The Connecticut Education Society, formed as a result of consultations in which he had a prominent part, was a forerunner of the American Educational Society. Moreover, it was due in large part to Beecher's inspiration and efforts that the Foreign Mission School, the first in America, came into being at Cornwall, Connecticut.

His real qualities of statesmanship, however, were most strikingly demonstrated in his, "ADDRESS OF THE CHARITABLE SOCIETY FOR THE EDUCATION OF INDIGENT PIous YOUNG MEN, FOR THE MINISTRY OF THE GOSPEL," (1814 (?)), wherein he described the spiritual wastes of the United States in terms of statistical compilations.

In consideration of an estimated population of 8,000,000 souls in the United States at that time, he argued that the civic welfare of the nation, as well as the interests of Eternity, demanded for that whole number the benefits of qualified, religious instructors. Adequate religious instruction demanded one pastor for every 1,000 souls; or, estimating an average of seven members to a family, one pastor for every 150 families. On that

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3 According to the Bureau of Census, the population of the United States in 1926 was 116,531,963 persons. (continued)
basis there was an immediate demand for 8,000 ministers. That number of 1) ministers assigned to each of the five denominations supported by an average salary of $600 per annum would necessitate 40,000 men at a yearly expenditure of $24,000,000. At that time, however, there were not more than 3,000 educated ministers of the Gospel throughout the entire country. Hence, there was a deficiency of 5,000 ministers and a population of 5,000,000 souls destitute of proper religious instruction.

After making an earnest plea for a trained ministry for the evangelising of the nation, a Bible in every family, a school for every district, and a pastor for every 1,000 souls, Beecher concluded his discourse with these climactic words:

"And finally, whatever it shall be your purpose to do, do it quickly, and with all your might; for of the five millions of your destitute countrymen every year is sweeping 150 thousand to the grave. While you read, they die and go to the judgment; and with all the expedition that you can make, about 750 thousand must die in this Christian land destitute of the means of grace, before you can send to them one competent religious instructor, as the result of exertions which are yet to be made. Oh, that my head were as waters, and mine eyes as fountains of tears, that I might weep day and night over the slain of the daughter of my people!"

(continued from previous page) In that same year there were 212 religious denominations, 54, 576,346 church members, and 232, 154 local churches; making an average of one church for every 502 persons throughout the United States, or, one church for every 235 church members.


Vid., "LETTER TO REV. LYMAN BEECHER, CONTAINING STRICTURES ON A PAMPHLET, ('An Address of the Charitable Society, for the Education of Indigent Pious Young Men,')," by Freeborn Garretson, published in Boston: 1817.

"But let the statements in the Address be candidly examined, and it will be seen that the real subject of concern for the people in the different sections of the Union, is founded in their aversion to the Congregational or Calvinistic creed, that the ministers so much wanted and so loudly called for are Congregational ministers, and that the whole plan is a plan of proselytism to build up a particular party.

"This will appear more evident when it is recollected that the exertions so strongly recommended are wholly irreconcilable with the principles of predestination so warmly contended for by Mr. Beecher and his brethren.... H. R." (From, "ADVERTISEMENT," to Letter of Strictures).
4. **The Standing Order**

The year 1811 marked the beginning of the downfall of the standing order in Connecticut. The Congregational church was the established church. The state legislature from the beginning had provided for the maintenance of the Congregational order, through financial appropriations of public funds and favouring legislation. As long as the Federalist party was in control of the politics of the State, the standing order was impregnable: "As well attempt to revolutionize the kingdom of heaven as the State of Connecticut!"

In that year, however, there was a split in the Federalist phalanx and the insurgents came into ascendancy. The result was a complete revolution in the ecclesiastical order— from the system of Church and State to the voluntary system.

"The most remarkable exhibition of most of the peculiarities (of the downfall of the standing order) is to be found in the history of Connecticut during the period of Dr. Beecher's Litchfield ministry; and one of the most remarkable phases of his whole career is that in which we see him, on the one hand, making Herculean efforts to uphold the system of Church and State, and, on the other, lavishing almost superhuman energies in laying the foundations of the voluntary system."

"I worked," wrote Beecher, "as hard as mortal man could, and at the same time preached for revivals with all my might, and with success, till at last, what with domestic afflictions and all, my health and spirits began to fail. It was as dark a day as ever I saw. The odium thrown upon the ministry was inconceivable. The injury done to the cause of Christ, as we then supposed, was irreparable. For several days I suffered what no tongue can tell for the best thing that ever happened to the State of Connecticut. It cut the churches loose from dependence on state support. It threw them wholly on their own resources and on God."

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On looking back upon those experiences Beecher remarked in his characteristic spirit, "I found at last that I was on one side and God on the other, and God's side proved the best."

At the General Association meeting assembled at Fairfield, Connecticut, June, 1814, Beecher brought in a report which recommended a petition to Congress in behalf of the abolition of Sunday mails. Upon the adoption of the report the famous petitions against Sunday mails had their inception. On 21st September of that same year he preached the sermon which gave rise to the Domestic Missionary Society, for the promotion of home evangelism in the State of Connecticut. "The churches did not understand all I meant by that sermon. I foresaw what was coming. I saw the enemy digging at the foundation of the standing order. I went to work, with deliberate calculation, to defend it, and prepare the churches, if it fell, to take care of themselves."

"Our laws, habits, and manners, are the result of our religion; ...... Have our religious institutions been so barren of good to us, that we may lightly trifle them away in search of better; or is experimenting in religion so harmless a thing, that if the right form does not come out of the fire, we can restore the molten mass to its former uses? No,-- let the prevailing religious order of the State be once broken down, and it is gone forever. What injustice would this be to the dead! ...... They accomplished their work and went to heaven, leaving to their posterity only the labor of preserving what they had bequeathed."

5. The American Bible Society

Beecher was one of the prime movers in the establishment of the Connecticut Bible Society. He was one of the original founders of the American Bible Society, in 1816. On the 8th of May of that year, in the Garden Street Dutch Reformed Church, New York City, a group of influential persons were assembled for the purpose of choosing "some practicable method of carrying God's word westward to the thousands fast settling into content with ir-

religion ..... and Rev. Dr. Lyman Beecher, the father of 'all the Beechers,' a young man who as pastor of the Congregational Church at Litchfield, Connecticut, had already fought well as a champion of temperance among the clergy, were appointed secretaries of the Convention."

At that meeting Beecher was appointed to the committee charged with the responsibility of drafting a suitable constitution for the prospective society. Accordingly, at the adjourned meeting two days later, Friday, 10th May 1816, at 11 A.M., the committee presented its draft of a constitution--"a well-considered document which has served its purpose as the years have gone by."

6. Bereavement

Wednesday, 25th September 1816, marked the passing of"the richest gift which God ever gave" to Lyman Beecher--"the wife of his youth, Roxana Foote (Beecher) ..... With a purity and loveliness of nature almost angelic, with a strong, clear, New England mind, trained and enlarged by a most assiduous self-culture, healthful, industrious, and heartily devoted to her duties, she was all that a husband and a pastor and a family could desire....He was fully aware of his obligations to her; and in the early part of his ministry he said to a friend, ..... 'If I am ever good for anything, it is that woman who will be the making of me.' ..... She was of a highly aesthetic nature, and every way qualified to supply and correct whatever there might have been that was defective and infelicitous in his own character and training. A most happy marriage, and blessed with eight healthful and vigorous children."

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2 Ibid., p. 25.
"Her death," Lyman Beecher wrote, "was to me an overwhelming stroke; for, in addition to my loss, it was a time of disgrace and odium such as the ministry in this country have never been called to pass through. The whole year after her death was a year of great emptiness, as if there was not motive enough in the world to move me. I used to pray earnestly to God either to take me away, or to restore to me that interest in things and susceptibility to motive I had had before."

Within six months President Timothy Dwight died, 11th February 1817. The passing of this great friend and teacher brought not only fresh sorrow, but also a fresh realisation of how dependent he had been upon President Dwight for instruction, example, and inspiration. "His influence was extensive and beneficent beyond that of any other man in New England; .... Whenever I wanted advice, I went to him as to a father, and told him everything .... Whenever I was at New Haven I always went to see him."

On one occasion President Dwight commended Beecher's preaching. The effect of his words upon his young, admiring disciple was as a benediction; it was as a ray of sunshine to his very soul.

7. Family Conversions

An early solicitude was felt by Dr. Beecher for the well-being of the soul of each of his children. The paragraphs which follow were directed to his son, William, a student at Yale College. The letter from which they are quoted, dated 6th February 1819, reveals the anguish with which he urged the conversion of his son.

"But while I am as successful as most ministers in bringing the sons and daughters of others to Christ, my heart sinks within me at the thought that every one of my own dear children are without God in the world, and without Christ, and without hope. I have no child prepared to die; and however cheering their prospects for time may be, how can I but weep in secret places when I realize that their whole eternal existence is every moment liable to become an existence of unchangeable sinfulness and woe."

"... My son, do not delay the work of preparation. Awake to the care of your soul. Time flies; sin hardens; procrastination deceives. You occupy that period of life in which there is more hope than in any other. Do not put off the subject ... A family so numerous as ours is a broad mark for the arrows of Death. ... Let me not, if you should be prematurely cut down, be called to stand in despair by your dying bed, to weep without hope over your untimely grave. Awake, I beseech you, my dear son, and fly to Christ. So your affectionate father prays with weeping."

Similar entreaties were also made to Edward while he was at college.

During the summer of 1820, one of his father's letters contained these paragraphs:

"My heart overflows with grief and fear, and my eyes with tears while I write to you. You must not continue stupid. Now pre-eminently is with you the accepted time and the day of salvation. Trust not to my prayers; that would be to hinder their efficacy by making them the occasion of a deadly security. Let nothing interfere now with the care of your soul. Balance not between study and reputation and an interest in Christ.

"Study, if it is no impediment to seriousness, as usually it may not be; but if it is, give all up till you feel you are raised from the horrid pit, and your mouth is filled with a new song; and fail not to let me meet you and greet you as a child of the Redeemer when I come down."

8. Contra Unitarianism

"THE BIBLE A CODE OF LAWS," preached at the ordination of the Reverend Sereno E. Dwight as minister of the Park Street Church, Boston, Massachusetts, 3rd September 1817, was Beecher's first public assault upon Unitarianism. "From the time Unitarianism began to show itself in this country," wrote Beecher, "it was as fire in my bones. I watched it, even at East Hampton, and read everything that appeared on the subject. ... My mind had been heating, heating, heating. Now I had a chance to strike."

That sermon was considered to be "a most telling argument against the Unitarian system, striking it just where it is most defenceless."

However, two years later, 21st July 1819, a second such opportunity came to Beecher upon the installation of the Reverend Elias Cornelius as associate minister of the Tabernacle Church, Salem, Massachusetts, on which occasion Beecher preached his sermon, "THE DESIGN, RIGHTS AND DUTIES OF LOCAL CHURCHES." The object of that discourse was to sharpen the distinction between the regenerate and the unregenerate members of the congregation, in opposition to the Unitarian attempts to efface that distinction and to enlarge the Church fellowship to include the entire congregation.

A third opportunity came at the ordination of the Reverend Loammi Ives Hoadley at Worcester, Massachusetts, 15th October 1823. That was the occasion which gave birth to Beecher's sermon, "THE FAITH ONCE DELIVERED TO THE SAINTS." It was a clear, fresh statement of both the orthodox system and the "liberal" system contrasted with each other in such a way as to annihilate completely any possible idea that the liberal (Unitarian) system could be the faith once delivered to the saints. Consequently, Unitarianism in New England was put to the task of defending itself; which it did, in due time, by an elaborate review of Dr. Beecher's sermon, published in the "Christian Examiner (Unitarian)," January, 1824. Said Dr. Bacon, in his address at the funeral of Lyman Beecher:

"That sermon, I do not hesitate to say, was one of the most effective publications in the Unitarian controversy of the time, ..... like a huge bomb thrown right into the camp of the adversaries."

9. Extra Parochial Activities

Shortly before the death of Dr. Timothy Dwight, he expressed his firm conviction, in an interview with his former pupil, that there was urgent need for a religious and literary magazine and that such a periodical should be established under religious auspices. Immediately, Lyman Beecher

set out to engage the interest of some of the other pupils of President Dwight in the proposed project. That led to the publication and the widespread dissemination of tracts which treated the great religious issues of the day. In 1819, two years after Dr. Dwight died, the "Christian Spectator" was born; of which Dr. Beecher was among the earliest, most ardent, and ever-ready supporters.

As a result of the religio-political upheaval of the years which immediately followed, a decided need was felt for the founding of a distinctively religious publication which should be the organ of the children of the Pilgrims. In 1825 the "Connecticut Observer" was launched on its career. In its construction there was much of the time, money, labour, brains, and spirit of Beecher. In a letter to his son, Edward, dated at 1) Middletown, January, 1825, he wrote:

"The Observer begins with about 1400 subscribers. The first number strikes well, and the second, third, and fourth will be still better. It is, in my judgment, one of the grandest strokes of holy policy we have ever attempted for the Church of God. It will compel other papers to rise to our standard if they can, and thus control extensively that irresponsible organ of good and evil, the press. I wonder holiness has not been stamped on it before. It belongs to God, and must be consecrated."

With all Connecticut as his parish, Beecher journeyed up and down the State aiding in the work of gathering in the fruits of religious revivals. Moreover, during his pastorate in Litchfield there were no less than a dozen or fifteen ecclesiastical councils, for the management of which his services were urgently sought. The combined demands made upon his physical resources by the political excitement, revival efforts, and labours in behalf of the "Spectator" exhausted his strength, ruined his health, and plunged him into another year of misery and wretchedness such as the one he had endured at East Hampton.

10. Call to Boston

On 2nd January 1826 a committee of the Hanover Street Church, Boston, Massachusetts, corresponded with Lyman Beecher to inquire whether he would consider a call to become the pastor of that church. A favourable reply was dispatched within a week's time; and on Sabbath, 12th March, Beecher preached for the first time in his new location.

During the latter part of his ministry in Litchfield a certain student, a junior at Yale College, driven from New Haven by ill health, came to that village bearing a letter of introduction to "Mr. Beecher of Litchfield." Years afterward that same stranger recorded his early impressions of the Litchfield minister, in these words:

"Lyman Beecher was a thunderbolt. You never knew where it would strike, but you never saw him rise to speak without feeling that so much electricity must strike .... I have never yet met the man in whose presence, whenever I met him, I always felt so small as in his.... There was an inward spring that drove the machine with a power often sublime, always effective, and wonderful in results."

D. Athens of America—Boston, Massachusetts

Boston, the capital city of Massachusetts, founded in 1630, was a metropolis of fifty thousand inhabitants when Lyman Beecher entered into pastoral relations with the Hanover Street Church and Society in March, 1826. Established ten years after the arrival of the Pilgrim Fathers on the shores of New England, Boston remained a stronghold of the Puritan faith and culture for a century and a half until after the American Revolution. During that interval, however, the character of the life of the colonists by no means remained unchanged. Winfield Burggraaff mentions three distinct factors in the history of the colonies which prepared the soil for the liberal theology of Unitarianism.

1 John Todd, who came to Litchfield in 1820.
First, the change in the character of the immigrants effected a moral decadence in the life of the colonies. Whereas, the first settlers were men with very positive religious convictions and principles, whose morals were most exemplary, and who were constrained to cross the seas from purely religious motives, those who migrated to America during the latter half of the seventeenth century were chiefly those who came seeking the wealth and liberty of the new world. In many instances they were fugitives from justice, or vagrants who found their way to the colonies. The hectic influences of the religious and political disturbances in the mother countries had a demoralising effect in the daughter settlements. Deism and Latitudinarianism came with the later Pilgrims, as Calvinism and Puritanism came with the original exiles. Careless indifference to religious truth and laxity in morals were the twin offspring of the character of the subsequent arrivals.

Second, the "Half-Way Covenant" was another factor in preparation for the growth of a liberal theology. It was a compromise provided in 1662 for the propagation of the church constituency by receiving as members those who gave their public assent to the truth of the doctrines of the faith. It became, therefore, an unregenerate membership. Later on, an unregenerate ministry followed as a natural consequence. Thus, the spiritual vitality of the church was dissipated by too rapid growth in numbers.

The "Half-Way Covenant" brought in by the hand another innovation in 1707— "Stoddardism." According to that policy, the sacraments were regarded as means of grace— converting ordinances to be indulged by saints and sinners alike. Consequently non-members as well as regenerate members were admitted to the Lord's Supper, and it became increasingly evident that the church was no longer the "congregatio sanctorum."

Third, the vital contact which was maintained between the colonies
and Europe was another factor in the preparation for theological liberalism. Religious persecutions abroad drove many learned men to New England. Then there was a constant intercourse between merchants of Old and New England. At various times the colonies had new governors appointed, who would come with their train of associates, fresh from the cultural centre in London. Young men were sent to England and to continental cities to pursue their studies. Each ship arriving in Boston Harbour would bring to the colonists the latest news from the mother county—news of literature, politics, philosophy and religion. So that instead of thinking of the colonists as people suffering great mental and spiritual privations as well as physical, we see them moving along in the streams of European life, and Boston is called the new Athens."

1. The Rise of Unitarianism

Theological thought in New England thrived with a normal and natural development during the Revolutionary War. At the close of the war, however, a new movement appeared which dealt a staggering blow to New England Congregationalism, threatening its very existence. It was the Unitarian movement.

In 1785 King's Chapel in Boston, the original Episcopal Church of Massachusetts, became Unitarian under the leadership of its minister, James Freeman; who, in the year following, sought ordination from the Bishop of Connecticut. The examination was not sustained on account of Unitarian tendencies. Subsequently, his own church ordained him on the authority of the congregation. His ministry at King's Chapel was widely influential and continued until his death.

The Hollis Professorship in Divinity at Harvard College became vacant in 1803. Two years later Henry Ware, Jr., a Unitarian, was appointed to

1 Loc. cit., p. 30.
occupy the chair, contrary to the stipulation explicitly laid down by the donor, an English Calvinist Baptist, that the occupant of the chair which he endowed should "profess and teach the principles of the Christian religion according to the well-known confession of faith drawn up by the synod of the churches of New England." Harvard College, therefore, was no longer looked upon as a training school for ministers for the orthodox Congregational churches, in accordance with its original intention. In protest against the Unitarian tendencies of Harvard, Andover Theological Seminary was established in 1808. Thirteen years later, 1821, Amherst College was founded to counteract the liberalising influences of Harvard.

The "Magna Charta" of American Unitarianism is generally considered to be the Baltimore sermon of the Reverend William Ellery Channing, "apostle of Unitarianism" in New England, preached on the occasion of the ordination of the Reverend Jared Sparks, in 1819, at Baltimore, Maryland. "We challenge our opponents," said Channing, "to adduce one passage in the New Testament where the word God means three persons, where it is not limited to one person, and where, unless turned from its usual sense by the connection, it does not mean the Father."

Channing was reared under the Calvinism of the New England orthodoxy.

2 Cf., "HISTORY OF THE ANDOVER THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY," by Leonard Woods, p. 59. Professor Woods showed that Andover had been contemplated as an institution for the maintenance of "genuine Calvinism" before the controversy arose concerning the appointment of the Hollis professor at Harvard.
3 CHANNING, WILLIAM ELLERY-- born at Newport, Rhode Island, 7th April 1780; Harvard College, 1794-1798; ordained as pastor of the Federal Street Congregational Church, Boston, 1st June 1803; preached his famous "Baltimore" sermon at the ordination of Rev. Jared Sparks in 1819; 1821 traveled abroad, met Wordsworth and Coleridge; became an earnest anti-slavery reformer; died in Bennington, Vermont, 2nd October 1842; in defence of Unitarianism--"UNITARIANISM MOST FAVORABLE TO PIETY (1826)."
His sense of the awfulness of sin remained with him throughout his years as a grim reality. However, it was against the "merciless" dogmas of the Calvinistic faith, and not against orthodoxy per se, that Channing rebelled. "All my convictions of justice and goodness revolted," said he, "against the merciless dogmas then commonly taught. I went to the Scriptures, and the blessed light gradually beamed on me from the word of God." In another connexion he used still stronger language: "There was a time when I verged towards Calvinism, for ill health and depression gave me a dark view of things. But the doctrine of the Trinity held me back." Again, on visiting a prison one day he found some Calvinist tracts and exclaimed: "Truly, this plague of Calvinism, like the vermin inflicted on Egypt, finds its way everywhere."

It was to Francis Hutcheson (1694-1747), the Scottish philosopher, that Channing owed the greatest share of appreciation for the philosophy which shaped his thinking and determined his attitude toward the true worth and dignity of the human soul, and its inherent tendency towards moral perfection. The reading of Hutcheson was as "a new spiritual birth" to Channing.

The challenge flung out by Channing in his Baltimore sermon in 1819 was accepted by Moses Stuart, Professor of Sacred Literature in Andover Seminary, and "the father of biblical learning in this country." In reply to the champion of Unitarianism, Stuart published his "LETTERS" in that same year. In the year following, 1820, the controversy was resumed by Leonard Woods, Professor of Christian Theology, at Andover, when he published his "LETTERS TO UNITARIANS." The year 1820 brought forth also a volume on the side of Unitarianism, "LETTERS TO TRINITARIANS AND CALVINISTS," by Henry Ware, the

3 Ibid., Vol. III, p. 27.
Hollis professor at Harvard; and in response to Professor Ware's argument, Professor Woods published a pamphlet in the following year, entitled, "A REPLY."

Accompanying these and other formal interchanges of arguments was a long series of popular discussions which drew into the controversial vortex many other competent theologians and preachers from both sides. Finally, on 26th May 1825 a small group of men met in the vestry of the church in which William Ellery Channing had been ordained on 1st June 1803-- the Federal Street Congregational Church, Boston-- and organised the American Unitarian Association, the year before the removal of Lyman Beecher from Litchfield to Boston.

1) "He (Beecher) felt in his inmost soul that Unitarianism was a ruinous heresy; he saw with pain the ascendency it had gained in the social, political, and literary life of Eastern Massachusetts, and that its influence was fast extending to other parts of the country; and he was conscious (so he thought) of a divine call to him to draw the sword of the Spirit, and do battle valiantly for 'God and for truth.' Right or wrong, such was his conviction, and his whole conduct was in exact accordance with it."

2. Hanover Street Church

Dr. Beecher was fifty years of age when he received the call to the Hanover Street Church, where he was pastor from 1826 to 1832. Those years in many respects were the busiest, the most satisfying, the most laborious, and visibly the most successful years of his career. His name and fame as "the champion of the orthodox faith," "the big gun of Calvinism," and "the most efficient champion and defender of the faith," had already commanded universal recognition. Hence, in 1826 when the orthodox Congregational Churches of Massachusetts were at the crisis of their struggle to resist the overshadowing influences of Unitarianism and

halt the hostile encroachments of a liberalising theology, Lyman Beecher was chosen to uphold the standards of the ancient Puritan faith, as pastor of the newly organised Hanover Street Church— in the heart of the citadel once occupied exclusively by the fathers of the faith, but now shared with the intruder.

1) "Dr. Beecher," wrote one of his Boston converts, later a pupil at Lane Theological Seminary, "was aroused to an unusual degree of spiritual power. He appeared as one of the old Puritan fathers risen from the dead. His residence was on Copp's Hill, No. 18 Sheafe Street, and near to his house reposed the dust of 'The Mathers.' Oftentimes as he came to the weekly prayer-meeting and lecture there was in him a mighty uplifting of passionate emotion, both in his prayers and sermons, a tender but grand upheaval and on-moving power which was like the rolling of a tidal wave on the beach of the sea. Sometimes in his prayers I have heard him say, 'Come, Lord Jesus! here are the bones of the fathers, here the crown was torn from thy brow, here behold the scattered flock upon the mountains! Come, O good Shepherd, gather them to thy fold, for they stumble in the darkness of error!"

His church, a year old, had a membership of but thirty-seven when Beecher became their minister. True to his policy adopted at East Hampton, and maintained at Litchfield, he entered upon his Boston ministry with the firm conviction that the most effective way to overcome the enemies of the faith was through religious revivals. That was his theory with respect to infidelity in his first parish, and vice and immorality in his second. "But, though my ministry call out Unitarians of distinction," he wrote to his son William, 10th April 1826, "it is not on this kind of celebrity that I chiefly rely ..... My plan is to retire and go to work silently, until the result shall tell in 'souls renewed and sins forgiven.'"

Dr. Beecher was by no means so completely absorbed in the administration of the affairs of his own parish that he was oblivious to the still greater affairs of Christendom at large, which likewise demanded expert

2 Within eighteen months after Beecher's settlement, the Hanover Street Church established three daughter churches and colonised them with an aggregate of one hundred and nine members, dismissed from its own constituency.
3 "AUTHTOGRAPHY" Vol. II. p. 60
attention and personal consecration. His multifarious labours in Boston are strikingly enumerated by Professor Stowe: "But as to laying out extensive plans of aggression beyond the limits of his own congregation, attending councils, making speeches at public meetings, writing essays and reviews, watching over theological discussions, taking care of all the young men he could drum up for the ministry, organizing the labor of others, setting everybody at work, in short, wheeling any number of different heavily laden wheel-barrows all at once and the same time,.....; this and more is what Dr. Beecher did during all the six years he labored in Boston."

3. Missionary Statesmanship

Within two months after his arrival in Boston, Beecher was called to New Haven to give his "Valedictory Sermon" to the State of Connecticut—

"THE POWER OF THE GOSPEL TO RENOVATE THE WORLD," a sermon addressed to the Legislature of Connecticut, on the day of the anniversary election, 3rd May 1826. That sermon has an historic interest, since it was the last in a series of annual discourses which extended through a period of nearly two hundred years. After that time the "standing order" was dissolved in the separation of church and state. A paragraph from the heart of the sermon is here given:

"The origin and history of our nation are indicative of some great design to be accomplished by it ..... Indeed, if it had been the design of Heaven to establish a powerful nation, in the full enjoyment of civil and religious liberty, where all the energies of man might find scope and excitement, on purpose to show the world, by one great successful experiment, of what man is capable, and to shed light on the darkness, which should awake the slumbering eye, and rouse the torpid mind, and nerve the palsied arm of millions,—where could such an experiment have been made but in this country, and by whom so auspiciously as by our fathers, and

2 Rewritten as, "THE MEMORY OF OUR FATHERS," and preached at Plymouth, Massachusetts, 22nd December 1827.
by what means so well adapted to that end as by their instructions? The course which is now adopted by Christians of all denominations, to support and extend, at home and abroad, religious and moral influence, would seem to indicate the purpose of God to render this nation extensively the almoner of his mercy to the world."

The year 1826 was marked by powerful revivals and intense religious excitement in different sections of the country. Not least among the leaders was the Reverend Charles Grandison Finney, whose evangelistic labours originated in the vicinity of the Oneida Presbytery, in the central part of New York State, where no less than twenty-five hundred souls were said to have been converted. The range of his influence was constantly expanding and ultimately engulfed the whole of New England.

The fearful prospects of a repetition of the extravagances which accompanied the revivals of the Reverend James Davenport a century before, filled the conservative New England clergy with horror. Panic and hysteria gripped many, to whose hearts no interests were more precious than those concerning the peace and prosperity of the Church. A controversy ensued and a disruption was threatened between the friends of revivals and the supporters of Finney on the one hand, and the opponents of "new measures" in revivals on the other.

Throughout that critical period (1826-1828), Beecher bent every effort and summoned every power of diplomacy to avert a rupture in the churches, and at the same time to protect and preserve the usefulness of Mr. Finney. The occasion brought into being his famous "LETTERS ON THE NEW MEASURES IN CONDUCTING REVIVALS OF RELIGION (1827)"-- a skilfully written document on the proprieties of public worship and the psychology of mass evangelism. Moreover, after repeated attempts to harmonise the conflicting interests he finally succeeded in bringing about a reconciliation, in connexion with

the General Assembly at Philadelphia, in the spring of 1828.

At a meeting of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions assembled in New York, 12th October 1827, Dr. Beecher delivered an address entitled, "RESOURCES OF THE ADVERSARY, AND MEANS OF THEIR DESTRUCTION." The speaker declared that "there must be a more intense love for Christ in his church."

"Such love as now burns dimly in the hearts of Christians—a low, and languid, and wavering affection, halting between the opposing attractions of earth and heaven—may answer for standing upon the defensive, but never for making that vigorous onset which shall subdue the world to Christ. Effort will never surpass desire. And as yet our hearts are not equal to those efforts needed for the achievement of victory.

"Brethren, the time is short," he continued urgently, "in which we here have opportunity to express our boundless obligations to the Saviour. The fashion of the world passeth away. Next year, our tongue may be employed in celestial praises, and our substance be in other hands. What remains then, but that, this day, we dedicate ourselves and our all, anew to Him who washed us in his blood?"

Two years later, 14th May 1829, at the Thirteenth Annual Meeting of the American Bible Society in New York, "Secretary Milnor on behalf of the Board of Managers presented resolutions which were seconded by Rev. Dr. Lyman Beecher and adopted as follows:

"II, That this Society, with humble reliance on Divine aid, will endeavour to supply all the destitute families in the United States with the Holy Scriptures, that may be willing to purchase or receive them, within the space of two years .......

To that resolution was appended the following significant note:

"The question now agitated, for giving the Bible to all the destitute of our great and growing nation is, in my opinion,

2 Ibid., pp. 442-443. (Cf., A.B.C.F.M. Missionary Paper, No. XI., "Something Has Been Done During the Last Forty Years," p. 8.)
equal in the importance of its results to any that ever has involved or can involve the deliberations and decisions of the American Bible Society."

4. Conflict and Controversy

It was not long before Lyman Beecher came into open conflict with his Unitarian adversaries. Already on three public occasions— in 1817, in 1819, and in 1823, he had lifted his voice against the opponents of orthodoxy. The next encounter came in the summer of 1826, within six months after his arrival on the field. The occasion was the famous "Groton Case."

The Congregational Church at Groton, Massachusetts, had voted to call an orthodox minister. The society (the parish members) refused to concur in the vote of the Church and instead, settled a Unitarian clergyman. Moreover, the society and a minority of the church membership turned the Church out of doors, claimed the property and converted it into a Unitarian church. The action of the society was sustained by the decision of the courts which declared in substance that the parish was the Church.

Upon Dr. Beecher's advice a council was called to consider the problem, 17th July 1826. He was chosen to draw up a report; and in due time, "THE RIGHTS OF THE CONGREGATIONAL CHURCHES OF MASSACHUSETTS: THE RESULT OF AN ECCLESIASTICAL COUNCIL AT GROTON, MASSACHUSETTS," was brought forth, challenging the legality of the courts' decision:

1) "The churches," he declared, "have no desire to possess the sole power of electing a pastor, nor do they desire the right given by the law of 1695 of overruling the voice of the congregation by the advice of a council. They are content with what the law of 1692 gave them— the right of a concurrent vote in the election of their pastors; a right which the law of 1754 confirmed to them, when it made them, by express enactment, what they had been from the beginning in fact, corporations known in law, with rights of property and of pastoral election."

The time had arrived by the latter part of 1827 when it was perfectly apparent that the forces of orthodoxy in Boston should have a periodical magazine *sui generis*, to meet the growing demands for religious enlightenment which the pulpits alone could not meet. The spirit of inquiry and investigation abroad in that centre of learning had led the thoughtful seekers after truth into the paths of Christian knowledge, as well as into those other ways distinctively intellectual.

Moreover, in the fury of the controversies the atmosphere had become befogged with prejudices, misrepresentations, exaggerations, and personal enmities so that the truth was all but obliterated. That was the particular grievance which Dr. Beecher and the other leaders of the orthodox faith bore towards Unitarianism—the practice of exhibiting the doctrines of Calvinism in caricature. There was constant necessity, therefore, for the setting forth of the doctrines of the Puritan faith in simple, forceful, lucid terms on the printed page. To the tremendous undertaking of establishing and maintaining such a religious periodical in Boston and its vicinity, Lyman Beecher gave himself without reserve; with the result that "The Spirit of the Pilgrims," founded in 1828, was supported and advocated with the same earnestness and enthusiasm which characterised his efforts in behalf of the "Connecticut Observer" and the "Christian Spectator."

Among the more common misrepresentations indulged by the Unitarians, to the disadvantage of their opponents, was the charge that the Calvinists believed in the damnation of infants. Consequently, when Dr. Beecher prepared his sermon, "THE GOVERNMENT OF GOD DESIRABLE," for the seventh edition, printed in 1827, he added the following note which precipitated a bitter controversy:

"I am aware that Calvinists are represented as believing and teaching the monstrous doctrine, that infants are damned, and that hell is doubtless paved with their bones. But, having passed the age of fifty, and been conversant, for thirty years, with the most approved Calvinistic writers, and with distinguished Calvinistic divines in New England, and in the Middle and Southern and Western States, I must say that I have never seen or heard of any book which contained such a sentiment, nor a man, minister or layman, who believed or taught it. And I feel authorized to say, that Calvinists, as a body, are as far from teaching the doctrine of infant damnation, as any of those who falsely accuse them. And I would earnestly and affectionately recommend to all persons who have been accustomed to propagate this slander, that they commit to memory, without delay, the ninth commandment, which is, 'Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbour.'"

That declaration called forth the fire of the "Christian Examiner (Unitarian)," which published in permanent form a volume entitled, "A REPLY TO THREE LETTERS OF THE REV. LYMAN BEECHER, AGAINST THE CALVINISTIC DOCTRINE OF INFANT DAMNATION, (1829)." The correspondent interpreted Beecher's remarks as referring to the Calvinistic writers of all time, rather than those of his own generation. Beginning with Calvin himself, he called to witness the writings of a number of authors which would appear to completely invalidate the declarations of Dr. Beecher. The historian looking back upon the controversy pronounced his judgment in the following manner:

"To say, as in the spirit of perfect candour and full sincerity we are compelled to say, that Dr. Beecher was utterly and most ingloriously vanquished, and that his opponent gained a complete and unquestioned victory— to say this, while it affords us no pleasure whatever, may be accounted as only a partisan boast on our part."

1 By Francis Jenks.
   (c) Calvin— Eternal Predestination of God, against Albertus Pighius.
However that might have been, one thing is certain: that as the controversy progressed, for the first time in the history of New England Calvinism, the columns of "The Spirit of the Pilgrims" publicly and emphatically denied the alleged adherence of the orthodox churches to the doctrine of infant damnation. It was affirmed positively, and also by implication, that belief in the salvation of infants was maintained in the faith of New England orthodoxy.

Moreover, Beecher showed that through the refutation and repudiation of the doctrine of baptismal regeneration by John Calvin, the doctrine of the perdition of infants received its death blow. What was begun by Calvin was completed by the Edwardean theologians when they repudiated the doctrine of imputation. "And when, for another example, it is proposed to eliminate from the Confession the implication that there are dying infants not elect, and to declare that all infants dying in infancy are saved by the grace of Christ through the wonderful efficacy of the Spirit, we should not forget that among American divines it was Lyman Beecher who, before he became a teacher here (at Lane Seminary), openly advocated this broader view, and gave it currency first in New England and then in the Presbyterian Church."

Again, on 17th September 1828, Beecher had still another opportunity to challenge his adversaries in his sermon, "THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO PAUL," delivered on the occasion of the installation of the Reverend Bennett Tyler, D.D., as pastor of the Second Congregational Church, Portland, Maine.

"Second, With reference to Chapter X., Section 3, of the Confession of Faith, that it is not to be regarded as teaching that any who die in infancy are lost. We believe that all dying in infancy are included in the election of grace, and are regenerated and saved by Christ through the Spirit, who works when and where and how He pleases."
The purpose of that discourse was to show that the evangelical system which had been rejected by the Unitarians is the essence of the Gospel.

Before completing this section, mention should be made of Beecher's participation in the Universalist controversy which was at its zenith then, during his Boston ministry. Universalism, like Unitarianism, he regarded as being hostile to religious revivals. He therefore attacked both those systems with equal vehemence and vigour.

1) "God," he proclaimed, "desires the salvation of all men without distinction. He has provided a remedy for sin. When the means of salvation are rejected, does it follow that therefore man is to be saved? The Bible invites every man to come and do his duty. God wills the salvation of all men now, in this world."

The response of the Universalists was usually in the form of an attack upon Beecher's orthodoxy, rather than a defence of the faith of Universalism. To illustrate:

2) "But has Dr. Beecher's rank Arminianism now become good orthodoxy? Is Dr. Beecher a Calvinist? No; he is anything but this. Calvin, if alive, would discard him as a religious quack, imposing on the public under the influence of his name."

Indeed, while Lyman Beecher contended for the traditional Calvinism throughout his ministry, in his zeal for its defence he frequently took perilous positions which shocked and alarmed many of his more conservative colleagues. Thus it was that prior to his departure from New England in 1832 his orthodoxy was suspected by friend and foe alike.

1 "A SERMON AGAINST THE DOCTRINE OF UNIVERSALISM, DELIVERED IN THE NEW CALVINIST MEETING HOUSE IN DORCHESTER, MASS., WEDNESDAY EVENING, MARCH 7, 1830," p. 12.

2 "A LETTER TO THE REV. DR. BEECHER, BOSTON," pp. 19 and 21. Vid., (a) "A SERMON, DELIVERED IN THE UNIVERSALIST MEETING HOUSE IN WOBURN, MASS., WEDNESDAY EVENING, JANUARY 13, 1830, IN REPLY TO DR. BEECHER'S SERMON AGAINST UNIVERSALISM, DELIVERED IN THE CONGREGATIONAL MEETING HOUSE IN SAID TOWN, THURSDAY EVENING, JANUARY 7, 1830, by A. O. Skinner.

(b) "AN EXAMINATION OF DR. BEECHER'S SERMON, AGAINST UNIVERSALISM, DELIVERED IN THE TOWN-HOUSE, DORCHESTER, MASS., SUNDAY EVENING, MARCH 28, 1830, by Thomas Whittemore.

3 Vid., (a) "AUTOBIOGRAPHY," Vol. II, pp. 159-167, a Letter to Lyman Beecher from Noah Porter, President of Andover Theological Seminary, 22nd May 1829.

(b) "LETTER TO THE REV. DR. BEECHER ON THE INFLUENCE OF HIS MINISTRY IN BOSTON," by Asa Rand, Editor of the "Volunteer."
5. ** Estimates of His Influence **

The opinions of experts vary widely as to the total effect of Beecher's influence upon Unitarianism during his Boston ministry. On reviewing his "AUTOBIOGRAPHY," the editor of the "Christian Examiner" had this to say:

"There is no question, that he did a great, and, in many respects, a good work here ......, we must say, that 'Unitarianism' represented to him a bugbear; and that more than half the blows that he struck against it struck wide of it, not a few of them falling on his own citadel. We say, too, frankly, and in perfect good nature and kindliness ...... that the good doctor wrought Unitarianism no discomfiture, did it no harm, effected no real diminution of its real fellowship, but, in fact, assured its position, theoretically and practically, to its advocates and disciples." 

2) "THE MEMORIAL HISTORY OF BOSTON," edited by Justin Winsor, Librarian of Harvard College, bears the following record:

"He (Beecher) was a man to be trusted with great interests. While he was pastor in Boston his influence in all the surrounding towns was very great. As an author, his published writings bear witness to the order and comprehensiveness of his thought. In short he was not, as some suppose, simply an impulsive and fiery orator, carrying his points by the sway and splendor of his rhetoric; he was a scholar also, -- a man of system and orderly arrangement, working intelligently toward his end. He was unique to an extraordinary degree."

A third testimony is that which was given before the Presbytery of Cincinnati, by the Reverend F.Y. Vail, agent at large for the Lane Theological Seminary, during the trial of Lyman Beecher for heresy in 1835:

"There was no minister in New England so uniformly dreaded and hated by Unitarians and Universalists as Dr. Beecher ...... They hated and dreaded him because they supposed that he was the most powerful and efficient opponent of Unitarian sentiments."

In sharp contrast with the foregoing is the estimate of Newell Dwight Hillis, third minister of Plymouth Church, Brooklyn, New York:

"Lyman Beecher was a moral hero, an intellectual giant..... Only one other man has been so idolized in New England--Daniel Webster.....

"Our New England loves Phillips Brooks not more than the New Englander of yesterday loved Lyman Beecher."

In conclusion, an unbiased appraisal of the influence of Lyman Beecher's Boston ministry would accredit him with having saved the remnant of the evangelical faith of Calvinism from utter oblivion, if not extinction, in a period of imminent peril.

E. Lane Theological Seminary, Cincinnati, Ohio

The expanding horizons of both the American nation and the kingdom of the Redeemer, Lyman Beecher observed with the interest and concern of a statesman. Prior to the year 1830 he viewed the waves of westward migration with alarm. He was convinced that the rapid and wide-spread scattering of the population over such a large area was premature. The country was still too young; its territory was too vast. Moreover, its civilizing influences were still too meagre and its moral and religious resources too limited. A state of barbarism and savagery, he feared, would certainly follow.

At length, however, when Beecher perceived that the tides of westward gravitation were irresistible, he interpreted that which was irresistible as inevitable, and the inevitable as providential. Said he, "It was the opinion of Edwards (President Edwards), that the millennium would commence in America. When I first encountered this opinion, I thought it chimerical; but all providential developments since, and all the existing signs of the times, lend corroboration to it." Where, apart from the great West, were the unfolding purposes of the Eternal more likely to be consummated?

This conception of the millennium was charged with great potential

1 An Address, "A PL3A FOR THE WEST (1835)," p. 9-10.
energy. It fascinated Beecher. It fired his soul with boundless enthusiasm. It kept him constantly in a state of eager expectancy. The idea was apocalyptic. It spurred him to superhuman effort! 1)

Lane Theological Seminary, Cincinnati, was chartered by the Legislature of the State of Ohio, 11th February 1829, "to educate pious young men for the Gospel ministry." The charter further stipulated that "all the professors, tutors, teachers and instructors shall be members of the Presbyterian Church in good standing, under the care of the General Assembly of said Church in the United States." On 22nd October 1830 the Board of Trustees of Lane Seminary unanimously elected Lyman Beecher, President and Professor of Theology. Within a year's time funds had been promised to the amount of between sixty and seventy thousand dollars, provided that Dr. Beecher would accept the appointment.

The prospect of an opportunity to train "the young ministry of the broad West flashed through my mind like lightening," Beecher wrote in his 3) "AUTOBIOGRAPHY." "..... I was in such a state of emotion and excitement I could not speak, ..... It was the greatest thought that ever entered my soul; it filled it, and displaced everything else." While he was engaged

1 "Dr. Beecher had no sympathy with Second Adventism, as if the world could not be converted under the present means of grace. He most fully believed that the millennium was not far off. He looked sometimes as if he saw it, and that Lane Seminary, by saving the West, had secured the triumph." J.M. Bishop, "ANCIENT LANE," in a "Pamphlet Souvenir on the Sixtieth Anniversary in the History of Lane Theological Seminary," p. 26.

2 So named in honour of the principal donor-- EBENEZER LANE. "Lane Seminary had been founded by the beneficence of an Old School minister, the Rev. James Kemper, who gave seventy acres of land, in the suburbs of Cincinnati, for the purpose of a theological seminary; ..... Subsequently, Mr. Lane, a Baptist gentleman, through Dr. Wilson, gave twenty thousand dollars to the institution; which were expended in erecting buildings ..... Mr. Arthur Tappan, of New York, President of the Presbyterian Education Society, and Auditor of the American Home Missionary Society, offered to endow the chair of theology, provided he were allowed to nominate Dr. Beecher to the post." Samuel J. Baird, "A HISTORY OF THIS NEW SCHOOL," p. 337.

in considering the invitation from Cincinnati, a letter from Dr. Nathan-
iel W. Taylor, head of the Yale Divinity School, dated 8th November 1830, urged him to consider a possible professorship in New Haven.

It was nearly two years before a final decision could be reached. He was under obligation to his present church to remain with them until the completion of their new edifice on Bowdoin Street. Then, too, he was already engaged in a great and growing work for the Kingdom, located in a strategic position, exerting a far-reaching and effective influence, surrounded by numerous intimate friends and colleagues of a kindred spirit.

"Dr. Beecher had taken the boldest ground on behalf of the good old gospel, and maintained it, courteously indeed, but with a weighty magisterial authority and power to which both parties were unaccustomed, so that when he came to settle at Boston there was a general recognition of him as the champion of the Orthodox faith. The churches thenceforward assumed a bold and aggressive policy. Measures were taken to give every town the privilege of an evangelical ministry as early as practicable. The Orthodox minorities in parishes that had become Unitarian were called forth and organized into churches, to be aided as far as necessary in the erection of houses of worship and in the support of ministers. Legal rights were claimed and maintained by legal methods, and legal questions were put to the test of trial and the disadvantage of having to go before Unitarian courts was met by earnest and able popular discussions in pamphlets and periodicals."

Over against all that, however, the West held a strange fascination and allurement for Lyman Beecher. Hence, in 1832, at the age of fifty-

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2 The Hanover Street Church edifice was destroyed by fire in February, 1830.
seven he decided to relinquish all the cultural advantages and engaging
associations of Boston to enter upon a home missionary enterprise in Cin­cinnati, as pastor of the Second Presbyterian Church and as president of
the newly-established seminary on the outskirts of the city. Accordingly,
on 5th July 1832, Beecher announced his decision to the Bowdoin Street
Church and Society; and by 14th November, Dr. Beecher and his family ar­rived on their new field of endeavour.

1) "He went to Lane Theological Seminary, avowedly to make
it a 'revival institution.' He was attracted to the West by
the ardent natures which there awaited him. He thought of the
victories to be achieved for Christ among those who had car­
ried the enterprise of the emigrant into what he foresaw would
be the heart of the nation. He longed to be among the earliest
in the conflict. No other call of duty could have drawn him
from his post at Boston, where he seemed to be accomplishing
more than any other man could have done."

1. **President, Professor, and Pastor**

On 26th December 1832 Lyman Beecher was inducted into office as
President and Professor of Theology of Lane Theological Seminary, located
at Walnut Hills, a distance of three miles from the centre of Cincinnati.
In the spring of the following year he was installed as pastor of the
Second Presbyterian Church of that city. Dr. Beecher had left New England
with every expectation of receiving a warm and cordial reception from his new
associates. His sanguine anticipations, however, were considerably offend­
ed immediately upon his arrival. "Dr. Wilson has met me with gauntlet and
2) glaive in limine," he wrote to a brother clergyman in Boston. From the very
beginning of his residence in the West his pathway was beset with perils and
threats which finally brought on his trial for heresy before the Presbytery
of Cincinnati and the Synod in 1835, culminating in an appeal to the General
Assembly of 1836. Thus it was that the time and strength which he had zeal­

1 Z.M. Humphrey, "PRESEBTETIOTI REUNION: A MEMORIAL VOLUME, 1837-1871,"
p. 226.
ously looked forward to expending in behalf of ministerial education and religious revivals were absorbed during the first three years in answering charges of heresy and defending his orthodoxy before ecclesiastical courts. The details of the trial are reserved for the chapter which follows.

Meanwhile, the Professor of Theology at Lane Seminary assumed his new responsibilities as though everything was harmonious between him and the venerable moderator of the Presbytery. He entered into his teaching with all the ardour and enthusiasm with which his personality was so richly endowed. His classes were attracted largely by his fame which had preceded him to the West. "As a teacher of systematic theology," one of his former students recollected, "Dr. Beecher was not very systematic, but he had an amazing influence, a sort of magnetic power, over his students, teaching and compelling them to think for themselves. This was one of the chiefest benefits conferred by him."

Along with his teaching at the seminary, Beecher began at once his pastoral labours with the same earnestness and intensity in behalf of an immediate revival, which characterised his initial efforts in each of his three former charges. By June 1834 some sixty converts, including many influential persons in the community and a large number of "invaluable" young men and women, were added to the church.

"I am beginning to be surrounded," he wrote at that time, "by a host of discreet and able auxiliaries in bringing souls to Christ. The congregation have also felt the power and are now under a strong pressure of evangelical influence which promises most hopeful results; so that in the Second Church, both for revivals and missions, I count that from this time to the millennium the point is gained--a citadel established and manned to last through all time."

2. Reversals and Bereavements

When the Beecher family arrived on the outskirts of Cincinnati, they were held up for several days on account of an epidemic of cholera which was raging through the communities scattered along the Ohio River Valley. Frightful conditions prevailed in the vicinity of the seminary, and the student body was not exempted from the ravages of the plague which brought illness and death to several.

The first class at Lane Seminary had an enrolment of forty students—matured in years and in intellect, and possessed of an extraordinary spirit of devoted piety and antislavery zeal. The youthful ardour which they expressed in behalf of the immediate emancipation of the slaves, however, was not always well-directed. In the absence of the President during the summer of 1834, those student reformers came into conflict with the trustees of the seminary who endeavoured to curb their antislavery activities. The result of the uprising was most unfortunate for the seminary; for, in the autumn of that year four-fifths of the students withdrew and became the nucleus around which Oberlin Theological Seminary was founded in the spring of 1835. Lane Seminary was immediately accused of being hostile to antislavery reforms and was so stigmatised, to the serious embarrassment of its endowments and student enrolments.

Within the year following the student exodus, the Professor of Theology at Lane Seminary was called before the Presbytery of Cincinnati, 9th June 1835, on the charges of teaching what were alleged to be Arminian, Pelagian, and Perfectionist doctrines on such vital points as free agency, human accountability, original sin, total depravity, regeneration, and salvation by grace. Although Dr. Beecher was exonerated from those charges in the Presbytery, and

1 That episode in the history of Lane Seminary will be dealt with at length in Chapter VIII, "TOWARDS THE MILLENNIUM."
again in the Synod, the unhappy affair not only brought indignities upon
the President of Lane Seminary, but it threw suspicion upon the character
and standing of the institution.

While the trial was in progress Beecher's second wife, Harriet Porter,
whom he had married in Portland, Maine, and brought to Litchfield in the
autumn of 1817, lay dying after several years of slowly failing health.  

"When the trial came on," he wrote, "I had everything
just then to weigh me down. My wife was lying at home on her
dying bed. She did not live a fortnight after that. Then
there was all the wear and tear of the seminary and of my con­
gregation."

During the previous summer (1834), Eliza Tyler Stowe, the first wife
of Professor Calvin E. Stowe, died in Cincinnati. Her passing cast a man­
tle of deep sorrow over all the families of the seminary.

3. Missionary Statesmanship

It was while antislavery was being agitated by radical measures among
the students of the seminary, during the summer of 1834, that Lyman Beecher
was in the East pleading the cause of the institutions of the West. His
popular address, "A PLEA FOR THE WEST," was one of the means by which he se­
cured subscriptions for the seminary to the amount of forty thousand dollars,
between 1833 and 1836. The contents of the discourse consisted of a consider­
ation of the vital problems which confronted the development of the West,
with special emphasis upon the philosophy of institutional Catholicism.

2 STOWE, CALVIN E.,-- born at Natick, Massachusetts, 6th April 1802;
graduated from Bowdoin College, 1824; Andover Theological Seminary, 1825­
1828; Instructor at Andover, 1828-1830; Professor at Dartmouth College,
1830-1833; Professor of Biblical Literature, LANE THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY,
1833-1850; Professor at Bowdoin College, 1850-1852; Professor of Sacred
Literature, Andover, 1852-1872; died at Hartford, Connecticut, 22nd August
1886.
"It is equally plain that the religious and political destiny of our nation is to be decided in the West..."

"It is equally clear, that the conflict which is to decide the destiny of the West will be a conflict of institutions for the education of her sons, for purposes of superstition, or evangelical light; of despotism, or liberty."

In the same year an address was delivered before the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, in which Beecher dealt with the problem which at that time perplexed many thoughtful, earnest Christians, as to whether the missionary programme would ultimately impoverish the country. Through a skilful presentation of facts and figures he showed that the total amount given for both home and foreign missions did not exceed one hundred thousand dollars a year, of which amount not more than thirty thousand dollars were exported from the territories of the United States. Moreover, the total number of contributors were only three thousand persons (out of a population of twelve millions), who gave thirty-three cents per capita. Three-fourths of the contributors were women and children.

"Experience evinces," Beecher maintained, "that, since the zeal for foreign missions has arisen, the efforts to evangelize our own land have increased a hundred fold. Instead, then, of impoverishing the land by missionary charities, they are the great and perhaps the only providential means of reconciling our unparalleled prosperity with national purity and immortality. Without the preserving power of religious and moral influence, our rapid increase of wealth will be the occasion of our swift destruction. The rank vegetation of unsanctified enterprise, thrown into our capacious reservoir, will putrify and send moral death up over the land. No nation will be so short-lived as ours, unless we can balance our prosperity by moral power."

An address delivered by Dr. Beecher on the occasion of the tenth anniversary celebration of the Union Literary Society of Miami University, Oxford, Ohio, 29th September 1835, was an appeal to the students of America, under the title, "A PLEA FOR COLLEGES." Contained in that discourse was a masterful presentation of the philosophy of education as it pertained to the exigencies which confronted the evangelical institutions of the West. A paragraph from the conclusion is illustrative of the spirit of the appeal:

"Therefore, admonished as I am, that my service of God and my generation must ere long be closed, as the departing mother commits her loved ones to chosen guardians-- I commit my country, young men, to you. Be watchful, and be faithful to yourselves, to your country, and your God; and let the motto, LIBERTY AND LAW, in letters of fire blaze on the walls of every college in the land, and under the guidance of heaven, all will be well."

While Beecher's primary interest and concern in the West was that of educating religious leaders for the growing nation, he was not neglectful of another great force at work shaping the moral and religious standards of the future-- the great industrial populations of America. His "LECTURES ON POLITICAL ATHEISM," written in Boston in 1831 and given for the first time in Park Street Church of that city, were dedicated to the working men of the United States. In 1833 they were delivered also in Cincinnati.

A student at the seminary has described Lyman Beecher addressing an audience or workers at an open air meeting:

"His lectures on atheism in the dim light and sooty atmosphere of a Cincinnati iron foundry and boiler manufactory were a remarkable exhibition of the power of argumentative eloquence. Not even Moody at his best could have better held, interested, or more permanently impressed such an audience as was then gathered around him in that cave of the Vulcans."

1 Op. cit., the conclusion of the address.
2 James C. White, "PERSONAL REMINISCENCES OF LYMAN BEECHER," p. 44.
4. Rabies Theologorum

The controversies between the "Old School" and the "New School" in American theological history in the first half of the nineteenth century, were incidents in a long and bitter struggle between absolutism and moral government. The furies that were let loose upon one another by Christian scholars and institutions were ruthlessly destructive. In the turmoil which harrassed the Church, the reputation of many a good man and worthy institution was jeopardised- frequently with fatal consequences. Lyman Beecher and Lane Theological Seminary were not excepted.

Beecher's heresy trial was one of a series of such proceedings instituted for the purpose of eliminating prominent leaders of "New School" 1) tendencies from the Presbyterian Church. Although the charges against Dr. Beecher were not sustained, still it was generally believed that he 2) had identified himself unmistakably with the "New Haven Theology," of which Dr. Nathaniel W. Taylor, Professor Didactic Theology at Yale College, was the originator. The "New Haven Theology," or "Taylorism," was considered by the "Old School" divines as especially subversive to the faith of Calvinism. Hence, in order for Dr. Beecher to have entirely cleared himself of all suspicion, it would have been necessary for him to denounce Dr. Taylor and declare his teachings heretical. That, he refused to do for reasons apart from his extraordinary affection for Dr. Taylor: 3) "In the first place, I felt that I had a right to stand on independent ground, and not be swept in as a partisan on

1 The famous trial of the Reverend Albert Barnes before the Second Presbytery of Philadelphia, began 30th June 1835,- the same month and year as the trial of Dr. Beecher.
2 The "New Haven Theology" will be considered in connexion with Chapter III- "HIS RELATION TO THE NEW ENGLAND THEOLOGY."
either side. Again, in many things of great moment I agreed with Dr. Taylor, although I did not adopt all parts of his system. Finally, I did not regard those parts of his system which were most violently assailed, even if erroneous, as of any such fundamental consequence as to exclude him from the fellowship of the New England and Presbyterian Churches."

With the refusal to denounce Dr. Taylor, there descended upon Dr. Beecher all the aspersions which had been cast upon the New Haven professor and his theological system. The eighteen "LETTERS ON THE ORIGIN AND PROGRESS OF THE NEW HAVEN THEOLOGY," composed by Dr. Bennet Tyler in 1837, and directed to Dr. John Witherspoon of South Carolina, implicated the President and Professor of Theology of Lane Seminary, a former New England Congregationalist. Throughout the Southern States where the "Old School" loyalties prevailed, the idea became universal that New England Congregationalism was thoroughly permeated with the rankest heresies—Arminianism, Pelagianism, Socinianism.

A theological panic was created which incited the "Old School" constituency of the General Assembly of 1837 to adopt drastic, unprecedented measures. The "Plan of Union," the agreement of 1801 between the General Association of Connecticut and the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, whereby Congregational churches might establish relations with Presbyteries and be served by Presbyterian clergymen, and Presbyterian churches might establish relations with Associations and be served by Congregational clergymen, was abrogated in order to prevent further invasion of New England

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1 Cf., (a) "AN EXAMINATION OF THE PELAGIAN AND ARMINIAN THEORY OF MORAL AGENCY AS RECENTLY ADVOCATED BY DR. BEECHER IN HIS 'VIEWS IN THEOLOGY' (1837)," by Joseph Harvey;
2 Dr. Tyler was President of the Theological Institute of Connecticut (the present Hartford Theological Seminary), founded at East Windsor, in 1834, in opposition to the New Haven theology of the Yale Divinity School.
3 Vid., Especially the Tenth Letter, dated 15th March 1837.
Congregationalism (particularly the influences of the "New Haven" school) within the Presbyterian Church. Moreover, the famous "Excising Acts," or "Disowning Acts," were adopted; whereby the Synods of Western Reserve, Utica, Geneva, and Genessee (comprising two-thirds of the State of New York and a part of Ohio), numbering five hundred and ninety-nine churches, with fifty-seven thousand members, were disciplined, disfancihised, and excommunicated.

At the time of the disruption of the Presbyterian Church in 1838 the theological lines were the more sharply drawn by reason of the antislavery issue of the immediate abolition of the slaves. A resolution had been introduced in the Assembly of 1836 to disfellowship slaveholders. Had the disruption taken place at that time, it would have been along geographical lines—between the North and the South, since slavery was confined to the Southern States. Subsequent influences, however, shifted the lines of opposition so that when the crisis came in the Assembly of 1838 the cleavage occurred along theological lines—between the "Old School" and the "New School." The South maintained its loyalties to the former in opposition to the latter, which issued from New England, whence came also much of the Abolitionist agitation. Consequently, the "New School" was stigmatised as heretical in theology and antislavery in politics.

The instantaneous reactions of the new alignments upon Lane Seminary were staggering. Situated as it was on the borders between slave and free territories, it was in a perilous position where it received the blows from both sides of the conflict. It was generally regarded as favouring not only "New School" doctrinal constructions, but antislavery reformation as well—

1 "The impartial historian of future days, therefore, will award to Dr. Tyler the reputation of having done something to abrogate the Plan of Union, and occasion the catastrophe of the Presbyterian church." Zebulon Crocker, "THE CATASTROPHE OF THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, IN 1837," p. 233.
in spite of the avowedly neutral policies of the institution with respect to the latter. The Southern States, therefore, as a recruiting area for new students, were alienated. Between 1836 and 1840 the total enrolment averaged only five students each year. Moreover, in 1837 the firm of Mr. Arthur Tappan failed, with the result that the endowment of the professorship in theology was suddenly cut off.

Throughout all these adversities and perils Lyman Beecher worked "like a Hercules, and never lost courage or hope. Disappointment followed disappointment, and obstacle was heaped upon obstacle ...; friends fell off, and foes multiplied; endowments diminished and salaries ceased; prejudices were inflamed and students were kept away; while theological assaults and ecclesiastical trials were every day occurrences."

5. 1840-1850

The period between 1840 and 1850 was the final decade of Beecher's active ministry. Happily, those were years of comparative peace and prosperity. In 1836 the trustees of Lane Seminary sent Prof. Stowe to Europe for the purpose of purchasing a theological library. In March of that year, by act of legislation, signal honours were conferred upon Calvin E. Stowe, which greatly enhanced the standing of the Seminary:

"Resolved, by the General Assembly of the State of Ohio, that C. E. Stowe, professor in one of the literary institutions of this State, be requested to collect, during the progress of his contemplated tour in Europe, such facts and information as he may deem useful to the State, in relation to the various systems of public instruction and education which have been adopted in the several countries through which he may pass, and make report thereof, with such practical observations as he may think proper, to the next General Assembly. Resolved, that his Excellency, the Governor, be requested to transmit a certified copy of the foregoing proceedings to Professor Stowe."

In due time his report, published subsequently in a volume entitled, "ELEMENTARY PUBLIC INSTRUCTION IN EUROPE," was addressed to the Governor and General Assembly of the State of Ohio. Upon the foundation of many of its recommendations the educational system of the State was reconstructed.

Meanwhile, Dr. Beecher was becoming successful in establishing relations between Lane Seminary and many of the new Western universities. In May of 1839 he spent a fortnight on the campus of Miami University, Oxford, Ohio, during which time eighty students were converted. By 1840 the Seminary had an enrolment of forty students, many of whom had come through the two ranks of opposition--the "Old School" and the ultra-Abolitionists. Moreover, the value of the Seminary in property and endowments had risen to the sum of one hundred and thirty thousand dollars, contributed both by Presbyterians and by Congregationalists.

Due to the missionary and evangelical fervour which characterised the president of the Seminary "a fine missionary temper pervaded the Institution, and many went from it during this period inspired with a Christlike desire to plant the Gospel along the frontier lines of the Republic or to proclaim Christ in pagan lands. Albert Bushnell and five others in Africa, Wilson and Adams in Syria, Bonney and Cummings in China, Chandler and others in India, Pogue and Andrews in the Sandwich Islands, Spaulding and Williamson among the American Indians, and others like them, were notable examples of a missionary zeal which throbbed through the Institution in that early day, and which gave it both character and power."

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1 He was a student at Lane, 1840-1843, who died in Africa. His MS. notebook of "THEOLOGICAL LECTURES OF REVEREND LYMAN BEECHER, D.D., PRESIDENT OF LANE SEMINARY, 1840," is now in possession of the Plymouth Church of the Pilgrims, Brooklyn, New York.

2 Edward D. Morris, "THIRTY YEARS IN LANE AND OTHER PAPERS," pp. 81-82.
By the year 1865, two years after the death of Lyman Beecher, there had been four hundred and eighty-one students graduated from Lane Seminary. After fifty-one years of its existence there had been seven hundred and fifty-one graduates; of which, forty-six, or six per cent, were sent out to the foreign fields.

The Second Presbyterian Church of Cincinnati accepted the resignation of Dr. Beecher in 1843, in order that he might be free to devote all his remaining time and energy exclusively to the interests of the Seminary. During the summer of that year he visited the East, for the purpose of establishing the "Society for Western Colleges"—a society which was designed to render financial assistance to the new-born educational institutions of the West. "No human means can so certainly meet and repel this invasion of Catholic Europe," he wrote to Dr. Albert Barnes of Philadelphia, 11th July 1842, "as a competent evangelical ministry and revivals of religion."

The summer of 1846 brought an unexpected opportunity for Beecher to attend the "Christian Alliance" and "World's Temperance" conventions in London. In the Covent Garden Theatre, and elsewhere in London, he addressed huge audiences on the subject of temperance. By invitation he lectured on the same subject in many of the principal cities of England and Scotland.

With reference to Scotland, Mrs. Beecher included the following in her correspondence:

"....., then we went to Glasgow and Edinburgh, visiting several distinguished clergymen, and, above all, Dr. Chalmers, with whom we breakfasted, and whom we heard preach at a mission station which he had established in the midst of a destitute population.

"Your father preached, in the afternoon of the Sabbath we spent there, at a place called 'Cannon Mills,' where the 'Free

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2 She was formerly Mrs. Lydia Jackson of Boston, a member of Beecher's Hanover Street Church congregation, whom he married in 1836.
Church' resorted at the time of the separation. We visited schools and other public institutions of Edinburgh by invitation. The evening before we left he delivered a Temperance address before the 'Scottish Temperance League.'"

On the return voyage to America aboard the old steamship "Great Western," a hurricane of thirty-six hours' duration was encountered. All expectations of survival were abandoned. The crisis was the occasion of one of the most dramatic of Beecher's sermons: "GOD IN THE STORM, an Address to the Meeting Convened on Board the Great Western, September 22, 1846." The concluding paragraph of the sermon is here given:

"Oh, my brethren, what is the itching ear of mortals and the praise of men for brilliant classical sermons and splendid eloquence, which amuses the ear as a pleasant song, or skilful music upon an instrument; but which awakens not the conscience, and pricks not the heart, and does not regenerate the soul by the power of the Spirit, and fit it for Heaven. God grant that by this storm we may all be made more spiritual, more prayerful, more faithful, and more successful and happy, in winning souls to Christ."

Five years prior to his retirement as the active head of Lane Seminary a writ was served on Dr. Beecher, October, 1845. In December of 1847 a case was tried before the Supreme Court of Ohio, entitled, "Lyman Beecher adv. The State of Ohio, Quo Warranto. On the relation of David Kemper." The appeal to the courts was a profitless attempt to deprive the "New School" faculty of their chairs in Lane Seminary, through the process of law.

Finally, in the summer of 1850 Dr. Beecher resigned the theological professorship. By request of the trustees he became Emeritus Professor of Theology and retained the presidency of the institution.

"Dr. Beecher ...... must have been conscious, even with his buoyant and generous nature, that his career in Lane was far from being what it might

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1 This sermon was included in the testimonial volume published by request of the passengers at a meeting on board the "Great Western," 29th September 1846.
have been under more propitious conditions. And, when at length at the ripe age of seventy-five, and burdened with the painful sense of failing powers, he retired from his post, there must have been an indescribable element of sadness mingled in his soul with the just consciousness that he had been permitted to do a great work here for truth and for the Church of God."

F. Nunc Dimittis

In the spring of 1851 the first president of Lane Seminary bade farewell to the West and returned to New England. For the next five years he lived in Boston, where he devoted himself to the task of preparing his works for the press. Volumes I, II, and III were completed and published by 1853, but his "AUTOBIOGRAPHY AND CORRESPONDENCE" was not the finished product of his own hand. Rather, the hands and hearts of his children all contributed to the completion of the portrait, published in New York, 1864.

The twilight years of Beecher's life were spent in Brooklyn, New York in the vicinity of Plymouth Church, where he was a faithful worshipper in the congregation which was then being served by his son's ministrations.

"I thought I could preach, until I heard Henry," was the encomium of the adoring parent, in whose son there was so much of his own likeness at its best.

"Lyman Beecher stood for the intellectual in the religious life. His was a great mind-- contact with such an intellect-- when such contact was

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1 According to the "MINUTES OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE U.S.A.," 1931, p. 370, Lane Seminary was endowed with the following resources:

(a) Total value of lands and buildings- $428,500.00
(b) Value of other Seminary holdings- 421,412.00
(c) General endowments- scholarships and library- 201,068.00
(d) Number of volumes in the library- 24,911

In 1932 Lane Seminary formed a merger with McCormick Theological Seminary (founded at Hanover, Indiana, in 1829) which resulted in the present Chicago Presbyterian Theological Seminary.
sensitive and sympathetic, was a thing of immeasurable significance. This father began his inimitable instruction in mental mastery during Henry's early boyhood ....... It is an old story, but it suggests important evidence. Henry Ward was the famous preacher in America. One Sabbath he preached a sermon that was superlatively impressive. A friend remarked to Lyman Beecher, who was present in Plymouth Church, 'that was a magnificent discourse.' 'Yes,' replied the Doctor, 'but you wouldn't have had that sermon if it hadn't been for me.' And there is larger truth in that saying of the venerable father than lies upon the surface of the words.

"Lyman Beecher lived in his great son ....... The father with his bestowment of rare intellect and long-time training and personal contact, appeared with multiplied power in the speech and life of his son. The intellectual forces which made Henry Ward Beecher a leader of his fellows, were not only transmitted to him in germ as a father's legacy-- they were conserved, developed, strengthened, dominated by the potent personality of Lyman Beecher."  

At length, after eighty-eight years, the "father of all the Beechers" and the venerable servant of the Lord, departed in peace, 10th January 1863. The funeral services were held in Plymouth Church, and in accordance with his request he was buried by the side of his friend and colleague, Nathaniel W. Taylor, in the Grove Street Burying Ground, New Haven, Connecticut. Among his last recorded utterances was his response to the question: "What is the greatest of all things?" Said Beecher, "It is not theology, it is not controversy, but it is to save souls."

The "Lyman Beecher Lectureship on Preaching" was established at Yale College in 1871, through the munificent gift of ten thousand dollars donated by Mr. Henry W. Sage of Brooklyn, New York, in honour of the father of his Brooklyn pastor. The incumbents on that foundation have been celebrated clergymen from both the home land and the mother countries.
II

HIS TRIAL FOR HERESY

On 9th June 1835, Dr. Lyman Beecher, Minister of the Second Presbyterian Church, Cincinnati, Ohio, and President of Lane Theological Seminary, in that same city, the one "who had originated the temperance re-form, broke the power of Unitarianism in Boston, and roused eastern Christians to the spiritual needs of the Western States," the celebrated Calvinist preacher and controversialist for nearly a half century, was ordered to appear before the Presbytery of Cincinnati to answer charges preferred against him by Dr. Joshua L. Wilson, Minister of the First Presbyterian Church, Cincinnati, and Moderator of the Presbytery. The following are the circumstances which precipitated the crisis.

During the interval between the time of Dr. Beecher's election to the presidency and theological professorship of Lane Seminary (by action of the board of trustees, 22nd October 1830) and the time of his arrival in Cincinnati, 14th November 1832, efforts were made to destroy the new-born Seminary by destroying the reputation of the president-elect. His theological views were publicly assailed and judgments of hypocrisy were threatened against him if he were to attempt to renew his connexion with the Presbyterian Church. Moreover, certain of the elders of the Second Presbyterian Church, Cincinnati, (from which church Dr. Beecher was to receive a call to become their minister, upon his arrival) acting in their own behalf, wrote him the following letter,

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dated 16th June 1832:

"Your opinions respecting many of the radical things of Jesus Christ, and your modes of philosophizing about these things, are so variant from our solemn convictions of what the truth as it is in Jesus is, that we must, in all good conscience before God, enter our deliberate and prayerful dissent to your ministry among us."

Upon receipt of knowledge that Dr. Beecher had accepted the appointment to Lane Seminary, Dr. Wilson, the venerable chairman of the board of trustees who united in calling Dr. Beecher to Cincinnati, resigned his chair. When Dr. Beecher applied for admission into the Presbytery of Cincinnati, upon his dismissal from the Third Presbytery of New York, Dr. Wilson protested; but the protest, coming as it did from the chair, was declared to be out of order. Thereupon, a motion was made that a committee be appointed to inquire as to a common fame respecting the soundness of Dr. Beecher’s theology. This motion also met with defeat, the ex-

1 "Whilst, he was holding this appointment (to Lane Seminary) in consideration, the Reverend James Weatherby, of Mississippi, visited New England, as a delegate from the General Assembly to the General Association of Connecticut. Dr. Beecher sought an interview, in the course of which he informed Mr. Weatherby of the appointment, and expressed some doubt of being able to come up to the requirement as to Presbyterianism. Mr. Weatherby told him that any doubts on that subject admitted of easy solution. If he could, with a good conscience, answer affirmatively the questions put to candidates for the ministry, he was a Presbyterian. Dr. Beecher, at once, brought a Confession, and placing it in the hands of Mr. Weatherby, requested him to propound the questions. This he did, and received affirmative answers, to all except the second, 'Do you sincerely receive and adopt the Confession of Faith of this Church, as containing the system of doctrine taught in the Holy Scriptures?' The reply was, 'Yes, but I will not say how much more it contains.' Mr. Weatherby closed the book, saying that he was no Presbyterian. After some conversation on the subject, the process was at the request of Dr. Beecher, repeated; but with the same result. Again the subject was discussed, Mr. Weatherby remarking that no such Yankee answer would do,— That it was idle for Dr. Beecher to pretend to be a Presbyterian. Finally, the Doctor proposed a third trial; when he passed successfully through the ordeal, giving the answer in the simple affirmative. He, soon after, wrote to the Third Presbytery of New York, declaring his affirmative answer to those questions,— was thereupon received as a member,— and immediately, at his own request, dismissed to join the Presbytery of Cincinnati."

istence of common fame being denied. A similar motion was made in April, 1833, calling upon the Presbytery to appoint a committee to examine the published sermons of the suspected party, and to report whether they contained doctrines at variance with the standards of the Church. The motion was indefinitely postponed. Complaint was then made to the Synod of Cincinnati, but the Synod dismissed it on the ground that without a responsible prosecutor the Presbytery could not be compelled to act judicially. Dr. Wilson then appealed to the General Assembly of 1834, where it was cast out by the Judicial Committee because the complainant was not one of the original parties.

Meanwhile, Dr. Beecher remonstrated against the procedure of appealing to common rumour, when he himself was not on the ground to answer charges against him. He pleaded with Dr. Wilson, in the Presbytery and in private, to hold his accusations in abeyance until such time as he should furnish some better evidence of heresy than fame, or until he could afford conclusive evidence of his orthodoxy.

"When he opposed my admission into the Presbytery, I expressed my confidence that I could explain my views and doctrinal opinions satisfactorily to him; ..... After that, I told Dr. Wilson repeatedly that he misunderstood my views in respect to original sin. For I perfectly well knew that I held opinions on that subject which he thought I did not hold; and, on the contrary, that I did not hold certain other opinions which he thought I did hold."

1 "1834, p. 17. The Judicial Committee also reported on judicial business, No. 8, viz: the appeal of Dr. Joshua L. Wilson, and others, against a decision of the Synod of Cincinnati, in the case of Dr. Beecher, that they have examined the same, and are of opinion that Dr. Wilson and others were not a party in the case, and consequently cannot constitutionally appeal; and recommend that they have leave to withdraw their appeal. This report was adopted." "ASSEMBLY DIGEST, PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH OF THE UNITED STATES," by Samuel J. Baird, p. 143.

Finally, in November, 1834, Dr. Wilson appeared before the bar of the Presbytery and tabled charges against Dr. Beecher, under six heads with numerous specifications. The Presbytery, thereupon, ordered the charges placed on record; but their consideration was postponed until the following regular meeting, 10th April 1835. The April meeting was adjourned until 9th June of the same year, when the case of "Wilson vs. Beecher" was brought to trial before a regularly established judicial tribunal of the Presbytery of Cincinnati.

1) Wilson vs. Beecher

I. "I charge Dr. Beecher with propagating doctrines contrary to the Word of God, and the standards of the Presbyterian Church, on the subject of the depraved nature of man."

Dr. Beecher teaches:

1- "That the depravity of man is voluntary.
2- "That neither a depraved or holy nature are possible, without understanding, conscience and choice.
3- "That a depraved nature cannot exist without a voluntary agency.
4- "That, whatever may be the early constitution of man, there is nothing in it, and nothing withhold from it, which renders disobedience unavoidable.
5- "That the first sin in every man is free, and might have been and ought to have been avoided.
6- "That if a man is depraved by nature, it is a voluntary nature that is depraved.
7- "That this is according to the Bible. 'They go astray as soon as they are born,' -- that is, in early life; how early, so as to deserve punishment for actual sin, God only knows."

II. "I charge Dr. Beecher with propagating doctrines contrary to the Word of God, and the standards of the Presbyterian Church, on the subject of Total Depravity and the work of the Holy Spirit in effectual calling."

1 The proceedings of the trial were reported for the "NEW YORK OBSERVER" at the time, from the sittings of the Presbytery. Unless otherwise indicated, the quotations which follow will be borrowed from that report; which report was incorporated in Beecher's, "VIEWS OF THEOLOGY," pp. 83-413, subsequently published at the request of the Synod.
Dr. Beecher teaches: (Total Depravity)

1- "That man is rendered capable by his Maker of obedience.
2- "That ability to obey is indispensable to moral obligation.
3- "That where there is a want of ability to love God, obligation to love ceases, whatever may be the cause.
4- "That the sinner is able to do what God commands, and what, being done would save his soul.
5- "That to be able and unwilling to obey God is the only possible way in which a free agent can become deserving of condemnation and punishment.
6- "That there is no position which unites more universally and entirely the suffrages of the whole human race than the necessity of a capacity for obedience to the existence of obligation and desert of punishment.
7- "That no obligation can be created, without a capacity commensurate with the demand.
8- "That ability commensurate with requirement is the equitable foundation of the moral government of God.
9- "That this has been the received doctrine of the Orthodox Church in all ages."

Dr. Beecher teaches: (Work of the Holy Spirit)

1- "That man in his present state is able and only unwilling to do what God commands, and which, being done, would save his soul.
2- "That the more clearly the light of conviction shines, the more distinct is a sinner's perception that he is not destitute of capacity,-- that is, of ability to obey God.
3- "That when the Holy Spirit comes ......, he finds no impediment to obedience to be removed, but only a perverted will; and that all which he accomplishes ...... is to make the sinner willing to submit to God.
4- "...... ; that a subject of God's government who can but will not obey might appear to himself much more guilty than one whose capacity of obedience had been wholly annihilated by the sin of Adam."

III. "I charge Dr. Beecher with propagating a doctrine of Perfection contrary to the standards of the Presbyterian Church."

Dr. Beecher teaches:

1- "That the sinner is able to do what God commands; that the Holy Spirit, in the day of his power, makes him willing, and so long as he is able and willing there can be no sin.

2- "The Perfectionists have founded on Dr. Beecher's theory the following pinching argument: ' ...... that sin lies wholly in the will, and that man, as a free agent, possesses adequate ability, independent of gracious aid, to render perfect obedience to the moral law; in other words, to be a Perfectionist.'"
IV. "I charge Dr. Beecher with the sin of slander, namely:

1- "In belying the whole church of God. 
   (Vide, "II. 6-" and "II. 9-"
2- "In attempting to bring odium upon all who sincerely re-
   ceive the standards of the Presbyterian Church, and to cast all
   the Reformers, previous to the time of Edwards, into the shade of
   ignorance and contempt."

Dr. Beecher says:

(a) "Doubtless the impression often made by their language
   (the Reformers') has been that of natural impotency; and in mod-
   ern days there may be those who have not understood the language
   of the Reformers, or of the Bible, on this subject; ......

(b) "It must be admitted, however, that from the primitive
    age down to the time of Edwards, few saw this subject with clear-
    ness, or traced it with uniform precision and consistency. His
    appears to have been the mind that first rose above the mists
    which long hung over the subject.

(c) "So far as the Calvinistic system, as expounded by
    Edwards and the disciples of his school, prevailed, revivals
    prevailed, and heresy was kept back. And most notoriously it
    was 'dead orthodoxy' which opened the dikes, and let in the
    flood 'of Arminian and Unitarian heresy.'

(d) "Far the greater portion of the revivals of our land,
    it is well known, have come to pass under the auspices of Cal-
    vinism, as modified by Edwards and the disciples of his school,
    and under the inculcation of ability and obligation, and urgent
    exhortations of immediate repentance and submission to God;....

(e) "No other obstruction to the success of the Gospel is so
    great, as the possession of the public mind by the belief of the
    natural and absolute inability of unconverted men ..... And most
    blessed and glorious, I am confident, will be the result, when
    her (the Church's) ministry everywhere shall rightly understand
    and teach, and their hearers shall universally admit, the full
    ability of every sinner to comply with the terms of salvation."

V. "I charge Dr. Beecher with the crime of preaching the same, and
kindred doctrines, contained in these sermons, in the Second Presbyterian
Church, in Cincinnati."

VI. "I charge Dr. Beecher with the sin of hypocrisy: I mean dissimula-
tion in important religious matters."

1- "If Dr. Beecher has entered the Presbyterian Church without
adopting her standards, he is guilty of this sin .....
2- "If Dr. Beecher has adopted our standards, he is guilty of this sin, because it is evident that he disbelieves and impugns them on important points, subjects declared by himself to be of the utmost moment.

3- "When Dr. Beecher's orthodoxy was in question, ..... he made a popular declaration 'that our confession of faith contained the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth,' or words to that amount. I thought then, and still think, that it was dissimulation for popular effect......

4- "When Dr. Beecher preached and published his sermon on Dependence and Free Agency, he was about to enter the Presbyterian Church, ..... He either did not know the doctrines of our Church, or, if he did know them, he designed to impugn and vilify those who honestly adopt them."

When Dr. Beecher was called upon to make answer to these charges he began by saying: "I am not guilty of heresy; I am not guilty of slander; I am not guilty of hypocrisy or dissimulation in the respect charged. I do not say that I have not taught the doctrines charged, but I deny their being false doctrines. The course I shall take will be to justify." In response to the Moderator's request as to what plea should be entered upon the minutes, he replied, "The plea of Not Guilty."

Thus it was that, in the words of the Moderator written years afterward, Dr. Beecher "was required to prove, not only that his theology was right, but that it did not differ essentially from the traditions of the older Calvinism. The first he thought an easy task; but the second occasioned him no little perplexity, though even here, such was his adroitness and really honest orthodoxy, he would have gained a substantial success, had not other matters, aside from the questions purely theological, drizzled in and made a quagmire in which it was impossible either to wade or swim."

1 Loc. cit., pp. 92-93.
Several witnesses having been duly sworn testified before the court, after which Dr. Wilson continued to address the Presbytery. The substance of his speech is as follows:

Certain obstacles stand in the way of a just decision and must be removed: first, the alleged character of the prosecutor, considered by many as a "litigious, ultra partisan in the Presbyterian Church;" second, the reputed "character, standing and talents, of the accused," (here documents were introduced "to show that whatever amount of capital Dr. Beecher might have attained, within the last ten years, it had been diminished, in no inconsiderable degree, before he had taken up his line of march for the West"); third, the review of Dr. Beecher's sermon, "THE FAITH ONCE DELIVERED TO THE SAINTS," by Dr. Ashbel Green, who pronounced it "a select system"--reflecting the "sentiments of the class of Calvinists to which Dr. Beecher belongs;" fourth, the claim that is set up by Dr. Beecher on the subject of interpretation--"the right of interpreting these passages of the Confession as the Church herself had interpreted them;" fifth, the real condition of the court--"in condemning him must they not condemn themselves;" and sixth, "the fact that many orthodox and excellent sentiments had been preached and published by Dr. Beecher."

The remainder of Dr. Wilson's discourse dealt with an examination of the charges, seriatim, together with their respective specifications and supporting evidences. In conclusion, he added:

"I have taxed my ingenuity to discover what defence could possibly be set up by the accused; and I confess myself utterly unable so much as to conjecture. This may be owing to my want of imagination, and of ingenuity; and Dr. Beecher will very probably show something that was far beyond my powers of imagination to anticipate; and when his powerful intellect shall have demonstrated that white is black, that two and two do not make four, then, and not till then, may he expect an acquittal."

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1 President of Princeton College, 1812-1822; member of the Constitutional Convention of the Presbyterian Church in the United States.
2 Loc. cit., p. 177.
Before Dr. Beecher entered upon his defence he asked that he might bring forward additional testimony with reference to the question raised by Dr. Wilson, as to how much of his capital in character he had lost before leaving New England. Among those who were sworn to testify was Reverend Professor Calvin E. Stowe, D.D., a native of New England and a resident there up until his appointment to the chair of Biblical Literature, at Lane Theological Seminary, in 1833. His testimony included the following:

"According to the best of my knowledge, Dr. Beecher's reputation and influence in New England were never so great, nor did he ever enjoy so extensively the confidence of the religious community, as at the time when he received and accepted the invitation to come to Cincinnati.

"To the best of my knowledge, he had then but three open and declared assailants of public character: ......

"Besides, Dr. Beecher was uniformly successful in Boston, and constantly rising in influence, ......

"It was everywhere regarded in New England as a great and heroic sacrifice, on the part of Dr. Beecher, to give up the advantages of the reputation and public influence he had there acquired, and to go to a distant field, where he must gain reputation anew, and work his way like a young man."

Dr. Beecher then addressed the court: "I have fallen very unexpectedly, at my time of life, on the necessity of getting testimony to support my theological and clerical character."

He then requested the clerk to read certain letters: one from Dr. Green, who had commended his sermon, "THE FAITH ONCE DELIVERED TO THE SAINTS," as being "Calvinistic," and also the letter addressed to the Hanover Street Church and Congregation, Boston, Massachusetts, requesting the dismissal of their minister to become president of Lane Theological Seminary, signed by Dr. Wilson and

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1 The text of the speech covers some two hundred and twenty pages. An outline is here given.  
3 Ibid., p. 184.
others. One paragraph from the latter will be sufficient to reveal the urgency with which the letter was written:

"When we reflect how much has been accomplished, and is now doing, for the salvation of our country and the world, by one such spirit as Beecher, we feel that the Church will be deprived of his most important services and influence, unless he is permitted to impress the important lineaments of his character upon the rising ministers of the West."

Introduction

"My character and influence," said Dr. Beecher in the introduction to his defence, "belong to Christ; and, if I have not done evil, I have no right to permit them to be suspected. And, if my brother, with ever so good intentions, has done me wrong, if he has broken the arm of my influence as a man associated with an important public institution, and with the Christian cause generally, it is due to that cause, and to the responsible station I occupy, that I should endeavor to save myself, ..... "

I. The doctrines I maintain existed in the Presbyterian Church before I was born.

A. "I signed it (the Confession), as all other ministers in the Church sign it, as containing, 'the systems of doctrine taught in the holy Scriptures;' and I subscribed it sincerely (before the Presbytery of Long Island)."

II. What I have believed, and have taught on these points through all my public ministry, is neither heresy nor error, but is in accordance with the Word of God and the Confession of Faith.

III. If in any respect they differ from what shall be decided to be the true exposition of the Confession of Faith, they include nothing at variance with the fundamental articles of the system of doctrine it contains.

IV. Creeds, Subscription to Creeds, Private Interpretation, Free In-quiry.

1 Loc cit., p. 189.  
2 Ibid., p. 191.
A- They are not a substitute for the Bible, but a concise epitome of what is believed to be the meaning of the Bible.

B- They originate from the discrepancies of human opinion, and the necessity of united views within certain limits.

C- Churches of every name are voluntary associations, and, on the principles of civil and religious liberty, have a right to agree in respect to the doctrine and discipline by which they will promote their own edification.

D- The exposition of our Confession of Faith appertains, of necessity, in the first instance, to those who subscribe it, and are bound by it.

E- In joining the Presbyterian Church, each individual member—unless he comes in as an ignoramous, without knowing what he professes—does explain her standards for himself.

V. The question now at issue (ability) turns, then, upon an exposition of the Confession of Faith, not merely as a human formula, but as our admitted epitome of what the Bible teaches.

A- No writing or instrument of any kind is to be expounded in contradiction to itself.

B- The instrument is to be explained according to the known nature and attributes of the subject.

C- The instrument is to be construed with reference to controversies and import of terms which prevailed at the time it was written, and the meaning of theological technics employed in them.

D- It must be interpreted by a comparison with anterior and contemporaneous creeds and authors: in a word, by the theological usus loquendi of the age.

E- The instrument must be interpreted according to the reigning philosophy of the day in which it was written; and

F- According to the intuitive perceptions and the common sense and consciousness of all mankind.

1) Argument

The main argument of Dr. Beecher's defence is set forth in a speech, nearly two hundred pages in length. The following paragraphs, borrowed

1 His doctrinal views advanced and defended before the Presbytery, together with the doctrines contained in his sermons, lectures, and correspondence, will be considered at length under the heading, "BEECHER'S ELEMENTS OF THEOLOGY," Chapters IV to VII inclusive.
from the minutes of the Presbytery, are an epitome of Dr. Beecher's more elaborate dissertation.

"Resolved, That in the opinion of this Presbytery, the charges of J.L. Wilson, D.D., against Lyman Beecher, D.D., are not sustained, for the following reasons:

I. "As to the charge of depraved nature, it appears on evidence that Dr. Beecher holds and teaches that in consequence of the fall of Adam, and the divinely-appointed connection of all his posterity with him, man is born with such a constitutional bias to evil that his first moral act, and all subsequent moral acts, until regenerated, are invariably sinful; which bias to evil is properly denominated a depraved nature or original sin, as in the standards of our Church.

II. "As to the second charge, relating to total depravity and the work of the Holy Spirit, Dr. Beecher holds and teaches that this depravity is so entire, and in such a sense insuperable, that no man is or ever will be regenerated without the special influences of the Holy Spirit accompanying the word, as expressed in the standards of our Church.— Larger Catechism, Question 155, and Scripture proofs.

"On the subject of ability, Dr. Beecher holds and teaches that fallen man has all the constitutional powers or faculties to constitute moral agency and perfect obligation to obey God, and propriety of rewards and punishments; that the will is not by any absolute necessity of nature determined to good or evil, according to the Confession of Faith, ch. ix, sec. 1, with Scripture proofs.

"At the same time Dr. Beecher holds and teaches that man by the fall is morally disabled, being so entirely and obstinately averse from that which is good, and dead in sin, so that he is not able to convert himself, or prepare himself thereunto.

"The extracts from Dr. Beecher's sermons brought to sustain the above charges, when taken in their proper connection, and with the limitations furnished by the context, do not teach doctrines inconsistent with the Bible and standards of our Church.

III. "As to the charges of Perfectionism, slander and hypocrisy, they are altogether instructive and inferential, and wholly unsustained by the evidence."

Conclusion

Thoughts on creeds in general and our own Confession in particular.

A- Creeds originated in the assaults of error upon fundamental truth.

The design was to repel innovations and unite the faithful in Christ Jesus in fellowship and action.

B- We have now occasion to guard against the faults of other days, in relying too exclusively on the letter of our creeds. The lesson which the Church has been slow to learn is the medium between requiring too little, or too much. Exact agreement in everything cannot be secured by persuasion or by force.

C- The means of our preservation are obvious and easy. We ought to speak the same things; but this means not the same words, but the same doctrines. Our Confession and Catechisms were intended as concise definitions, and not as furnishing the entire vocabulary of words in which their doctrines shall be preached.

The vote of the Presbytery at the close of the trial was as follows:

First Charge: Sustained—12; Not Sustained—23
Second Charge: Sustained—12; Not Sustained—23
Third Charge: Sustained—6; Not Sustained—29
Fourth Charge: Sustained—(upon its admission by Dr. Beecher)
Fifth Charge: Sustained—6; Not Sustained—29
Sixth Charge: Sustained—6; Not Sustained—29

Dr. Wilson then gave notice that he would appeal to the Synod from this decision. Accordingly, the case was tried before the Synod, assembled at Dayton, Ohio, 16th October 1835.

1) Extract From The Minutes Of The Synod

"After recess the roll was called, that the members might express their opinions on the appeal of Dr. Wilson; after which it was, on motion, resolved that the appeal be sustained:

"1st. Because the Synod sees nothing in the conduct of J.L. Wilson, in preferring and prosecuting charges against Lyman Beecher, which ought to infer censure.

"2nd. Because, although the charges of slander and hypocrisy are not

proved, and although Synod see nothing in his views, as explained by himself, to justify any suspicion of unsoundness in the faith, yet, on the subject of the depraved nature of man, and of total depravity, and the work of the Holy Spirit in effectual calling, and the subject of ability, they are of the opinion that Dr. Beecher has indulged a disposition to philosophize, instead of exhibiting in simplicity and plainness these doctrines as taught in the Scriptures; and has employed terms and phrases, and modes of illustration calculated to convey ideas inconsistent with the Word of God and our Confession of Faith, and that he ought to be, and is hereby admonished to be more guarded in the future.

"Friday morning. The parties in the case of J.L. Wilson's appeal being called in, L. Beecher declared his ready acquiescence in the decision of the Synod, and his determination to act conformably to their admonition. Whereupon it was resolved,

"1st. That the Synod express their satisfaction with the aforementioned acquiescence and determination of Dr. Beecher, and are happy in believing that nothing insuperable remains to prevent his usefulness or impair our confidence in him as a minister of the Gospel in the Presbyterian Church.

"2nd. That Lyman Beecher be, as he hereby is, requested to have published, at as early a day as possible, in pamphlet form, a concise statement of the argument and design of his sermon, Native Character, and of his views of Total Depravity, Original Sin, Regeneration, and Natural and Moral Ability, agreeably to his declarations and explanations made before Synod.

"J.L. Wilson gave notice that he would appeal from the decision of Synod to the next General Assembly."

In 1836, the General Assembly convened at Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. On the third day of the session, Dr. Wilson rose in the Assembly and intimated that he was willing to withdraw his appeal. To this proposal Dr. Beecher readily gave his consent, and the case was dropped. When asked if he would bring charges of slander against Dr. Wilson, in accordance with the provision made in the "Book of Discipline," he is quoted as having made the following reply:

"..... I am not willing to stand here and hear my church-bell ring, while his is put to silence. We are not alienated from each other. There

1 Chapter V, Paragraph vii.
is no personal bitterness between us. We are as ready to see eye to eye, and as ready to draw in the same harness as two men ever were, if we could but agree in our views. And although Dr. Wilson does not see his way clear to extend his hand to me, it is not certain but that after he has conned this matter over, after he has communed with his friends, and above all, after he has communed with his God, he may come to a different conclusion."
Lyman Beecher was a theologian of the "New England," or "Edwardean" school. As a true disciple of that school the particular doctrines which he advocated throughout his ministry were the legitimate offspring of the New England Theology. Therefore, in order to gain a correct understanding of his views, sufficient space should be devoted to a consideration of the fundamental principles of the New England Theology. It is not within the scope of this thesis to review the history of that school, appropriate as that might be at this point. This present chapter is designed primarily to indicate those influences which formed the theological media into which Lyman Beecher was born and in which he thrived all his years.

The New England Theology was that body of divinity which originated in New England during the first half of the eighteenth century, in defence of Calvinism, and survived until the latter half of the nineteenth. It had its genesis through the sermons of the elder Jonathan Edwards, 1) on "JUSTIFICATION BY FAITH," preached in 1734, at Northampton, Massachusetts. Its exodus appears to have taken place with the retirement of Professor Edwards A. Park, in 1881, Professor of Systematic Theology at Andover Theological Seminary, Andover, Massachusetts.

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1 EDWARDS, JONATHAN: born at East Windsor, Connecticut, 5th October 1703; graduated from Yale College in 1720, at seventeen years of age; tutored at Yale, 1720-1727; assisted his grandfather, the Reverend Solomon Stoddard, at Northampton, Massachusetts, 1727-1729; became his successor in 1729; opposed the "Half-Way Covenant" and "Stoddardism;" dismissed from his pulpit in 1750; became a missionary to the Housatonic Indians, at Stockbridge, Massachusetts, 1750-1758; elected president of the College of New Jersey (Princeton), 1758; died at Princeton, 22nd March 1758.
Prior to the time of Edwards, 1703 to 1758, the prevailing theology in New England for a hundred years had always conformed strictly to the theology of the body of the Reformed Churches, and "bore the unmistakable stamp of the person and teaching of John Calvin. The absolute Sovereignty of God in all human affairs was not only maintained theoretically, but defended with an earnestness that has become proverbial, but was in reality the cornerstone upon which colonial statecraft as well as domestic life was based, and upon which the stately structure of Puritan life was erected."

However, whereas the preaching of consistent Calvinism, with the chief emphasis upon the Sovereignty of God, had a salutary effect in the early days of the colonial period, the preaching of the corresponding doctrine, the inability of man, had a demoralising effect in subsequent generations. The spirit of the old doctrine of native inability was out of harmony with the spirit of adventure and achievement in its new environment. The twofold result was not favourable to orthodox religion in either respect. In the first place, since there was nothing that men could do with regard to their own salvation and the conversion of their neighbours, all missionary efforts were suspended. There was a marked declension of evangelical fervour in the churches which had fallen into a state of lethargy. Attendance upon the means of grace became irregular and the numbers of communicants diminished at an alarming rate. Moreover, in the second place, this lowering of the spiritual vitality rendered the communities increasingly susceptible to the infections of the various "isms" which were being transported from the mother country-- Deism, Arminianism, Pelagianism, Socinianism.

"How absurd," it was urged (by the opponents of Calvinism), "that a man totally dead should be called upon to arise and perform the duties of

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the living and sound—that we should need a divine influence to give us a new heart, and yet be commanded to make a new heart and a right spirit—that a man has no power to come to Christ, and yet be commanded to come to him on pain of damnation."

The effect of this upon Jonathan Edwards was to fire his indignation and temper his intellect. With dismay he had viewed the strongholds of Protestantism yielding in compromise to the intrigues of the "Half-Way Covenant." He had witnessed the calamitous results of the policies of "Stoddardism." Now he was determined to go forth as the champion of Calvinism, "to clear the Calvinistic system of difficulties and objections that were felt both by its advocates and opponents." Thus, the "New England Theology" originated, not as an innovation upon Calvinism per se, but as a corrective for its abuses and as a reaffirmation of its old positions in cogent terms of impregnable logic.

2 The "HALF-WAY COVENANT" originated in the Synod of 1662, convened in Boston, Massachusetts. It was the answer to the question, "Who are subjects of baptism?" The reply was, "Church members who were admitted in minority, understanding the doctrine of faith, and publicly professing their asent thereto, not scandalous in life, and solemnly owning the covenant before the church, wherein they give up themselves and their children to the Lord, and subject themselves to the government of Christ in the church, their children are to be baptized." "MAGNALIA CHRISTI AMERICANA," by Cotton Mather, Vol. II, p. 279.
3 "STODDARDISM" was the doctrine advocated by the Reverend Solomon Stoddard (1643-1729), minister of the church at Northampton, Massachusetts, and grandfather of Jonathan Edwards. He held that the Lord's Supper was a converting ordinance, a means of grace like the other services of the church, upon which "all adult members of the church who were not scandalous" should attend.

"It is needful," he said, "that others (than the regenerate) should attend duties of worship that the worship of God may be carried on .... This is very useful that men may obtain sanctifying grace .... God in the Lord's Supper invites us to come to Christ, makes it an affecting representation of his sufferings for our sins, ...."

The champion of the cause was likewise the leader of a long line of faithful disciples who not only became in their turn defenders of Calvinism, but also the champions of the "Edwardean" theology. Included in that succession was Lyman Beecher, whose boundless admiration for his teacher is thus penned in a letter to his son George, then a student at Yale Theological Seminary:

"It is our shame, and a deep evidence of the depravity of our hearts, that, during mental occupancy about God and divine things, the affections should run down. It is not so in heaven.... It need not, however, be so on earth to the extent which it is, as appears in the life and writings of Edwards, whose vigor of intellect, compass of thought, patience of investigation, accuracy of discrimination, power of argument, knowledge of the Bible, and strength of holiness, stand unrivaled.... But the attractions of his heart to God kept him in his orbit, and enabled him to go forth, and survey, and adjust the relations of the moral universe without becoming a wandering star; whose original investigation and deep piety, my son, follow. Next after the Bible, read and study Edwards, whom to understand in theology, accommodated to use, will be as high praise in theological science as to understand Newton's works in accommodation to modern uses of natural philosophy."

A. The School of Jonathan Edwards

A great American historian, George Bancroft, wrote: "He that would know the workings of the New England mind in the middle of the last (i.e. the 18th) century, and the throbbings of its heart, must give his days and nights to the study of Jonathan Edwards."

As a philosopher Edwards were a "Berkeleyian"—a follower of Bishop George Berkeley, although the best authorities differ as to whether Edwards had ever read Berkeley. Professor Fisher is of the opinion that the following remark of Edwards refers to the philosophy of Berkeley:

"The course of nature is demonstrated by late improve-
ments in philosophy to be indeed what our author himself says
it is, viz., nothing but the established order of the agency
and operation of the Author of nature."

However that might be, it is evident that the minds of both these
thinkers were travelling along parallel lines of an idealistic philosophy
which led them to similar conclusions: that, independently of the mind,
the precepts of sense have no existence; that they are not originated by
any power of the mind, but by a power from without, not a material sub-
stance but the will of God acting uniformly. Hence, Edwards held that there
are only spiritual beings or substances in the universe.

"And indeed the secret lies here, —that which truly is
the substance of all bodies is the infinitely exact and precise
and perfectly stable Idea in God's mind, together with His stable
will that the same shall gradually be communicated to us, and to
other minds, according to certain fixed and exact established
methods and laws; or, in somewhat different language, the
infinitely exact and precise Divine Idea, together with an
answerable, perfectly exact, precise, and stable will, with
respect to correspondent communications to created minds and
effects on their minds."

It was from John Locke, however, that Edwards derived his greatest
suggestive stimulation. While a student at Yale, in his fifteenth year,
Edwards read Locke's, "ESSAY CONCERNING HUMAN UNDERSTANDING," with sheer
pleasure—greater "than the most greedy miser finds when gathering up
handfuls of silver and gold from some newly discovered treasure." So
complete was his mastery of the substance of the essay that he could readily
detect fallacies and recognise inconsistencies. So thorough was his
independence of thought, however, and so acute were his powers of discrim-
ination that Edwards not infrequently defended theological positions which
were definitely opposed to those of his great teacher. He rejected, for
example, Locke's theory of nominalism. Edwards' theories of the sources of

1 Quoted from "LIFE AND WRITINGS OF JONATHAN EDWARDS," by Alexander
knowledge were the exact opposite to those of Locke; and, Professor Fisher adds, "to his theological system in its central tenets he was directly adverse."

Professor Allen was of the opinion that "Locke was after all rather the occasion than the inspiring cause of his intellectual activity. Had he read Descartes instead, he might have reached the same conclusion."

While that opinion may be held by many who are in agreement with Professor Allen, the consensus of opinion appears to be that Locke's chapter "Of Power" furnished not a few stimulating suggestions which Edwards assimilated and incorporated in his monumental treatise, his "CAREFUL AND STRICT INQUIRY INTO THE MODERN PREVAILING NOTIONS OF THAT FREEDOM OF THE WILL WHICH IS SUPPOSED TO BE ESSENTIAL TO MORAL AGENCY," published in 1754.

For instance, Professor Fisher points out that Locke's discussion in the chapter referred to above caused Edwards "to perceive that an evil man may properly be said to have a natural or physical ability to be good."

Before considering this treatise further, an earlier one should be dealt with briefly, namely--"A TREATISE CONCERNING RELIGIOUS AFFECTIONS," published in 1746.

The year 1735 in New England history is commonly regarded as the beginning of that period of phenomenal religious excitement, known as the "Great Awakening." Its influence was first felt in the church of Jonathan

1 "AN UNPUBLISHED ESSAY OF EDWARDS ON THE TRINITY," p. 16.
2 "LIFE AND WRITINGS OF JONATHAN EDWARDS," p. 5.
3 Book II, Chapter xxi.
5 "The news of it seemed to be almost like a flash of lightning upon the hearts of young people all over the town,... The minds of the people were wonderfully taken off from the world:... All would eagerly lay hold of opportunities for their souls, and were wont very often to meet together in private houses for religious purposes:... And the work of conversion was carried on in a most astonishing manner, and increased more and more.... the town seemed to be full of the presence of God, it was never so full of love, and yet so full of distress, as it was then. It was a time of joy in

(Con't. on next page)
Edwards in Northampton, Massachusetts. "It began there without any extraordinary circumstances to awaken the attention of the people, or any extraordinary arrangements or efforts on the part of the minister." During the five succeeding years it had spread throughout all New England and sections of New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania.

That visitation of the spirit among the churches had not finished its mission before a religious paroxism, following in the wake of the itinerant preaching of George Whitefield between 1740 and 1741, swept over New England with unprecedented fury. The effect of such emotional extravagances was to neutralise the good which had been brought through the "awakening" of 1735. Moreover, they gave occasion for the arousing of intense opposition to revivals of religion, on the part of the foes of orthodoxy and the moderate evangelical clergy of New England. The divine character and religious values of revivals were openly denied; and then it was that Edwards came to their defence in his first great treatise. The work, however, was not designed merely to defend and justify revivalistic religion. A still more urgent motive was his determination to submit the "converts" to a crucial test, whereby distinctions would be drawn between those religious feelings which are the legitimate grounds of assurance and those which are spurious.

"True religion, in great part," Edwards maintained in that monumental work, "consists in the affections." "The affections," he further maintained, "are no other than the more vigorous and sensible exercises of the inclination and will of the soul." It is apparent, therefore, that

(continued from previous page) families, on account of salvation being brought to them; .... Our public assemblies were then beautiful; .... The assembly were, from time to time, in tears, while the word was preached; some weeping with sorrow and distress, others with joy and love, others with pity and concern for their neighbors." "HISTORICAL DISCOURSES," by Leonard Bacon, pp. 205-206.
1 Ibid., p. 204.
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the heart of religion is shifted from the objective to the subjective; and, moreover, the nature of the soul has become the new foundation for the exercises of the religious understanding.

1) "It is evident that there is a spiritual conviction of the truth, or a belief to those who are spiritual, who are regenerated, and who have the Spirit of God, in his holy communications, dwelling in them as a vital principle... A view of the divine glory directly convinces the mind of the divinity of these things... They therefore that see the stamp of this glory in divine things, they see divinity in them, they see God in them, and so see them to be divine; because they see that in them wherein the truest idea of divinity consists. Thus a soul may have a kind of intuitive knowledge of the divinity of the things exhibited in the gospel; ...........

On reading such passages as this, one cannot avoid the impression that Jonathan Edwards was moving on a plane of immediate self-consciousness, along which Friedrich Schleiermacher was soon to follow. It must not be thought, however, that Edwards, any more than Schleiermacher, disparaged the value of doctrine and its proper use in arriving at religious truth; but the divinity of things is experienced intuitively and recognised by the soul "without any long chain of arguments; the argument is but one and the evidence direct; .... The gospel ..... has its highest and most proper evidence in itself."

2) "A CAREFUL AND STRICT INQUIRY INTO THE MODERN PREVAILING NOTIONS OF THAT FREEDOM OF THE WILL WHICH IS SUPPOSED TO BE ESSENTIAL TO MORAL AGENCY"

In 1750 Edwards was dismissed from his pulpit by vote of the congregation--two hundred to twenty-three. The origin of the conflict which

2 Cf., Friedrich Schleiermacher, "ON RELIGION--SPEECHES TO ITS CULTURED DESPISERS," p. 36:
"It is true that religion is essentially contemplative. The contemplation of the pious is the immediate consciousness of the universal existence of all finite things, in and through the Infinite, and of all temporal things in and through the Eternal. .... Yet religion is not knowledge and science, either of the world or of God. Without being knowledge, it recognizes knowledge and science. In itself it is an affection, a revelation of the Infinite in the finite, God being seen in it and it in God."
resulted in such calamitous consequences dated back to the days which followed immediately after the "Great Awakening," when the evils attendant upon the revival began to appear in the form of spurious conversions. His strenuous opposition to the "Half-Way Covenant" and "Stoddardism" soon brought him into conflict with the non-regenerate members of his parish. His relentless determination to stamp out moral laxity finally called into being his sermon, "QUALIFICATIONS FOR FULL COMMUNION;" which sermon he preached in 1749 from the very pulpit from which his grandfather, Solomon Stoddard, had defended his thesis in 1707—"THE INEXCUSABLENESS OF NEGLECTING THE WORSHIP OF GOD UNDER A PRETENCE OF BEING IN AN UNCONVERTED CONDITION."

That was the discourse which won for Edwards the title, "Luther of New England." Said Lyman Beecher:

"This suspension of divine influence, and decline of vital religion, continued until the time of Edwards, the Luther of New England; who, by his example, and by his unanswerable treatise on the terms of communion, revived the practice of receiving to the Lord's table none but those who furnished credible evidence of a moral renovation by the Spirit, and of repentance towards God, and faith in our Lord Jesus Christ;—a practice which has been steadily increasing, from his day to this; and, with it, evangelical doctrine, and revivals of religion."

The insistence of Edwards upon the vital importance of the spiritual experience of conversion as the pre-requisite sine qua non to church membership, finally cost him his Northampton pulpit where he had preached for twenty-three years. The forty-seven year old minister and his family of ten children found refuge, at length, in the secluded village of Stock-

2 "It is, also, an historic fact worthy of note that the ground taken by Edwards on the question of the qualifications requisite for full communion with the visible church came to be sanctioned by the New England churches generally, and to be regarded by them as an essential part of their ecclesiastical system. The 'Half-Way Covenant,' which he opposed, was condemned." George P. Fisher, "AN UNPUBLISHED ESSAY OF EDWARDS ON THE TRINITY," pp. 138-139.
bridge, Massachusetts, where he did missionary work among the Housatonic Indians. There, in an atmosphere of peace and quiet, in 1754 he gave to the world the greatest of his metaphysical treatises, in opposition to his Arminian adversaries—especially Daniel Whitby (1636-1726), author of the controversial volume, "DISCOURSES ON THE FIVE POINTS."

The Arminians objected to Calvinism on the grounds: first, that it requires that men shall do that which they are told they cannot do; second, that it denies any such thing as "freedom of the will;" and third, that fatalism is the logical outcome of its teaching. In response to those objections, Edwards declared in a letter to his Scottish friend and correspondent, Dr. John Erskine, that it was his purpose "to bring the late objections and outcries against Calvinistic divinity to the test of the strictest reasoning."

Development of the Argument

I. The will is determined by "that view of the mind which has the greatest degree of previous tendency to excite volition."

II. The process by which the will is determined is that of the law of cause and effect, operating in the realm of mind.

A. "Cause is that after or upon the existence of which, or the existence of it after such a manner, the existence of another thing follows."

B. "And agreeably to this, I sometimes use the word effect for the consequence of another thing which is perhaps rather an occasion than a cause, most properly speaking."

C. Power is "the Connection between these two existences, or between the Cause and the Effect."

1 Rector of St. Edmund's Church of England, Salisbury.
5 Ibid., Vol. I, p. 50.
III. In the case of the mind, the causes which operate on the will to produce certain effects are moral causes, or motives, and the effects are volitions, or choices.

A. "By motive I mean the whole of that which moves, excites, or invites the mind to volition, whether that be one thing singly, or many things conjointly."

B. "And when I speak of the strongest motive, I have respect to the strength of the whole that operates to induce a particular act of volition whether that be the strength of one thing alone or of many together."

C. Choices are the acts of the will.

IV. Moral causes, or motives, operate upon the will as positive, efficient causes and are antecedents of choice.

A. They "may be Causes in as proper a sense as any Causes whatsoever," and "may be as truly the reason and ground of an Event's coming to pass."

B. "Therefore I sometimes use the word cause, in this inquiry, to signify an antecedent, natural or moral, positive or negative, on which an event, either a thing, or the manner and circumstance of a thing, so depends, that it is the ground and reason, either in whole or in part, why it is, rather than not;"

C. The will is determined by the cause, or motive, which it follows. "By determining the will, if the phrase be used with any meaning, must be intended causing that the act of the will should be thus and not otherwise."

D. "And therefore it must be true, in some sense, that the will always is, as the greatest apparent good is."

V. With the application of the law of cause and effect, a deterministic necessitarianism is introduced into the philosophy of the will.

A. "By natural necessity as applied to men I mean such necessity as men are under through the force of natural causes as distinguished from what are called moral causes.... This difference, however, does not lie so much in the nature of the connexion as in the two terms connected, and in the effect, which in the latter case is 'voluntary action.'"
B. "The only way that anything that is to come to pass hereafter is or can be necessary, is by a connection with something that is necessary in its own nature, or something that already is or has been; so that, the one being supposed, the other certainly follows."

VI. The doctrine of necessitarianism preserves the omniscience and omnipotence of God for his providential government.

A. "According to Edwards, God himself is not only under a necessity to be morally perfect, but the same moral necessity which is predicatable of saint and sinner, is likewise predicatable of all the choices and volitions of the Supreme Being."

VII. While omniscience and omnipotence are preserved to God, full and perfect freedom is preserved to men.

3) A. "The plain and obvious meaning of the words freedom and liberty in common speech is the power, opportunity, or advantage that any one has, to do as he pleases. Or in other words, his being free from hindrance or impediment in the way of doing or conducting in any respect as he wills."

4) B. "... men are today in possession of all the liberty which it has entered into the heart of man to conceive --- even the same liberty which Adam possessed prior to the fall."

5) C. "Liberty does not consider anything of the choice; rather, the choice having been made, liberty applies to the ability to do what one has already chosen or willed to do."

6) D. "To talk of liberty or the contrary as belonging to the very will itself, is not to speak good sense," for it ultimately means willing or choosing contrary to one's will or choice.

VIII. Man being in possession of freedom of the will is naturally able to obey God's law.

7) A. "There are faculties of mind, and a capacity of nature, and everything else sufficient; nothing is wanting but a will."

1 Loc. cit., Vol. II, p. 30
4 Loc. cit., Vol. II, p. 293, (Letter to Dr. John Erskine.)
7 Ibid., Vol. II, p. 38.
IX. Man is responsible because he is naturally able to obey the commands of God; but he is helpless because he is morally unable.

A. "Moral inability consists ...... either in the want of inclination; or the strength of contrary inclination; or the want of sufficient motives in view, to induce and excite the act of the will, or the strength of apparent motives to the contrary. Or both of these may be resolved into one; and it may be said in one word, that moral inability consists in the opposition or want of inclination."

B. Moral inability is a fixed and habitual inclination of the will towards evil.

X. Therefore, because man possesses freedom of the will he is both responsible and to be held accountable for the choices of the will.

A. The act of the will is itself a choice: doing is choosing.

B. Men are responsible for their choices, and not for the causes of those choices.

C. The right or wrong of a choice lies not in its cause, but in its nature.

D. Choice excludes necessity, coercion, restraint, force, compulsion, and the like.

Finally, it should be noted that Edwards departed from Calvinism and the Westminster Confession with regard to the "ad utrumvis" choice, or power of contrary choice, which Adam is said to have possessed in his innocent state. Edwards ruled out all idea of a power of contrary choice, both in the case of Adam and in the case of his posterity. "Present choice cannot at present choose to be otherwise: for that would be at present to choose something diverse from what is at present chosen."

There can be no such thing as a neutral state of mind prior to choice, choice being determined by antecedent causes or volitions.

1 Loc. cit., Vol. II, p. 35.
That treatise was among the last of Edwards' endeavours in the field of metaphysics. It was published in 1755, three years before his death. In many respects it represents the true genius of Edwards at its best. At the time of its inception, the author was not constrained or hampered by any immediate necessity of defending the faith or of attacking its adversaries. In the estimation of at least one competent authority, the "Dissertation Concerning the Nature of True Virtue" merits the designation as "Edwards' principal contribution to religious thought. It may be said to have given the determining principle to the whole school of thinking which was to bear the name of Edwardean."

There can be no doubt that Edwards was familiar with that succession of writers which begins with Thomas Hobbes. It is equally certain that he was deeply moved by the genius of the Scottish philosopher—Thomas Hutcheson, whose special contribution to the science of ethics was his concept of benevolence as the sole constituent of virtue. Starting from that principle, Edwards constructed an ethical system which surpassed the best efforts of his predecessors; in that it involved not only the relationship between man and man, but the triangular relationship between God, man, and his neighbour. Thus, ethics and religion came to be regarded as parts of the same system.

The Ethical System of Edwards

I. The universe is a system in which the idea of harmony is predominant. Hence, ideal harmony is the ultimate goal of individual existence—the supreme object of moral choice.

A. Beauty being an aspect of harmony, belongs likewise to the realm of moral nature. It follows, therefore, that

II. Virtue is a beauty of a moral nature which belongs both to the heart and to the will.

1) A. Virtue is a beauty which appears beautiful when viewed "most perfectly, comprehensively, and universally, with regard to all its tendencies and its connections with everything to which it stands related."

2) B. Virtue consists most essentially in benevolence in general, which "is that consent, propensity, and union of heart to being in general, which is immediately exercised in a general good will."

III. A particular expression of good will, or of affection, is virtuous when it arises "from a generally benevolent temper, or from that habit or frame of mind wherein consists a disposition to love being in general."

4) A. "The first object of a virtuous benevolence is being, simply considered; and if being, simply considered, be its object, then being in general is its object; and what it has an ultimate propensity to, is the highest good of being in general. And it will seek the good of every individual being unless it be conceived as not consistent with the highest good of being in general."

5) B. "Further, if being, simply considered, be the first object of a truly virtuous benevolence, then that object which has most of being, or has the greatest share of existence, .... will have the greatest share of propensity and benevolent affections of the heart."

IV. The being who has the"most of being" is God. Hence, he is the supreme object of virtuous benevolence and is entitled to receive the "greatest share" of the "benevolent affections of the heart."

V. Men are of equal importance; since, in general, they have equal shares of being. Hence, they are entitled to receive equal shares of virtuous benevolence.

2 Ibid., Vol. III, pp. 93-95.
3 Ibid., Vol. III, pp. 93-95.
5 Ibid., Vol. III, p. 97.
VI. Since true virtue includes virtue towards God as well as towards men, religion and morality are essentially one and the same. However, 1)

A. "... nothing is of the nature of true virtue in which God is not the first and the last; or which, with regard to their exercises in general have not their first foundation and source in apprehensions of God's supreme dignity and glory, and in answerable esteem and love of him, and have not respect to God as the supreme end."

VII. Since benevolence consists in a disposition to love being in general, it seeks to promote the beauty of virtue in which being delights, and rejoices in the happiness of the being to whom benevolence is extended. Hence, it is proper to speak of a benevolent attitude, as well as a love of complacence towards God.

A. God's delight is in his glory, and men may be instrumental in promoting that glory through an attitude of benevolence.

B. Moreover, men may rejoice in the happiness of God to whom benevolence is extended. A love of complacence, therefore, possesses a true element of benevolence.

VIII. While religion and morality are essentially one, it is possible to be moral without being religious.

A. Morality without religion, however, lacks the beauty which is characteristic only of true or "primary" virtue.

B. Primary virtue is love of being in general; secondary virtue is simply a love of moral excellence.

IX. "Natural conscience," being the conscience of the natural man, consists in a "disposition to approve or disapprove the moral treatment which passes between us and others from a determination of the mind to be easy or uneasy in a consciousness of our being consistent or inconsistent with ourselves."

A. "Natural conscience" may therefore, through a sense of justice, perceive the beauty of true benevolence; though it may not experience the primary and essential beauty of true virtue."

Edwards' treatise on "Original Sin," like his dissertation on "The Will," was written for polemical purposes. In the struggle between Arminianism and Calvinism, Dr. John Taylor, of Norwich, England, produced a work entitled, "THE SCRIPTURAL DOCTRINE OF ORIGINAL SIN PROPOSED TO FREE AND CANDID EXAMINATION." While the volume commends itself to the earnest student of the doctrinal problems concerning original sin, a mind such as Edwards' was keen to sense a trend of thought and feeling throughout the argument which he considered to be untrue to the evangelical faith. It was that perception which impelled him to controvert Taylor and the whole Arminian school, which he did in his treatise on "Original Sin."

The Arminian writers, including Dr. Taylor, had made a frontal attack with telling effect upon the Calvinistic teaching concerning the origin of sin in the human race. Their contention, boldly set forth, was that the sin of Adam, for which his posterity was said to be held responsible and judged guilty, and on account of which the entire race was condemned and polluted from the beginning, was the act of one person and not of the entire human family. Moreover, the idea of the imputation of guilt (and hence the punishment thereof) to a race of persons who had no agency in an act of sin, committed by one individual before they were created, was declared to be inconsistent with the standards of human justice—to say nothing of those standards illustrated in the Scriptures. In other words, the doctrines of the "federal theology," which held that the race sinned in Adam as its federal head, were ridiculed as sheer nonsense.

Edwards was convinced that for the "glorying and insults" of the Arminians there was no reasonable justification. In his reply, he made use

of the suggestive ideas contained in the chapter on "Identity and Diversity," in Locke's, "ESSAY ON HUMAN UNDERSTANDING," and showed by the method of analogy that it was absolutely true that the entire race participated in the act by which "the species first rebelled against God."

There are two primary elements in his doctrine of original sin: first, the fact of the depravity of human nature; and second, the imputation of Adam's sin. The proof of the first involves the second. The fact of the universality of sin is "universal, constant, infallible" proof of a "tendency or propensity" to evil in the nature of man.

Moreover, sin is infinite because it breaks an infinite obligation to an infinite Being. Since death was the penalty for Adam's sin and all men must die, so are all men guilty of the sin of Adam. As the federal head of the race, his sin is imputed to his posterity; not in order to make it the sin of all men, but because it is the sin of all men which they have committed in their common ancestor. It is worthy of note in passing that Edwards excluded every concept of sin which is not voluntary; therefore, all sin consists in choice. That doctrine was one of the great distinguishing tenets of the New England theology.

As the consequence of man's sin, the Holy Spirit was withdrawn. Thereupon, man erected for himself his own standards and fell deeper into sin. That is what happened in the case of Adam's descendants: they were born after his sin, were destitute of holiness, depraved, alienated from God, and it was certain that they would fall still deeper. So, "all are looked upon as sinning in and with their common root; and God righteously withholds special influences and special communications from all for this sin."

1 Op. cit., Book II, Chapter XXVII.
3 Cf., Anselm, "CUR DEUS HOMO," Book I, Chapter XXI.
Men give their consent to Adam's sin as soon as they begin to act for themselves. Imputation follows as the consequence of their own sin which was committed for them by their common ancestor. "The first depravity of heart, and that imputation of that sin are both the consequences of that established union; but yet in such order that the evil disposition is first and the charge of guilt consequent, as it was in the case of Adam himself." The order of events, therefore, in the history of each and every individual member of the race is: first, the inheritance of a constitution which is susceptible to sin; second, the event of birth in an environment from which the Holy Spirit has been withdrawn; third, the individual act of sin, being the consent given by the individual to the sin of Adam; and fourth, the charge of guilt upon the individual.

The philosophic problem of identity, wherein Adam's sin was shown to be the act of the whole race, was dealt with in the latter part of the treatise. In that section the influence of Berkeley, as well as of Locke, was brought to bear upon the reasoning of Edwards. The principle of identity upon which he built his thesis was the Berkeleian proposition that material substances have no being independent of the mental perceptions of those to whom the Divine will has empowered to receive. Locke, in his chapter on "Identity and Diversity", attempted to prove that sameness of consciousness is the sole bond of identity; and that identity would continue were consciousness separated from one substance and united with another.

Combining the ideas of Berkeley and Locke, and applying them in the realm of the mind, Edwards proceeded to show that personal identity, if it is consciousness, is maintained by the Divine will engaged in continuously repeated acts of creation from moment to moment. If it is sameness of sub-

stance, that too is preserved and maintained by repeated acts of creation. In addition, personal identity is a constituted identity dependent upon the Divine will and character of the creator. The individual members of the human race constitute a moral whole by continual creation. They are, therefore, a continuation of Adam; in whose act, by which the "species first rebelled against God," each member of the race participated.

The posterity of Adam was condemned, not for the evil choice of its ancestral head, but for its own act of sin. The evil inclination and propensity to sin is the natural consequence of their own act by which they gave consent in the initial act of Adam. The fact of time which intervenes between the first sinful inclination of Adam and the first inclination of each member of the human family counts for nothing. The first act of sin in the life history of each and every individual is an act of participation in and of consent to the first sinful act of the federal head of the human family. The habit of sinning in the experience of each human being, as in Adam, follows upon the first rising of evil inclination. Therefore, "the sin of apostasy is not theirs, merely because God imputes it to them, but it is truly and properly theirs, and on that ground God imputes it to them."

Finally, Edwards denied the theory that God was the author of sin in the race. In the case of the first sin, the divine agency did not go beyond the withdrawal of the means of grace. Consequently, the native tendencies and propensities of the first man were left to act without the restraining influences of those resources. God permitted the choice of evil; and, in that sense "wills it to occur, considering all its consequences." He is not, however, the positive, efficient cause of sin; nor is its source found in Him.

3 Ibid., Vol. II, p. 263.
B. The Edwardian Theologians

He who had committed himself to the task of defending Calvinism in the presence of its foes, and at the same time of rectifying its abuses by its friends, became the centre and soul of a new movement in the theology of New England. A body of distinguished thinkers were attracted by the colossal figure of Edwards and became personally identified with the new movement through intimate contact with its leading spirit. The disciples of Edwards in the field of speculative theology were known as the "Edwardian theologians." The body of doctrine which was formulated by that school received the name of "New Divinity", to distinguish it from the traditional Calvinism—in the structure of which certain modifications had been made. The creed which characterised the "Edwardians" and the "New Divinity" consisted, for the most part, of the fundamental principles laid down by Jonathan Edwards.

"The Orthodox Congregationalists of New England," according to Professor Stowe, "had always professed to take the Bible,—the original, inspired word of God,—as the sufficient and only infallible rule of faith and practice in all matters pertaining to religion. But the metaphysical turn given to the great Arminian controversy had not been favourable to the philological study of the Bible; and for two or three generations the original Scriptures had ceased to be the theological manual of the New England clergy.... On all points of theology Jonathan Edwards was God's interpreter to them; and as a matter of fact, whatever the theory might have been, President Edwards actually became, to the great majority of the Orthodox Congregationalists of New England, especially the clergy, Bible, Pope, Council of Trent, and all, so far as the authoritative decision of disputed points in theology was concerned."

While that may be perfectly true to fact, yet it is also true that the followers of Edwards were by no means servile disciples. The imposing structures which they erected were built upon the foundations which their teacher had laid, but they were constructed after plans of their own making. The teachings of the master were too stimulating and suggestive, as well as too numerous and comprehensive, to anticipate an absolute unanimity of opinion on every point among the pupils. There were too many unexplored paths indicated by Edwards to expect that each of his followers would ultimately arrive at the same destination.

Obviously, space cannot be given within the range of this present work to investigate once again those various pathways, nor their respective explorers. It will be necessary, however, to observe briefly some of the main trends of thought and discussion with which Lyman Beecher was familiar; together with some of the leading personalities with whom he was either personally acquainted or conversant through study.

1) Samuel Hopkins

"Upon the death of Mr. Edwards, Mrs. Edwards, in consequence of verbal directions, given to her by Mr. Edwards in his life-time, put all his manuscripts and his library into my hands and care," wrote Hopkins in his autobiography, "... as these manuscripts were in my hands a number of years, I paid my chief attention to them, until I had read them all; .... In doing this, I had much pleasure and profit. My mind became more engaged in study, rising, great part of my time, at four o'clock in the morning, to pursue my study, in which I took great pleasure."

1 Hopkins, Samuel: born in Waterbury, Connecticut, 17th September 1721; attended Yale College, 1737-1741; studied theology with Jonathan Edwards; held pastorates in Great Barrington, Massachusetts (1745-1769), and in Newport, Rhode Island (1770-1803); published his "System of Doctrine" in 1793; died in Newport, 20th December 1803.

Samuel Hopkins had studied theology under Edwards for a period of eight months. His was naturally a prosaic and exclusively an intellectual type of mind. In addition to his labours as pastor and social reformer (especially in the problem of slavery), he rendered great service to the New England divinity through the gathering of his theology into the first indigenous New England system—published in 1793 under the title, "SYSTEM OF DOCTRINES."

The successors of Edwards considered that the solution which he advanced with respect to the problem of original sin, was insufficient to satisfy the given conditions. Their first major task was to endeavour to meet those deficiencies. Hopkins, seemingly, adopted the realistic doctrines of Edwards in certain instances; he was quite at variance with him in others. For example, concerning Adam and his relation to the race, Hopkins said in one passage that "being by divine constitution the natural head and father of the whole race, they were all included and created in him as one whole which could not be separated; and, therefore, he is treated as the whole in this transaction."

In another instance he wrote the following:

".... the children of Adam are not guilty of his sin, are not punished, and do not suffer for that, any further than they implicitly or expressly approve of his transgression by sinning as he did;—that their total moral corruption and sinfulness is as much their own sin and as criminal in them, as it could be if it were not in consequence of the sin of the first father of the human race, or if Adam had not first sinned;...."

In general, Hopkins' views on original sin may be summed-up in the following: that all sin consists in personal acts or exercises; that men are sinners from the beginning of their existence through a divinely constituted connexion between the sin of Adam and their sin; that men become sinners,

not as a penalty of the law for the sin of the first man, but because of their own free act; and that the event of sin with the birth of the individual is a sin, nevertheless, even though the subject is wholly unaware of its own existence and ignorant of the law.

1) "As soon as children are capable of the least motion and exercise of the heart which is contrary to the law of God, such motions and exercises are sin in them, though they are ignorant of it....

2) "Persons may be moral agents, and sin without knowing what the law of God is, of what nature their exercises are, and while they have no consciousness that they are wrong."

It should be observed also that Hopkins considered the doctrine of divine efficiency in the production of sin a legitimate deduction from the teachings of Edwards. Since the reign of law extends over choices and volitions, God is the first cause in the realm of mind, as elsewhere, to whose power the effect must be attributed.

Furthermore, from the treatise of Edwards on the "Nature of True Virtue," Hopkins deduced the doctrine of disinterested love;" which is the obligation to love one's self, not as one's own self, but as a part of the totality of rational beings, or of "Being in general." As an inference, he concluded that to love God for himself alone required that men should "be willing to be damned," if necessary, if thereby the glory and happiness of God would be enhanced. A second inference led him to believe that it was fitting for men to love only those who were loved of God. The practical difficulty of determining who were the "elect" was, of course, insurmountable. Hence, according to the logical consequence of the theory of Hopkins, the love which is extended to one's fellows must be a kind of hypothetical or tentative affection.

Yet, despite the absurdities and the incongruities into which his ethical teachings ultimately led, Samuel Hopkins was one of the prime movers in behalf of the abolition of slavery in America. As early as the year 1776, he issued an earnest appeal to his fellow countrymen for the emancipation of the slaves.

1) Nathaniel Emmons

Nathaniel Emmons regarded himself as a "Hopkinsian," and in him "Hopkinsianism" came into full bloom. The leading idea of his system is the sole causality of God, together with the "moral agency" of man which consists in "exercises." All men become sinners by Adam; not because they are compelled to commit his first offence, nor because of any transference of guilt for his transgression, nor because there was conveyed to them a corrupted nature; but because of Adam's sin, God determined that all men should be brought into the world morally depraved.

2) "When God forms the souls of infants, he forms them with moral powers, and makes them men in miniature. And being men in miniature, he works in them as he does in other men, both to will and to do of his good pleasure; or produces those moral exercises in their hearts in which moral depravity properly and essentially consists. Moral depravity can take place nowhere but in moral agents; and moral agents can never act but only as they are acted on by a divine operation. It is just as easy, therefore, to account for moral depravity in infancy, as in any other period of life."

With respect to moral agency, Emmons goes a step beyond Hopkins and declares that a knowledge of the moral law is prerequisite to accountable action. Infants possess that consciousness of obligation to the moral law; otherwise, they would be mere agents; and if mere agents, they never would become moral agents. Thus, in Emmons, "Hopkinsianism" arrived at the stage

1 Emmons, Nathaniel: born in Millington, Connecticut, 20th April 1745; graduated from Yale College, 1767; pastor at Franklin, Massachusetts, 1775-1827; died 23rd September, 1840.
where its principles included: that a person may be held accountable for sin only when known law has been violated; that sin begins with the personal life of each individual, and is a consequence of the sin of Adam only by divine appointment; that the cause of all sinful choices is to be attributed to a divine efficiency; and that sinfulness, no less than holiness, is the product of the divine agency—God.

3. Joseph Bellamy

Joseph Bellamy and Samuel Hopkins were not only the contemporaries and co-labourers of Edwards, but they were also his own private pupils. Thus, through the teacher-pupil relationship, Edwards was able to impress his new principles upon the hearts as well as the intellects of two youthful students who were to become not only apt pupils and efficient colleagues within his own lifetime, but his worthy successors and leaders in the "Edwardean" school after his death.

Along with Bellamy's thorough-going loyalty to the teachings and the spirit of his illustrious teacher, he demonstrated also a marked ability to couch those teachings in a rhetorical style which was sure to lay hold on the hearts and consciences of men. His use of the paradox, for example—"the more unable to love God we are, the more are we to blame"—was most effective in stirring slumbering consciences and revitalising paralytic churches. Indeed, that style of preaching and writing, from the time of Bellamy, became characteristic of the New England theology.

1 Cf., "... the essence of the virtue and vice of the dispositions of the heart and acts of will, lies not in their cause, but in their nature." WORKS OF EDWARDS, (Dwright's edition), Vol. II, 186. ff.

The context from which the above quotation was borrowed reiterates unmistakably the fundamental principle of human ability as laid down by Edwards in his treatise on "The Will." The whole paragraph is here given:

"Thus we see, that, as to a natural capacity, all mankind are capable of a perfect conformity to God's law, which requires us only to love God with all our hearts; and that all our inability arises merely from the bad temper of our hearts, and our want of a good disposition, and that, therefore, we are wholly to blame and altogether inexcusable. Our impotency, in a word, is not natural, but moral, and, therefore, instead of extenuating, does magnify and enhance our fault. The more unable to love God we are, the more are we to blame."

Preaching of that order was bound to revolutionise the mode of appeal to the churches. Men were naturally able to repent. No longer could they plead their inability as an excuse for their negligence with respect to the law of God. Their inability was a moral inability, and as such constituted grounds for even greater repentance. The new responsibility of the minister became increasingly clear: it was to preach the obligation of "immediate repentance."

It was Edwards' treatise on the "NATURE OF TRUE VIRTUE," however, in which Bellamy perceived the greatest store of latent possibilities and suggestions for further investigation and adaptation. The shift in emphasis from the idea of God as a being moved solely by an arbitrary will, to the conception of God who is morally obligated to exercise benevolence for the welfare of being, called for a readjustment of doctrinal positions all along the line. It was from the point of view of the new conception of true virtue that Bellamy dealt with the doctrines of "election," "the atonement," "total depravity," and finally--the divine "permission of sin."

With regard to "election" the divine sovereignty is maintained throughout, but it is sovereignty exercised from benevolent motives:

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"God does not appear to be a Being influenced, actuated and governed by a groundless, arbitrary self-will, having no regard to right reason, to the moral fitness and emptiness of things."

Also:

"It is evident that his designs of mercy took their rise merely, absolutely, and entirely from himself, from his own infinite benevolence, from his self-moving goodness and sovereign grace."

Taking those views of the character of God into consideration, "election is thus taken out of the realm of the absolutely unaccountable, and one of the most serious objections against it is removed. This is the retroactive effect of the Edwardean theory of virtue. If right be founded, as has been so often said, in the will of God, then it may be that God proceeds in election according to his arbitrary will. It will then be right, for that is what right is. But if right is right in the nature of things, and God himself is obligated to exercise love and to act for the welfare of being, then not even the interests of sovereignty can justify the use of phrases which put the divine action above reason. More and more was this feature to be emphasized in New England theology."

Bellamy's distinctive contribution to the "New Divinity" was his conception of an entirely new theory of the atonement; though its introduction into the life stream of speculative theology was left to his intimate friend and colleague, Samuel Hopkins, and to their pupil, Jonathan Edwards, the younger, who presented the epoch-making theory through the medium of his "THREE SERMONS," preached in 1785. The groundwork of Bellamy's doctrine was laid down by Hugo Grotius, the Dutch jurist and theologian, in 1617. The Grotian theory has been popularly known as the "governmental theory."

2 Ibid., Vol. I, p. 249.
4 The Opera Omnia Theologica of Grotius were donated to the library of Yale College by Bishop Berkeley in 1733.
after its essential view of God as the supreme "Ruler." Hence, the motive of his act of redemption was one of governmental necessity.

To the view of Grotius, Bellamy added the thought of God acting to meet the governmental necessity with an attitude of benevolent interest in the welfare of being—from the motive of love as well as of necessity. Accordingly, God was to be thought of as the "moral Governor" of the world who rules the universe of being from moral motives and by means of moral motives. He administers his government, not as the "offended party" seeking justice, but as the benevolent Governor who has provided an atonement whereby the offenders of justice might be made justified.

The ruling idea which characterised Bellamy's idea of the atonement was the same as that which modified his view of the divine decrees—Edwards' concept of the "NATURE OF TRUE VIRTUE," as applied to the character of God. The new theory of the atonement, therefore, is set forth in terms of government from benevolent motives for benevolent purposes:

1) "To the end that a way might be opened for him to put his designs of mercy in execution, consistently with himself, consistently with the honor of his holiness and justice, law and government, and sacred authority, something must be done by him in a public manner, as it were, in the sight of all worlds, whereby his infinite hatred of sin, and unchangeable resolution to punish it, might be as effectually manifested as if he had damned the whole world."

Upon examining his conclusions with respect to total depravity, it is to be observed that yet again Bellamy's thoughts were coloured by the Edwardean theory of virtue. All the acts of unregenerate persons are odious in the sight of God because they lack the motive of true virtue—supreme love to God. It follows, therefore, that they are sinful acts because they are prompted by sinful motives—motives of selfishness. Finally, the sum of the matter is that all sin consists in sinful motives, or selfishness.

1 "WORKS," Vol. I, p. 267, "TRUE RELIGION DELINQUENT."
Before passing from Bellamy to a consideration of his successors, some attention must be paid to his outstanding work on, "PERMISSION OF SIN." That philosophic treatise came into being at a time of fierce conflict and intense suffering in 1758, when the colonists were struggling for survival during the period of the French and Indian Wars. Confronted by a practical situation and pressed on every hand for a reconciliation of the age-old problem of sin and evil, pain and suffering, with the goodness and power of God, Bellamy gave himself in search of an answer to the question: "How could a good God permit sin to enter the world?"

It is not to be understood that God, in permitting sin, loves sin; or that he denies the exercise of free will to the sinner. The divine permission of sin consists simply and solely in the disposition of God not to hinder it. If, according to the Calvinistic system, God foreordains sin and evil it means merely that God permits it. He is not the author of sin; his relation to sin is only that of permitting it to take place. The wisdom of God in permitting sin is justified by the evidence that God overrules the sin of men in order to work out his own purposes in the best possible way. Sin, "in itself and in all its natural tendencies," is "infinitely evil;" yet every sin is overruled "to a greater good on the whole."

Moreover, God, in creating the world, chose the best of all possible plans to create the best possible world:


2 Ibid., Vol. II, p. 28. Professor Foster is of the opinion that Bellamy was familiar with the writings of Leibnitz and his philosophy of optimism. Vid., Footnote, p. 120, "A HISTORY OF THE NEW ENGLAND THEOLOGY."
wherein his magnificent purposes with respect to the redemption of mankind are to be enacted. Had men never felt any inclination to sin, they could never have been aware of any danger of sin. Without the existence of sin they could never be in a position to perceive God's goodness in saving them from sin and confirming them in holiness. Without the perception of God's goodness through personal experience, they could never have an adequate knowledge of God. The complete self-revelation of God constitutes the fullest possible knowledge of God which is the greatest good. Therefore, according to Bellamy's reasoning the divine permission of sin, resulting in the actual existence of sin in a world of human beings, is justifiable on the grounds that sin "is a necessary means to the greatest good." 1)

4. Jonathan Edwards (the Younger)

Jonathan Edwards, the younger, was a pupil of Hopkins and likewise of Bellamy. From both his teachers, therefore, he derived his father's doctrines and breathed his spirit. His training in such an environment fitted him to take his rightful place beside the "Edwardeans." Among his most influential discourses were his "THREE SERMONS," on the necessity of the atonement and its consistency with free grace, delivered at New Haven, Connecticut, in 1785.

He began by affirming that the basis for atonement and punishment is the same: "to maintain the authority of the divine law." With that understanding, the atonement was defined as: 3)

"the substitute for the punishment threatened in the law; and was designed to answer the same ends of supporting the authority of the law, the dignity of the divine moral government, and the

2 EDWARDS, JONATHAN (THE YOUNGER): born in Northampton, Massachusetts, 1745; graduated from Princeton College, 1765; held two pastorates in Connecticut—White Haven (1769-1795), and Coleridge (1796-1799); elected president of Union College, Schenectady, New York, 1799; died, 1801.
4 Ibid., p. 8.
consistency of the divine conduct in legislation and execution. By atonement it appears that God is determined that his law shall be supported; that it shall not be despised or transgressed with impunity; and that it is an evil and a bitter thing to sin against God."

Having shown the necessity for the atonement, Edwards proceeded to define the meaning of the terms, "justice" and "grace." There are three kinds of justice: first, "commutative," -- which secures to every man his property; second, "distributive," -- which consists in rewarding virtue and punishing crime; and third, "general," or "public," -- which "to practise justice in this sense, is to practise agreeably to the dictates of general benevolence, or to seek the glory of God and the good of the universe." 1)

At this point in the discussion, the elder Edwards' theory of benevolence may be seen at work modifying the New England conception of the atonement.

As a supplement to the foregoing definition of justice the following statement is significant:

"General, or public justice "comprehends all moral goodness; and though the word is often used in this sense, it is really an improper use of it. In this sense, whatever is right is said to be just, or an act of justice; and whatever is wrong or improper to be done, is said to be unjust, or an act of injustice." 2)

"Grace" is opposed both to "commutative" justice and to "distributive" justice. "General," or "public" justice, however, includes all the virtues..."And even grace itself, which is favor to the ill-deserving, so far as it is wise and proper to be exercised,makes but a part of this kind of justice." 3)

Applying those explanations to the problem -- "Is the pardon of the sinner, through the atonement of Christ, an act of justice or of grace" -- Edwards concluded: first, that "as the sinner in pardon is treated not only more favorably, but infinitely more favorably, than is correspondent to his personal character, his pardon is wholly an (Con't.)

1 Loc. cit., p. 21.
2 Ibid., p. 21.
3 Ibid., p. 17.
(wholly an act of infinite grace;" and second, that in the sense of "general" or "public" justice, "according to which anything is just which is right and best to be done, the pardon of the sinner is entirely an act of justice."

Finally, Edwards completed his speculations on the "governmental" theory of the atonement with the addition of certain "inferences and reflections," which included:

First, that "the atonement of Christ does not consist in his active or positive obedience;"

Second, that "God acts, not from any contracted, selfish motives, but from the most noble benevolence and regard to the public good;" and

Third, that the atonement of Christ is a satisfaction "only to general justice, or the well-being of the universe."

C. The Reaffirmations of Timothy Dwight

President Dwight was a grandson of Jonathan Edwards (the elder), and Lyman Beecher's teacher in theology. "He had the greatest agency in developing my mind," Beecher acknowledged in his "Autobiography."

A grandson of Timothy Dwight described him as possessing "the remarkable power of taking the great thoughts of a man like Edwards, of holding them freely and intelligently in his own mind, without being bound in fetters by them; of rejecting all injurious additions and outgrowths connected with them.

1 Loc. cit., pp. 31-37 ff.
2 Ibid., p. 17
3 Ibid., Sermon III, pp. 31-37 ff.
4 DWIGHT, TIMOTHY: born in Northampton, Massachusetts, 14th May 1752; graduated from Yale in 1769, at the age of seventeen; tutored at Yale, 1771; enlisted in the army as a chaplain, 1777; served in the Massachusetts State Legislature, 1781-1782; entered upon a pastorate in Greenfield, Massachusetts, 1783; received the degree of Doctor of Divinity from Princeton College, 1787; president of Yale College, 1795-1817; died in New Haven, Connecticut, 11th January 1817.
by the speculations of others, and developing them healthfully for himself; and of leading the best minds to accept them as thus held, and to make them the basis of their own opinions."

The theological system of President Dwight was presented in a series of sermons preached to the student audience in the chapel of Yale College over a period of four years, beginning in 1795. In 1818, the year following his death, the sermons were published in a volume entitled, "THEOLOGY EXPLAINED AND DEFENDED IN A SERIES OF SERMONS." Those were the sermons to which Beecher listened as a student at Yale and which became the foundation of his own theology. The words of the title bear evidence to the fact that the discourses were designed to meet certain exigencies with which the evangelical faith was then confronted. Religion in general, and Calvinistic Christianity in particular, was in the precarious situation where it was compelled to explain and defend the doctrinal foundations of its faith. It was not to be expected, therefore, that the champion of orthodoxy at a time of imminent crisis would resort to theories or speculations. The inestimable service which Timothy Dwight rendered to theology was to reaffirm its essential truths in an age of rampant infidelity.

It was providential that the defender of the faith in a strategic position of wide cultural influence should have been endowed not only with an uncommon degree of evangelical fervour, but with an abundance of common sense as well. President Dwight was thoroughly familiar with the philosophy of the English and Scottish schools, particularly the Scottish philosophy of which Thomas Reid was the dominant leader. It was through John Witherspoon that the

2 "Dr. Dwight was, in the main, a disciple of Edwards... He was familiar with the works of the leading English and Scotch philosophers, and discussed their opinions in a popular style." Noah Porter, "HISTORY OF PHILOSOPHY," (Ueberweg's "History of Philosophy") Vol. II, p. 449.
Scottish philosophy was introduced in America when he became president of Princeton College in 1768. It was through Timothy Dwight that the Scottish philosophy was absorbed into the New England theology when he became president of Yale College in 1795.

The chief characteristics of the Scottish school, according to Dr. James McCosh, formerly president of Princeton College, are:

First, that "it proceeds on the method of observation, professedly and really;"

Second, that "it employs self-consciousness as the instrument of observation;" and

Third, that "by the observations of consciousness, principles are reached which are prior to and independent of experience."

The influence of that school on New England theological thought has been strikingly described by Winfield Burggraaff:

"The inductive, psychological method has undoubtedly had its influence upon American theological thought and life, as is evidenced by the note of common sense which has always characterized our religious life. The one characteristic of American religious life upon which all European thinkers are agreed, is that it is practical. And the revivals which since Edwards' day have repeatedly broken forth spontaneously are, apart from the gracious work of the Holy Spirit, to be explained by the reflective type of religious thought, which depended upon the inner senses as much as upon the outer, which analyzed the states of the soul, producing that practical, meditative, common sense type of religion which has always characterized Scottish piety, and which is the result of the Scottish philosophy, in so far as human practice can be called the result of any philosophical method or system. Drawing the line still further, it is quite safe to say that the modern school of religious psychology, in so far as it has not deteriorated into materialism, is an offspring of the Scottish philosophy."

1 "From this date, the Scottish became the most influential philosophy in America." James McCosh, "THE SCOTTISH PHILOSOPHY," p. 188.

2 "Dwight had been familiar with ... the great master Reid, and had laid the foundation of the philosophy of common sense, ... which became the great offensive weapon of New England apology as well as its great instrument of constructive reasoning." Frank Hugh Foster, "A GENETIC HISTORY OF THE NEW ENGLAND THEOLOGY," p. 246.

3 "THE SCOTTISH PHILOSOPHY," pp. 2-6.

4 "THE RISE AND DEVELOPMENT OF LIBERAL THEOLOGY IN AMERICA," p. 87.
Returning to the doctrinal theology of Timothy Dwight it should be observed, in the first place, that he combatted the growing tendency in New England divinity to attribute the responsibility for human conduct exclusively to the divine agency, at the expense of the moral agency of man. "God cannot be proved to be the efficient cause of sin," he maintained. To the contrary, Dwight held that all sin consists in the willful transgression of known law. Inability, with reference to man's failure to obey God's law, means disinclination. "The words can and cannot are used in the Scriptures, just as they are used in the common intercourse of mankind, to express willingness or unwillingness." In the case of Adam, "one man is the actor of his own sin." His sinful act, therefore, is wholly his own, "chargeable only to himself; chosen by him unnecessarily, while possessed of a power to choose otherwise; avoidable by him; and of course guilty and righteously punishable."

Accordingly, President Dwight rejected the doctrine of imputation. "Moral actions are not, so far as I can see, transferable from one being to another. The personal act of any one agent is, in its very nature, the act of that agent solely; and incapable of being participated by any other agency. Of course, the guilt of such a personal act is equally incapable of being transferred or participated. The guilt is inherent in the action; and is attributable, therefore, to the agent only." Men become sinners in consequence of Adam's sin, but not as a punishment for his transgression. On the other hand, Dwight believed that infants "are contaminated in their moral nature, and born in the likeness of apostate Adam." That conviction he held to be a fact "inevitably proved, so far as the most unexceptionable analogy can prove anything, by the depraved moral conduct of every infant who lives so

1 "THEOLOGY EXPLAINED AND DEFENDED IN A SERIES OF SERMONS," Sermon VIII.
long as to be capable of moral action."

In the second place, President Dwight not only held that all sin consists in the wilful transgression of known law, but he declared also that sin is nothing else than selfishness, "or a preference of one's self to all other things, and of one's private interests and gratifications to the well-being of the universe of God, and the intelligent creation."

"This is sin and all that in the Scriptures is meant by sin." It is malevolent in that it is "that disposition in us, which God, by the dictates of his infinite benevolence is in a sense compelled to hate and punish, because it is a voluntary opposition to his own perfect character, and a fixed enmity to the well-being of his creatures."

Therefore, regeneration means "a change of heart which consists in a relish for spiritual objects communicated to it by the power of the Holy Ghost. . . . The influence which God exerts on them (unregenerate souls) by His Spirit is of such a nature, that their wills, instead of attempting any resistance to it, coincide with it readily and cheerfully, without any force or constraint on his part, or any opposition on their own."

The terms relish, principle, affections, habit, nature, tendency, propensity, and the like are used to indicate causes of moral action. However, "it is carefully to be observed, that these terms indicate a cause which to us is wholly unknown; except that its existence is proved by its effects."

"This cause is what is so often mentioned in the Scriptures under the name of the heart." "It is not so powerful nor so unchangeable, as to incline the mind in which it exists, so strongly to holiness, as to prevent it

absolutely from sinning, nor so strongly to sin, as to prevent it absolutely from acting in a holy manner." Accordingly, the existence of sin in a holy person is to be accounted for by concluding "that a temptation, actually presented to the mind, is disproportioned in its power to the inclination of that mind towards resistance."

The "new disposition" or "relish" in regenerated souls results in "disinterestedness, love, good-will, benevolence." Holy love is one of the fruits or consequences of the "new relish," or regenerated heart.

In turning to the "system of duties," as developed by Timothy Dwight, it will be observed that it is a complete system of practical ethics, to which seventy-two out of the one hundred and seventy-three sermons are given over to its delineation. The system is founded upon the two major commandments: supreme love to God, and impartial love to men. The Ten Commandments are then considered, together with their Christian interpretations and applications.

The distinctive element of his ethical system was his amazing conclusion in Sermon XCIX: "that Virtue is founded in Utility" ....... "a tendency to produce happiness constitutes the excellence and value of virtue." Thus, President Dwight, himself a genuine product of the pristine traditions of New England, stamped his ethical system "utilitarian." By so doing, he identified it as the legitimate offspring of the fundamental philosophy of the New England theology -- to meet a practical necessity and to fulfill a practical need. It was perfectly natural, therefore, that the pupils of the great teacher should breathe his spirit through their own conclusions.

Apropos to the foregoing is a paragraph from a letter written by Professor Stowe to Lyman Beecher from London, 16th October 1836, concerning

certain British and German reactions to Beecher's, "VIEWS OF THEOLOGY," published that same year:

"Dr. J. P. Smith, by many degrees the best theologian in England, is much pleased with your book, and endorses cordially its principal sentiments. The evangelical men in Germany to whom I have shown it concur with great pleasure in your statements of the doctrines, but express their regret that, with your fine mind and stirring logic, you should still be in bondage to the empiric, utilitarian philosophy; and I can not deny that I think them more than three quarters in the right. They appreciate your powers a great deal better than I thought they would, and think very highly of your theology separated from your philosophy, of which they can not speak with the least patience, any more than you can of theirs." 1)

D. The "New Haven" System of Nathaniel W. Taylor

"As a metaphysician, Dr. Taylor ranks higher than any other leader of the New England School after the elder Edwards." Such was the opinion of Professor Fisher with respect to the famous contemporary of Lyman Beecher. Concerning the distinctive views of Nathaniel Taylor, "truth obliges me to say, that, in my apprehension, Dr. Beecher is in a high degree responsible for the spread of these opinions," wrote Dr. Bennet Tyler. "It is through his influence, more than that of any other man, that they have gained so much favor in the eyes of the community. He has been an apologist for them." The present writer, therefore, is under the necessity of giving some consideration to the theological doctrines of this friend and colleague of Lyman Beecher.

It had been the original intention of Dr. Taylor to refute the doctrinal

2 TAYLOR, NATHANIEL W.: born in New Milford, Connecticut, 1786; graduated from Yale College, 1807; studied theology with President Dwight; pastor of the First Church, New Haven, 1812; first Professor of Didactic Theology at Yale College, 1822; died in New Haven, Connecticut, 10th March, 1858.
positions of the Unitarians. With that purpose in mind, he investigated the whole subject of anthropology and ventured to take advanced positions which were considered to be not only novel, but dangerous. His system came to be known as the "New Haven" divinity, or "Taylprism." The bitter controversies, in which he became the victim of the "furies of the theologians," were waged, not against adversaries of the evangelical faith, but between the zealous friends of Calvinism. "Judah was pitched against Ephraim and Ephraim against Judah."

Jonathan Edwards had received universal recognition in New England as the saviour of Calvinism. His doctrines, therefore, were the touchstone of all that was considered to be pure gold in the traditional faith. To agree with Edwards was the hallmark not only of fidelity to orthodox Calvinism, but likewise of finished achievement in the apprehension of theological science. Lyman Beecher, for example, made this acknowledgment:

"It must be admitted, however, that from the primitive age down to the time of Edwards, few saw the subject (of free agency) with clearness, or treated it with uniform precision and consistency. His appears to have been the mind that first rose above the mist which hung over the subject, and that saw, and developed, and fixed immutably and clearly its great outlines."

Nathaniel Taylor, however, was convinced that there were grave defects in the definitions and reasonings of Edwards. On 14th January 1819 he wrote a letter to Dr. Beecher, in which he enumerated what, in his opinion, those defects were: "The first defect," said Dr. Taylor, "is his definition of moral agency and free will. Now I can not but think this defect even a gross one. If language has any meaning, a free will is a will which is free, and to say that free will is a power to do as we please or as we will is saying nothing to the purpose." Hence, it may be truthfully said with

Professor Fisher, that "the aim of Dr. Taylor was to relieve New England theology of remaining difficulties on the side of human responsibility. He could not regard the prevailing theology as consistent with itself or as successful in solving the problems which it professed to solve."

The great controversies with the "New Haven" divinity began as early as 1829, and culminated with the rending of the Presbyterian Church in 1838. The immediate causes of those spirited attacks were the unfavourable reactions to his fateful sermon, "CONCILIO AD CLERUM," preached by Dr. Taylor, 10th September 1828, in the chapel of Yale College. The text was Ephesians II, 3: "And were, by nature, children of wrath." The fundamental doctrine of the sermon was "that the entire moral depravity of mankind is by nature." Moral depravity is the entire sinfulness of man's moral character. It consists in "man's own act, consisting in a free choice of some object rather than God, as his chief good;—or a free preference of the world and of worldly good, to the will and glory of God."

Moreover, moral depravity is by nature. The nature of men "is the occasion, or reason of their sinning; that such is their nature, that, in all the appropriate circumstances of their being, they will sin and only sin." "Guilt," he said later on in the sermon, "pertains exclusively to voluntary action."

With reference to the problem of the existence of sin, Taylor declared that the fact of universal moral depravity is not inconsistent with the moral perfections of God. In so declaring, he opposed the commonly accepted doctrine in New England—that sin is the necessary means of the greatest good. He asserted at the same time that God could not prevent sin, or at least

1 "THE SYSTEM OF DR. N. W. TAYLOR IN CONNECTION WITH PRIOR NEW ENGLAND THEOLOGY," in "Discussions in History and Theology," p. 308.
3 Ibid., p. 13.
4 Ibid., p. 25.
the present degree of sin, in a moral system consisting of free moral agents. "The prevention of sin by any influence that destroys the power to sin destroys moral agency. Moral agents must then possess the power to sin." Thus, a new conception of freedom was introduced by Nathaniel Taylor—freedom being the power which enables man to act as a true first cause.

The theological system of Dr. Taylor is contained in his "LECTURES ON THE MORAL GOVERNMENT OF GOD," Volumes I and II, published in 1859. The title is indicative of the motif which prevailed in the New England theology from the time of Bellamy—from the time of the inception of the "governmental" theory of the atonement. A perfect moral government is thus defined by Dr. Taylor: "The influence of the ... rightful authority of a moral governor on moral beings, designed so to control their action as to secure the great end of action upon their part, through the medium of law." Moral agents or beings are "beings capable of moral action." By "control," it is understood that Taylor meant "influence"—the influence of "benevolent authority" on the part of the moral Governor.

"Benevolence, in the specific form of it now stated as the character of the moral governor, must, from the very nature and design of his relation be supremely concerned and absolutely committed to secure so far as he is able, right moral action in every instance, and to prevent wrong moral action in every instance by the influence of his authority."

As a consequence of the aim and purpose of Nathaniel Taylor to rectify the fundamental defects of the New England theology with respect to the Edwardean theory of the freedom of the will, the "New Haven" system

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1 Loc. cit., p. 32
3 Ibid., Vol. I, p. 86.
attributed to human agency unprecedented powers. "Moral agents are the 
proximate efficient causes of their own acts." Not only so, but in 
direct opposition to the Edwardean theory, moral agents possess the "power 
of contrary choice:"

"Moral agency implies free agency—the power of choice—the power to choose morally wrong as well as morally right under 
every possible influence to prevent such choice or action."

Accordingly, the "New Haven" theology abandoned the positions held 
by Taylor's predecessors, the Edwardeans who maintained the fundamental 
principle of Edwards—"the will is, as the greatest apparent good is."

The distinctive features of the system of Dr. Taylor are described 
in the following propositions:

1. Sin of whatever kind of description occurs by the voluntary action 
of the sinner in disobedience of a known law.

2. Sin, moreover, is a permanent principle or state of the will which 
underlies and governs all the acts and choices of the will. In other words, 
sin is the elective preference of the soul for the world instead of God 
as its chief desire. Sin, therefore, is selfishness.

The nature of character is derived from the will in which it resides. 
It is "simple in its essence. It is a principle, seated in the will, 
existing and continuing, by the will's consent, knowingly cherished, yet 
a fountain of action so deep that it rarely comes into the foreground of 
consciousness. Only in an hour of earnest reflection is a man's attention 
turned back to this governing purpose of his life."

3 The substance of the paragraphs which follow is derived from 
Prof. George P. Fisher's splendid essay, "THE SYSTEM OF DR. N. W. TAYLOR 
IN CONNECTION WITH PRIOR NEW ENGLAND THEOLOGY," in his "Discussions in 
4 Ibid., pp. 310-311.
3. Sin consists in actual sinning. While it belongs to the individual, it is in consequence of the transgression of Adam. It is certain to take place from the beginning of moral action in the individual and continues until regeneration. The certainty of sinful action is absolute, though the sin itself is not necessary. The cause or occasion for sin is a sinful bias or tendency—propensity or disposition, but the bias of itself is not sinful.

1) "But this bias results from the condition of our propensities to natural good, as related to the higher powers of the soul and to the circumstances in which we are placed. As a consequence of this tendency or bias, there is a sinful disposition, or the wrong governing purpose..., which is the cause of all other sins, itself excepted."

Men are sinners by nature. The certainty of their sin is the consequence of two factors: first, the subjective, or the constitution and conditions of the soul; second, the objective, or the circumstances of the given situation. Hence the conclusion, that "we are sinners by nature."

4. "Man is the proximate efficient cause of his own voluntary states and actions." The Hopkinsian doctrine of a divine efficiency in the event of sin is utterly rejected. Men are not under the absolute necessity of having to choose as they do. Indeed, they possess the power of choosing to the contrary. A sinner can choose to love God as his soul's chief God, in preference to the things of the world. He not only can if he will, but "he can if he wont."

5. Men are morally unable of their own accord to repent and convert themselves. A sinner can obey the commandments of God, but it is certain that he will not. "His repentance without the help of the Spirit is therefore just as hopeless as if it were completely out of his power. To expect

1 Loc cit., pp. 311-312.
2 Ibid., p. 312.
him to repent by his own unaided powers is not less vain, and so far not less rational, than if he were destitute of these powers. 'Certainty with power to the contrary' is a condensed statement of the truth on both sides. Thus the sinner is both responsible and dependent—perfectly responsible, yet absolutely dependent. It is just to require him to repent; it is just to punish his impenitence; yet his only hope is in the merciful and gracious help of God."

6. Since natural ability is a real power, there must be some point of contact between the mind of the sinner and the motivating appeal of the commands of God. A sinful man may be made to feel the force of truth through a neutral part of his mental nature which is neither sinful nor holy. That neutral zone is the region of the sensibilities, included in the three-fold classification of the powers of the mind—intellect, sensibilities, and will. The intellect reaches the will through the sensibilities. The particular feeling or sensibility to which the appeal of the law and Gospel may be made, is the love of happiness or, self-love.

The involuntary love or desire of personal happiness constitutes the subjective psychological spring of all choices or acts of the will. The highest degree of personal happiness is experienced when the individual chooses as the supreme object of benevolent choice the happiness or well-being of the universe as a whole. Benevolence, or a benevolent choice is the choice of the highest good of the universe in preference to any other thing that can come into competition with it. Personal happiness at its highest, therefore, can in no way enter into competition with the happiness of the universe. To the contrary, the former state is blended with the latter and the two become identical.

Thus it is that "virtuous self-love and virtuous benevolence denote

1 Loc. cit., p. 313.
one and the same complex state." To say that one's own highest happiness depends upon the happiness of the universe, is the equivalent of saying that the highest happiness of the universe is productive of one's own highest happiness.

7. The Holy Spirit is the author of a change which takes place in the soul, known as regeneration. The change effected by the influence of the Spirit is one of infallible certainty, resulting in a change of character. God becomes the supreme object of choice instead of the world. Since the soul is the place where the chance occurs, it is the person himself who repents and believes in accordance with the exercise of his native powers, and in conformity to the laws of the mind. It is a psychological change which is capable of being analysed.

Dr. Taylor held that the attention of a sinner might be excited and directed to his duty, that the motives of the Gospel appeal to the instinctive desire of happiness, which underlies all choosing, that impelled by this movement of a part of his nature which is neither holy nor sinful, but simply constitutional, a sinner could suspend the choice of the world as his chief good, which forms the essence of sinful character, and could give his heart to God." But while the sinner is naturally able to effect this voluntary change as the ruling principle of his life, he is confronted by an insurmountable obstacle—moral inability. That is overcome only by the agency of the Holy Spirit who acts upon the powers of the soul and induces them, without coercion, to comply with the divine requirements of salvation.

8. The introduction of sin into the world and its continuous existence in conflict with the divine administration might have been prevented by the free act of those who committed sin. It might be excluded by abstaining from it.

1 Loc. cit., p. 317.
2 Ibid., p. 320.
By so saying, Dr. Taylor sought to disarm the sceptics who, upon the basis of the prior New England theodicy, cast aspersions upon the benevolent character of God who was said to have permitted the existence of sin; and upon the omnipotence of God who could not prevent the existence of sin even though he would. "...it may be inconsistent with the nature of things for God, by His intervention, to exclude sin from that system which of all possible systems is the most eligible for the good that it will secure. The system would be better without sin, if this result were secured by the free action of creatures comprising it, with no other alteration of its characteristics."

9. The doctrine of election pertains to a vast and complex system of administration which extends over a universe of intelligent, free agents. Since regeneration is the act of God, he must have purposed beforehand that the influence of his saving grace should be exerted in behalf of a part of the race who are sinful by their own act, with the result that their salvation would be secured with unfailing certainty. But God is under no obligation to give his grace in equal measure to all people everywhere. Instead, his provision and distribution is in accordance with a system of influence which his benevolent, omniscient mind foresees to be for the best interests of his kingdom as a whole. Because his system of influence is his, his plan therefore is infinitely wise and infinitely good. While God prefers that every sinner "should repent under the recovering influences to which he is subject, He at the same time cannot wisely alter his system of influences; and rather than do this, he prefers that the sinner should perish."

Finally, it should be noted that according to the "New Haven" theory

1 Loc. cit., pp. 322-323.
2 Ibid., p. 327.
of election due allowances are made for the hardening of the heart of the impenitent by a law of character formation which is certain in its operation, and also for the withdrawal of the gracious influences of the Spirit upon which the sinner is wholly dependent for regeneration.

Such, in outline, was the theological system for which Lyman Beecher was said to have been an apologist, and such were the doctrines set forth by one to whom Lyman Beecher wrote, saying: "Very precious hast thou been unto me, my brother, and precious art thou still, and precious forever wilt thou be, I doubt not, in the presence and glory of our common Lord." 1)

ELEMENTS OF THEOLOGY
"In respect to myself," wrote Lyman Beecher, "I need no urging to commit myself, and nothing but strength to do it in the best manner; which, ...... I hope to have, and mean to consecrate in the best manner I am able, which, in my opinion, will be the revision and publication of my lectures on 'ELEMENTS OF THEOLOGY.'

"To dash in on any one point would answer little purpose and forfeit much influence. The thing needed is an elementary exposition, such as shall show the nature, and relation, and dependencies of the system, remove difficulties, and allay fears, by showing at every step not a dark hole full of mysteries, but terra firma covered with light; and not mere speculation and vain philosophy, but the main-spring, back-bone, sinews, and muscle of revival preaching."

Such was Beecher's purpose and design as announced in a letter to his intimate friend and associate—Dr. Nathaniel W. Taylor, dated at Boston, Massachusetts, 6th September 1830. Those lectures, however, were published in Cincinnati, Ohio, in 1835, under the title, "LECTURES ON SCEPTICISM." They appeared again in two expanded editions, 1852 and 1853, published in Boston and London respectively, under the title, "ATHEISM CONSIDERED THEOLOGICALLY AND POLITICALLY."

The writer is of the opinion that Dr. Beecher's original intention

was never carried out in full, for these reasons:

First, among his published works there is nothing with the title, "ELEMENTS OF THEOLOGY."

Second, his "VIEWS OF THEOLOGY," being his defence in his trial for heresy, published in 1836 by request of the Synod, undoubtedly displaced his original project.

In view of the above, the writer proposes to present the doctrinal theology of Lyman Beecher under the caption, "ELEMENTS OF THEOLOGY," in fulfilment of what he conceives Beecher's purpose and design to have been originally. The materials for such a presentation will be drawn from his lectures on "SCEPTICISM" and "ATHEISM," and likewise from his "VIEWS OF THEOLOGY." In addition to these sources, appropriations will be drawn from his published and unpublished sermons, controversial correspondence, and from his unpublished "LECTURES ON SYSTEMATIC THEOLOGY," delivered at Lane Seminary.

With regard to the order in which the principal doctrines will be considered, the writer has endeavoured to arrange them in accordance with the plan by which they would be used in the process of making converts. That will be in keeping with the principles of empiricism and utility which determine the character of Beecher's theology. The sequence of doctrines will therefore be determined, not so much by their genetic relationship, as by their use in practical application.

The warrant for beginning Beecher's "ELEMENTS OF THEOLOGY" with an

1 "BEECHER'S WORKS," Vol. III, Boston, 1852.
2 The original manuscripts of these lectures are deposited in the Virginia Library, Chicago Presbyterian Theological Seminary. A student's notebook, containing the lectures delivered before the class of 1840-1841, is deposited in the archives of the Plymouth Church of the Pilgrims, Brooklyn, New York. The front page bears the name of "A. Bushnell."
examination of his views on the sacred Scriptures is furnished in the
"PREFACE" to his "LECTURES ON POLITICAL ATHEISM;"

"I have always commenced my investigations of Christian
document, and Christian duties, and Christian experience, with
the teachings and implications of the Bible, never expounding
it by human creeds, but all creeds and theologians by the Bible,
considered as a system of moral government, legal and evangel­
ical, in the hand of a Mediator, administered by his Word and
Spirit over a world of rebel, free and accountable subjects."
A. "The light of nature has never been sufficient to maintain, practically, the evidence of God's being and character, or to prevent the prevalence of a cruel and corrupting idolatry."

B. "In the absence of the Christian religion, no just conceptions of the providential government of God have prevailed."

C. "In the absence of the Bible, a dark uncertainty has prevailed respecting the immortality of the soul in a future state."

D. "The light of nature has never developed and maintained a correct and universal system of morals."

E. "Beyond the pale of the Christian revelation, the life and comfort of man have been held in light estimation, and sported with for revenge, ambition, or gain, or as the means of pleasurable amusement."

F. "The light of nature has no sanctions sufficient to form and sustain a pure and happy state of society.... They cannot reach the heart, nor provide motives, nor regulate the thoughts, nor prevent the conception of sinful desires."

G. "Another defect of the light of nature is, that it has no institutions, and no authorized teachers of piety and morality, for the repetition of known truths, and the application of motives, for the instruction and reformation of the mass of mankind."

H. "The light of nature has never disclosed a way in which mortal sinful man may be reclaimed to holiness, and pardoned and restored to favor."

II. From "REVELATION"—the laws and institutions of the moral government of God as revealed in the Bible. If it is true that, in accordance with the foregoing arguments, the light of nature is impotent to meet the exigencies of man in time or eternity, the necessity of a revelation is apparent and creates a strong presumptive argument that God has provided one. Moreover, since the Bible in its adaptations to the necessities of man has met all his exigencies, personal, social and civil, in a manner more rational and benignant than any other system that claims a parentage from God, it follows that if God has given man a revelation, the Bible has a pre-eminent claim to that distinction. But how can the Bible be authenticated as a revelation from God? Man must have the testimony of God as evidence of the inspiration of the Book.
2. INSPIRATION—"There must be actions performed, in attestation of its inspiration, of which none but God could be the author; and these actions must be so connected with the testimony of those who claim to have been inspired, as to compromise the divine veracity, if their testimony is not true." 1)

In order for the Bible to be a divine revelation, it must be a true representation of those things which were revealed. Hence, the veracity of the inspired writers, as well as the truthfulness of the revelations which they recorded, must be authenticated by evidence from God himself. Such evidence is contained in the miracles and the prophecies connected with the Bible.

3. MIRACLE—"A miracle is such a control, or suspension, of the laws of nature, as none but God, who made the world, can accomplish; and in such relations to a revelation as give it the divine attestation." 2)

He only who created the universe can sustain and govern it. The creator, sustainer, and governor is God. In the event of the suspension of the laws governing the universe, the greater power which is interposed to suspend and control the normal operation of those laws is the power of God. "And, if the man in whose favor such interposition is granted claims to be commissioned to reveal the will of God to man, and, in support of his claim, adduces this divine interposition, which has been brought upon the laws of nature in connection with his testimony, then we must believe that God sanctions it as true: the interposition is the great seal of Heaven stamped upon his commission; it discloses the omnipotence of God, confirming the claim to inspiration." 3) The purpose of miracles, therefore, is either to authenticate a revelation from God, or to confirm a commission to reveal the will of God to man.

3 Ibid., Vol. I, p. 204.
Jesus Christ himself rested his claims of authority upon the evidence of miracles: "If ye will not believe my words, believe me for my works' sake." The claims of the Gospel were based not only upon the intrinsic excellence of its doctrines, but likewise upon the miraculous works of its teachers. A miracle, then, is Heaven's attestation to the claims of inspiration and authority.

4. PROPHECY—"Prophecy is a declaration of future events which no finite mind could foresee or conjecture, any more than it could work miracles."¹)

It is a species of miracle in the realm of knowledge, just as a miracle of nature is a demonstration in the realm of power. Omnipotence is stamped upon the miracles of nature; omniscience is stamped upon the miracles of prophecy. Both are used of God to authenticate his revelation.

"The point necessary to make out the authentication of prophecy as a miraculous event, is the fact, that finite minds are no more omniscient than they are omnipotent, and that it surpasses the power of created minds to foretell an extended and complex series of far distant future events. When, therefore, developments are made including omniscience, it proves the inspiration of the records by prophecies, as much as developments including omnipotence prove their inspiration by miracles."²)

Hence, the prophet who, professing to be commissioned by God to reveal his will to men, is inspired to write the biographies of great personages before they are born and to record the history of nations centuries before the events come to pass, has the same divine attestations to his commission as has he who is empowered to perform miracles.

5. SCRIPTURAL UNITY — "From this identity of the Old and New Testament, I infer the undoubted inspiration of the Bible ..... There is no alternative but to believe that it was God's mind which produced the unity. The holy men of God were inspired by him to reveal the same truths; and when we see what purity, and unity, and power, and identity of doctrine, is impressed upon the book, making it the same system all the way down, though its parts were written at distant intervals through a period of three thousand years, we say, 'This is the finger of God.'" 1)

I. The Old Testament and the New give the same delineation of the being, attributes, and character of God. In sharp contrast with the pantheistic, idolatrous tendencies of Old Testament times, Jehovah is represented in the Scriptures as God of the whole earth -- the God of the universe who inhabits eternity and fills immensity. He is shown to be a spirit -- a free agent, wise, holy, just, merciful, good. "The object of God, in his word and institutions, was to rescue from oblivion, and send down through all time, the knowledge of his being, and person, and character, as an infinite, almighty, benevolent Spirit." 2)

II. The fundamental moral law of the Old and New Testaments is the same. In both dispensations it demanded supreme love for God with the whole heart, and impartial love for men, -- friends and foes alike. Moreover, the Ten Commandments are recognised in the New Testament and their precepts and obligations are as binding upon Christians as upon Jews. The same virtues are inculcated alike in both Testaments, and the same vices are condemned.

III. "The immortality of the soul, and the sanctions of the future state, are recognized in the Pentateuch, and were known in the church from the time of Abel to the time of Christ." Faith in the New Testament is grounded upon a belief in the existence of a future state -- an eternal

state of rewards and punishments, and evidences of such faith are ascribed to the characters of the old dispensation. The promises set forth had respect not to temporal good, but to the eternal blessings of a future state.

IV. The essential doctrines of the Old and New Testaments are the same. Jehovah of the Old Testament was the Christ of the New. Man is represented in both Testaments as fallen and depraved. Regeneration is taught throughout as an act of the sovereign efficiency of God's Spirit. The sacrificial character of the death of Christ as an atonement for sin is the theme both of the Old and the New. The same conditions of pardon are found in both: repentance and trust in Jehovah, in the Old Testament; and repentance and faith in Christ in the New. "Faith could look forward to a Saviour to come, as well as it can look back to a Saviour who has come."

6. LEGAL CODE—The Bible is to be regarded as the Word of God, "containing the laws of a moral government, revealed for the illustration of His glory in the salvation of man." 2)

The fundamental principle of moral government is the influence of law upon the volitions and conduct of intelligent, accountable creatures. "Law, as the medium of moral government, includes precepts and sanctions intelligibly revealed. The precept is directory; it discloses what is to be done. The sanctions are influential; they present the motives to obedience included in the comprehensive terms of reward and punishment." 3)

I. If the Scriptures are to be regarded as containing the laws of a moral government, then, undoubtedly, they have on all subjects on which they speak, a determinate meaning. Precision in their requirements and sanctions

1 Loc. cit, Vol. I, p. 139
3 Ibid., Vol. II, p. 156.
is the peculiar property of all laws, moral as well as political. A law, in order for it to be a law, must be specific and particular in its meaning.

II. If the Bible contains the laws of a moral government, then it is possible to ascertain its true meaning and to know that its true meaning has been ascertained. It not only possesses a precise meaning, but one which, being accurately perceived, justifies itself with the evidence of its own correctness. No one can be ardently attached to an uncertainty. To plead that the doctrines of the Bible are characteristically obscure and uncertain is to impeach the wisdom and intelligence of the Author.

Again, to suppose that because one cannot make others perceive evidence which he himself perceives, therefore his perception brings with it to him no evidence of truth, implies that there is no such thing as moral certainty derived from evidence. On the contrary, if his opinion be correct he can know that it is so, because evidence seen and felt creates a moral certainty.

III. If the Bible contains a system of Divine Laws, then the high importance of revealed truth is readily perceived. Without a right conception of revealed truth, the true character of God is not made manifest; even though the manifestation of his character is, according to the Scriptures, the great end of all his works. "The system of manifestation is the plan of redemption disclosed in the Bible, and carried into effect by the Spirit of God, in giving efficacy to revealed truth in the sanctification and salvation of man." Erroneous conceptions of revealed truth, therefore, eclipse his glory and arrest his work of redemption; for it is by moral influence that God redeems from sin, and revealed truth embodies that influence. "Reason without revelation is the powerless eye of

infancy, gazing upon impenetrable darkness."

IV. If the Scriptures contain a system of divine laws, then, in interpreting their meaning, their assumed reasonableness or unreasonableness is not to be the rule of interpretation.

7. REASON—"Without the aid of reason, the Bible could not be known to be the will of God, and could not be understood. Reason is the faculty by which we perceive and weigh the evidence of its inspiration, and by which we perceive and expound its meaning. Reason is the judge of evidence, whether the Bible be the word of God; but, that point decided, it is the judge of its meaning only according to the common rules of exposition." 2)

"REASONABLE" and "UNREASONABLE" can not be maintained as criteria of truth or falsehood because the minds of men are but finite minds and their hearts are depraved, thus rendering them incapable of comprehending and analysing the premises. If, therefore, God has not revealed the laws of his moral government intelligently and infallibly here on earth, man can not remedy the defect.

8. REASONABLE—"The appropriate meaning of the term reasonable, in its application to the laws of God, is, the accordance of his laws and administration with what it is proper for God to do, in order to display his glory to created minds, and secure from everlasting to everlasting the greatest amount of created good." 3)

V. If the Scriptures contain a system of moral laws, it is apparent that a mystery may be an object of faith and a motive to obedience. The mysteries of revelation are not to be found among its precepts, however; nor is the doctrine which is the precise object of faith ever unintelligible, but always explicit in its requirements and clear to the understanding.

9. MYSTERY—"A mystery is a fact whose general nature is, in some respects,

1 "A SERMON DELIVERED AT THE FUNERAL OF HENRY OBOOKIAH."
2 "WORKS," Vol. II, p. 168
3 Ibid., Vol. II, p. 169
declared intelligibly; but whose particular manner of existence is not declared, and cannot be comprehended." 1)

The function of mystery in legislation is to provide motives to obedience. An assurance of the divine omnipresence, though founded upon a mystery, furnishes a motive for virtuous conduct which is among the most powerful of all moral incentives.

VI. If the Bible contains a system of divine laws, revealed and administered with respect to the salvation of men, then it is possible to decide what are the fundamental doctrines. "Those doctrines are fundamental which are essential to the influence of law as the means of moral government, and without which God does not ordinarily renew and sanctify the soul." 2)

VII. If the Scriptures contain a system of divine laws, then the doctrine of the total depravity of man is not inconsistent with free agency and accountability. Depravity is the voluntary transgression of the law, and the law is: "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart;" and total, or entire depravity is the constant refusal to love God in that manner.

VIII. The attitude that the Scriptures contain a system of divine laws illustrates the obligation to believe correctly and cordially the fundamental doctrines of the Bible, and the criminality of error on those subjects.

The nature of the Bible as a book of law obligates its readers to understand and believe Biblical doctrines. All the subjects of God's moral government are bound to understand and obey the laws of his government. A law is never fully understood, however, whose precepts only are compre-

1 Loc. cit., vol. II. p. 172.
2 Ibid., Vol. II. p. 176.
handed and whose sanctions are unknown. "The character of God is not
correctly and adequately disclosed merely by the precepts of this law;
and the motives to obedience, and the principles of holy action, are found
nowhere but in the doctrines of revelation."

Among moral agents, attitudes toward the law and the sanctions of
law constitute vital principles of action. Great aberrations from recti-
tude in practice are caused or justified by false opinions regarding the
law. "Erroneous opinions are criminal, because they falsify the divine
character, and destroy the moral influence of the divine law; because
they are always voluntary, the result of criminal negligence to obtain
correct knowledge, or of a criminal resistance of evidence, or perversion
of the understanding through the depravity of the heart; and because the
belief of error is always associated with moral and criminal affections.
It is never a mere act of the understanding; the heart decides, and is
never neutral. If a truth be rejected, it is also hated; if an error be
embraced, it is also loved. It is because men have no pleasure in the
truth, but have pleasure in unrighteousness, that they are given over to
believe a lie; and are punished for believing it, with everlasting destruc-
tion. The propagation of error is criminal, of course, because it is
destructive to the souls of men; annihilating the influence of the divine
moral government, and the means by which God is accustomed to renew the
soul, and without which he does not ordinarily exert his sanctifying
power."


CRITICAL COMMENTS:—Beecher's Views on the Bible

I. It should be noted, first of all, that Beecher identifies revelation with the Bible in such a way as to leave little or no room for possible distinctions between the two. According to his views one is led to believe that the Bible, if it is not the only revelation from God, is the only legitimate revelation: "so that, if God has given to man a revelation, 1) the Bible has preeminently a claim to that distinction." The logical implication is that revealed religion is to be contrasted with natural religion or the "light of nature." Since the latter has proved insufficient to meet the needs of mankind and inadequate as an expression of the character and attributes of God, as well as the true nature of man, it follows that God must have given man a revelation. Moreover, since the Bible supplies all the deficiencies and inadequacies of natural religion, it is to be concluded that the Bible is that revelation.

Beecher's reasoning at this point, and indeed at every crucial point with respect to the Scriptures, bears a striking resemblance to the doctrines of Bishop Butler, concerning whose classic volume he wrote: "But, for just and comprehensive views of the first principles of religion, the 'ANALOGY OF NATURAL AND REVEALED RELIGION,' by Butler, is probably unrivalled by any product of the human mind." Compare, for example, the following excerpts. The first is from Beecher's, "THE NECESSITY OF A REVELATION FROM GOD TO MAN."

"The principal ground of doubt concerning a revelation from God is the alleged sufficiency of the light of nature. And, doubtless, if the light of nature is sufficient, a revelation would be superfluous. For, though God is almighty, he is not wont to abound in vast superfluous efforts."

That which follows is from Butler's "ANALOGY OF RELIGION:"

"Some persons, upon pretence of the sufficiency of the light of nature, avowedly reject all revelation, as, in its very notion, incredible, and what must be fictitious. And, indeed, it is certain no revelation would have been given, had the light of nature been sufficient in such a sense, as to render one not wanting and useless."

The term revelation, therefore, is used to identify that truth from and about God which came through a special, or supernatural communication. It is that conception of revelation which Beecher identifies with the Bible. 2)

"But," as Professor Dods points out, "This use of the word is unfortunate. For it assumes that God has not revealed Himself to any who are beyond the pale of Christianity, that he has not revealed Himself in creation, and has actually left Himself without a witness save in Jewish and Christian circles."

It is true that there are instances in Beecher's writings where his idea of revelation does not appear to be limited to the Bible; rather the Scriptures are included as a part of revelation. For example: "It is evident, however, that by "THE WORD" and "THE TRUTH" is meant the whole revelation which God has made to man; including all the truths, motives, and ordinances of the Bible, and all the illustrative and corroborating influence of his providential government." Even in this case, what Beecher means is that apart from the Bible everything which witnesses to God's presence, his goodness and his power, is by way of fulfilment of the revelation given in the Scriptures; and as such, can be comprehended as God's self-revelation only in the light of the Scriptures.

II. A further difficulty arises from the fact that Beecher confuses revelation and the Bible. Since in his opinion the two are identical, it

must follow that the content and purpose of revelation is the same as that of the Scriptures, namely to communicate a code of laws for the moral government of God, "revealed for the illustration of his glory in the salvation of man." Revelation, accordingly, is not primarily a self-revelation of God; rather is it a revelation of that through which he is revealed—the administration of his moral government:

"The great end of all the works of Jehovah, according to the Bible, is the manifestation of his true character to created intelligences, as the source of ever-lasting love and confidence, and joy, and praise. But this glory is not an object of direct vision,—it is manifested glory; and the system of manifestation is the plan of redemption disclosed in the Bible, and carried into effect by the Spirit of God in giving efficacy to revealed truth in the sanctification and salvation of man."

Beecher commits himself without reservation to the doctrine of the "MORAL GOVERNMENT OF GOD." His views on the Scriptures, like every other element of his doctrinal theology, are made to fit into the framework of government. Consequently, instead of interpreting the Bible as a self-revelation of God in Jesus Christ, Beecher sees primarily a "statute-book" for a moral government administered by a Mediator in the person of Christ.

III. With regard to Beecher's conception of inspiration, it is to be observed that nowhere does he attempt to define what he means by the term. The implications are that the word denotes: first, divine authorship; second, the manner in which God reveals himself; and third, the authority by which the plans of the divine revelation are executed and the purposes achieved. As to the evidences of inspiration, however, Beecher is specific. There are chiefly three: miracle, prophecy, and the unity of the Scriptures. 

Here again, the influence of both Butler and Paley may be traced in the

1 "WORKS" Vol. II, p. 155
2 Ibid., Vol. II, p. 166
3 Cf., "ANALOGY," Part II, Chapter VII.
arguments of Beecher. It is not easy to understand how reasoning on that level could make such a claim upon the serious attention of a mind such as Beecher's; especially is it difficult to conceive how Beecher, an ardent Calvinist, could overlook the preeminence of the "testimonium spiritus sancti," in matters of religious belief. If the sacred Scriptures fail to commend themselves to the skeptically-minded person by an appeal to faith, then neither miracles nor prophetic utterances will avail a particle.

At this point it is helpful to refer to the views of a contemporary of Lyman Beecher (1775-1863), Friedrich Schleiermacher (1768-1834). At the time when Beecher was preparing his "LECTURES ON POLITICAL ATHEISM" in New England, Schleiermacher was preparing his "GLAUBENSLEHRE," in Germany. With reference to the witness, or testimony of miracle and prophecy as evidences of the divine inspiration of the Scriptures, Schleiermacher says: "In all this there seems to be more or less illusion on the following point: that the efficacy of these things somehow always pre-supposes faith, and therefore cannot produce it."

In speaking of miracles as proofs of the Scriptures, Schleiermacher continues by observing that miracles are known only by the same Holy Scriptures. Furthermore, "Scripture itself bears witness that faith has been produced without miracles and also that miracles have failed to produce it; from which it may be concluded that even when it has existed along with miracles it was not produced by miracles but in its original way. Hence, if the purpose of miracles had been to produce faith, we should have to conclude that God's breaking into the order of Nature proved ineffectual."

The same may be said with regard to prophecies. According to Schleiermacher, belief in revelation, or the self-revelation of God in Christ, on

1 "THE CHRISTIAN FAITH," (Edited by H.R.Mackintosh and J.S. Stewart), pp. 71-75.
2 Ibid., pp. 71-75.
the testimony of prophecies fulfilled in and by Him, always presupposes faith in the prophets who made the predictions. "Now from all this it follows that, if faith in the revelation of God in Christ and in redemption through Him has not already arisen in the direct way through experience as the demonstration of the Spirit and of power, neither miracles nor prophecies can produce it, and indeed that this faith would be just as immovable even if Christianity had neither prophets nor miracles to show. For the lack of these could never refute that demonstration, or prove a mere delusion the experience of need satisfied in the fellowship of Christ." In a word, it is natural to expect miracles from Christ because he is the supreme, divine revelation. Prophecies concerning him take their meaning from the fact that he is the fulfilment of the longing for redemption throughout all creation, in all ages. In both cases, faith is presupposed.

Then too, inspiration is not something to be proved a priori; it is an experience which accompanies the gift of faith. With reference to the inspiration of the Scriptures, William Robertson Smith gave expression to that experience in his classic utterance: "If I am asked why I receive Scripture as the Word of God, and as the only perfect rule of faith and life, I answer with all the Fathers of the Protestant Church,—Because the Bible is the only record of the redeeming love of God, because in the Bible alone I find God drawing near to man in Jesus Christ, and declaring to us in Him His will for our salvation. And this record I know to be true by the witness of His Spirit in my heart, whereby I am assured that none other than God Himself is able to speak such words to my soul."

IV. At this point, the fact of Beecher's unbounded confidence in the fundamental integrity of the powers of human reason should be observed.

1 Loc. cit., pp. 71-75.
He held firmly to the belief that wrong thinking or lack of understanding was the cause of skepticism. Harriet Beecher Stowe brings out this point in a striking manner in one of her letters:

"Father often said, in after years, that he wished he could have seen Byron, and presented to his mind his views of religious truth. He thought if Byron could only have talked with Taylor and me, it might have got him out of his troubles; for never did men have more utter and complete faith in the absolute verity and power of what they regarded as Gospel doctrine than my father and the ministers with whom he acted. And though he firmly believed in total depravity, yet practically he never seemed to realize that people were unbelievers for any other reason than for want of light, and that clear and able arguments would not at once put an end to skepticism."

The reason for that conviction may be explained on two grounds. First of all, it was the logical consequence of the view that revelation is bound up with Scripture as an historical revelation. God has revealed his plans and purposes with respect to man's redemption, once and for all. The Holy Spirit has done his work in making known the mysteries of God to certain men of old, and also in enabling them to record and preserve the contents of those mysteries. All that there remains for man to do is to receive cordially that which has been revealed. That too is to be accomplished by the Holy Spirit, but it will be by the Spirit acting on the human understanding in accordance with the laws of mind.

A law, of whatever nature or kind, originates in the mind of God. Hence, there must be some correspondence between the laws by which the human mind functions and natural knowledge is acquired, and the mind of God and the manner in which the Holy Spirit operates in order to reveal his truths. The doctrines of Scripture were of supernatural origin, but they were intelligibly revealed and recorded in accordance with the laws of mind. Accordingly, they are to be comprehended by normal intellectual processes and interpreted by the enabling influences of the Holy Spirit.

Another quotation from Beecher’s favourite author will illustrate the nature of the stimuli which always found a cordial reception and called forth a ready response in his religious consciousness:

"As it is owned the whole scheme of Scripture is not understood, so, if it ever comes to be understood before the restitution of all things, and without miraculous interpositions, it must be in the same way as natural knowledge is come at, by the continuance and progress of learning and liberty, and by particular persons attending to, comparing, and pursuing intimations scattered up and down it, which are overlooked and discarded by the generality of the world: for this is the way in which all improvements are made—by thoughtful men’s tracing on obscure hints, as it were, dropped us by Nature accidentally, or which seem to come into our minds by chance. Nor is it at all incredible that a book which has been so long in the possession of mankind should contain many truths as yet undiscovered."

In the second place, Beecher and the other New England theologians, in their zeal to enhance human ability with reference to the freedom of the will, tended to limit the operations of the Spirit to the use of means furnished by human agency. The immediate action of the Spirit in the work of redemption was not denied; but ordinarily, reason and intelligence were the normal channels through which He communicated with the souls of men. The Scriptures, accordingly, were the content of the truth to be brought home to human consciousness by the Spirit, reason and intelligence constituting the vehicle, or means.

It should be borne in mind that what Beecher aimed to do in his lectures was to fortify the faith of the uneducated workmen against the insinuations of the skeptics. He endeavoured to buttress faith with reason. In a word, he set out to do for uneducated, but believing men what theological seminaries do for believing, but inexperienced youth. He assumed that the foundations of faith had been laid and were intact. The weakness of the superstructure which he erected lay in the fact that the foundations upon which he built were not in every case firm and sure. The words "faith," "spirit," "grace," "Christ" are conspicuously absent from the texts.

Reason may be strengthened with faith; but where faith is lacking, reason will not suffice. Beecher's lectures, in the opinion of the writer, fail to commend themselves because they are as a building beautifully constructed upon foundations to which due consideration had not been given.

Calvin's warnings in this connexion are entirely in order. "Wherefore the Scripture will then only be effectual to produce the saving knowledge of God, when the certainty of it shall be founded on the internal persuasion of the Holy Spirit. Thus those human testimonies, which contribute to its confirmation, will not be useless, if they follow that first and principal proof, as secondary aids to our imbecility. But those persons betray great folly, who wish it to be demonstrated to infidels that the Scripture is the word of God, which cannot be known without faith."

V. Finally, having made the foregoing observations, criticisms, and objections, the preeminently important question still remains to be answered: What did the Scriptures mean to the soul of Lyman Beecher? Happily the answer is not left to inference or conjecture. The testimony of a member of Beecher's own family, one who knelt at the family altar and listened to the daily reading of the Scriptures over a period of many years, gives this first-hand information:

"To hear Dr. Beecher read the Bible at family prayer in such an eager, earnest tone of admiring delight, with such an indescribable air of intentness and expectancy, as if the book had just been handed him out of heaven, or as if a seal therein was just about to be loosed, was enough to impress one with the feeling that he was thus ever on the search into the deep things of God's Word, 'attending to, comparing, and pursuing intimations scattered up and down therein.'

"A new thought suddenly flashed out, a new illustration of his grand
theme, Moral Government, appropriately expressed, would at any time moisten
his eyes with tears. The joy of his soul in a new idea, a new ray of
heaven's glory, a new and more striking embodiment of some old truth, was
most intense. It was a ruling passion of his intellectual being. He
hungered and thirsted after the knowledge of God and of his glorious govern-
ment, and of the sublime plan of redemption, with insatiable appetite.

"That the Bible is to be regarded as revealing a system of moral laws, is evident from many considerations. The Most High has there expressly revealed himself as a lawgiver. His power, wisdom, and goodness, — his justice, mercy, and truth, — are exhibited not as abstract qualities, but as attributes illustrated by the laws and administration of a moral government." It follows, therefore, that the Bible is to be regarded, not only as a revelation from God, but likewise as a self-revelation of God as the divine legislator in his government of moral agents.

10. THEOLOGY — "Theology is the science of GOD'S moral government." 2)

In the system of moral government revealed in the sacred Scriptures, God is specifically denominated — "Lawgiver," "Governor," and "Judge" of the universe. Accordingly the legislative, executive, and judicial powers are vested in the same being, whose attributes and character are exhibited in the unfolding of the purpose for which his moral government was established — the salvation of men.

The two comprehensive departments of the divine plan are the creation and government of the realm of matter, and of the realm of mind. Natural or physical government is the government of the realm of matter. Matter, of itself "inert" and "motionless," God has organised in suns, and worlds, and living things, for the accommodation of minds, and to reflect upon

2 Unpublished notes of "LECTURES ON SYSTEMATIC THEOLOGY," Lecture Eight.

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them the evidence of his being and the illuminations of his glory. Moral
government is the government of mind, which is "active." Matter is governed
by "force;" mind is governed by "moral suasion." In both cases, the sub-
jects of each are influenced to act as they otherwise would not without
government. The two forms of government differ, however, as to their
subjects, and the manner of producing effects. "Natural government is direct,
irresistible impulse. Moral government is persuasion; and the result of it
is voluntary action in the view of motives." A moral government, therefore,
is a government exerted over free agents, or accountable beings—a govern-
ment of laws administered by motives.

11. MOTIVE—A motive "is some good offered to our acceptance or evil to be
avoided; .... Motives do not act mechanically on the mind; they are merely
the occasions of choice, in the view of which mind makes its diversified
elections, and without which it could not act freely at all." 2)

The influences or motives by which God administers his moral government
are comprehended in the moral law, the Gospel, the providence of God, and
the movements of the Holy Spirit—including the bestowal of rewards for
obedience, and the infliction of punishments for transgression. Chief
among the motives for rendering obedience to the divine law is the hope of
an immortality of eternal blessedness, as over against the fear of ever-
lasting punishment for wilful neglect or disobedience of God's commands.

12. MORAL GOVERNMENT—"A moral government is the influence of law upon
accountable creatures. It includes a law-giver, accountable subjects, and
laws intelligibly revealed, and maintained by rewards and punishments,
according to the character and deeds of the subjects. To accountability
in the subjects are requisite,—understanding, to perceive the rule of
action; conscience, to feel moral obligation; and the power of choice, in
the view of motives." 3)

Law is the medium of all forms of government. Moral law includes

precepts and sanctions intelligibly revealed, and maintained. The nature of precepts is directory, disclosing that which is to be done. The nature of sanctions is influential, presenting the motives to obedience which are included in the comprehensive terms of "rewards" and "punishments."

"The influence of law as the medium of moral government is the influence of motives upon accountable creatures; and the effect of this influence is always the actual exercise of free agency in choice or action." 1)

13. MORAL LAW—"The divine (moral) law requires love to God with all the heart, and impartial love for men, together with certain overt duties to God and men by which this love is to be expressed, and that this law is supported by the sanctions of eternal life and eternal death." 2)

For the guidance and government of mind, the divine Governor has provided decretory laws, developed in part in nature, and partly in the revelation of the Bible. The law of the universe of mind is the moral law, summarised in the commandments of Jesus Christ: "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy strength, and with all thy mind; and thy neighbour as thyself." (Luke X, 27.) The moral law, therefore, requires supreme love to God and impartial love to man. The relative duties, by the discharge of which the law is to be obeyed and the required love expressed, towards God, ourselves, and our neighbour, are expressly declared in the Ten Commandments.

The motives to obedience in the moral government are the attributes and character of God and the wisdom and benevolence of his laws, under which obedience is rewarded with fullness of joy, and disobedience punished with a corresponding suffering. Rewards and punishments are commensurate with the endless being of his subjects.

Since the character and attributes of God are the primary motives to the obedience of the moral law, it is essential to the administration of his moral government that its subjects be furnished with proper conceptions of those motivating attributes.

I. God is a spirit.

By spirit is meant "mind, as opposed to matter; exhibiting intelligence, acting by design, as opposed to instinct; and diversified volition in the views of motives, as opposed to an unthinking, irresistible necessity; mind capable of intense desire, of permanent choice in the selection of its chief good, and of plan and subordinate volition and action for the attainment of its object; capable of copious affections, and social affinities, and high enjoyment, and in subjects of government by law and by the rewards and punishments of an eternal state."

II. God is eternal.

Something is eternal, or nothing could have begun to exist. That something is not matter, for matter cannot create intelligent beings. Such beings are created only by that Mind whose invisible attributes are "clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made, even his eternal power and Godhead." (Romans I, 20).

III. God is self-existent.

"His existence is un derived, and independent of external causes, and as incapable of cessation as of beginning; that his continuance no more depends on choice, than his un derived, eternal being; .... unending, un changed existence belongs to the very nature of God, as really as dependence and mutability belong to all which is created."

IV. God is omniscient.

From the immensity of the diversified possibility which lay before him, God in his wisdom and goodness selected the wisest and the best possible system. His knowledge comprehends that system through all its existence -- past, present, and future; in all its attributes, parts, dependencies, movements, and results.

V. God is omnipresent.

It is to be understood that this attribute pertains only to his knowledge and constant efficiency throughout all his works. "The ubiquity of the divine inspection, support, and government, extends alike both to the natural and moral universe, to matter and to mind, to physical and to moral government; it being to Jehovah just as practicable to execute his purposes of moral government by moral influence, as to control the material movements of the universe by his direct omnipresence."

VI. God is almighty.

The entire range of possibilities are at his disposal. His power, however, is always exercised with reference to his infinite wisdom and benevolence. It is limited only by the wise and benevolent constitution which God has given to created things, and by the laws he has established for their most perfect government. Moreover, God's power is always exerted with reference to the nature of the subject, both in the natural realm and in the realm of moral beings; "the one, he governs by his power acting on the attributes which he has given to matter; the other by his power acting upon mind, through the intervention of motives contained in his law, gospel, and providence, and administered and made effectual by his Spirit."

VII. God is good.

The goodness of God is employed in the dissemination of good.

14. **BENEVOLENCE** — "Benevolence, then, is the love of doing good, of communicating and perpetuating enjoyment. In the divine being, it is not one of several attributes, but his entire moral nature — the generic principle of his glorious moral excellence." 1)

God exists by necessity, and all his natural attributes are independent of his choice. But God is also a free agent, and his moral excellence is perfectly voluntary. The attributes of goodness, or benevolence is his by virtue of the fact that as a moral agent he chooses by an enlightened preference and acts from motives of goodness instead of evil, and it is in his ceaseless benevolent activity that he is God over all.

"The natural attributes of GOD are under the control of his moral attributes, all of which make a perfect whole. **Benevolence** is the sum total of all his attributes. In a general Benevolence they are all comprehended..... The character of God has been divided into many attributes. These different attributes are only different developments of Benevolence. Mercy is the development of God's Benevolence in pardoning sin; while justice is another development of his Benevolence in punishing the incorrigible, in order to maintain his government." 2)

VIII. **God is just.**

Law is indispensable to the wise and benevolent government of intelligent beings, and the sanctions of reward and punishment are indispensable to the moral influence of law.

15. **JUSTICE** — "Justice is his benevolence and wisdom, expressed in the administration of rewards and punishments, for the public good, according to the character and deeds of his subjects." 3)

IX. **God is merciful.**

In mercy, God exercises benevolence in the pardon and reformation of the guilty in ways which are consistent with the demands of law and the

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well-being of the universe of moral agents. It was through mercy that God provided that his moral government should be in the hands of a Mediator, in whom an atonement is made for transgressors of the law and through whom reconciliation is effected by faith. Accordingly, the gospel "addresses powerfully the most efficient springs of human action—hope and fear—the desire of good and the dread of evil. The rigor of law would exasperate and drive to desperation a world of sinners; while the Gospel—with the sword of justice and the sceptre of mercy—enters the world to preach deliverance to the captives, and to set at liberty them that are bound. It throws upon the hopes and fears of men an intensity of motive in the mingled and balanced influence of justice and mercy, severity and kindness, affording the highest moral excitement which can possibly be applied to the human mind. The glories of heaven allure, and the terrors of the Lord alarm."

X. God is slow to anger, of great patience, and full of compassion.

Human passions ascribed to God are analogical and not identical. Anger ascribed to God and man represents strong disapprobation and emphatic action in the infliction of pain. In man, however, the impulse is malignant—personal revenge; while in God it is benevolent—in the interest of public justice.

The long-suffering of God implies that, while public justice does not always demand the immediate punishment of transgression, God is disposed to defer the infliction of the penalty and continue the means of reformation in behalf of the transgressor.

God's compassion is his sympathy for the afflicted and miserable. It is consistent with the purity of his holiness and his public character as

the supreme executive of the universe. It implies no complacency toward
the sinful, nor compromise with respect to the claims of public justice;
but it does enhance the dignity and the honour of his administration before
the incorrigible when it is known that the government of God is one of
benevolence and compassion, but also one which will in no wise clear the
guilty. "It is the concentration of these majestic and touching traits of
the divine character,—this union of the vast with the minute, of strength
with tenderness, of justice with mercy, and self-existent blessedness with
the most gentle movements of compassion and sympathy—which melts instantly
the heart it touches, and renders the moral power of the Gospel, in the
1) hand of the Spirit, omnipotent."

16. GOSPEL—"It is the glory of the Gospel that it upholds the moral law
and moral government of God, and brings back and reconciles to his holy
dominion millions and millions of apostate creatures." 2)

The Gospel is not an expedient to set aside a holy, just and good law
in order to substitute an inferior one, brought down to the level of the
depraved inclinations of men. "God did not send his Son to betray his
government, and compromise with rebels, by repealing the law which offended
them. He sent his Son to vindicate and to establish this law, to redeem
mankind from the curse, and to bring them back to the obedience of the same
3) law from which they had revolted."

The object of God in the Gospel, therefore, is "to reassure his ruined
guilty creatures of his unextinguished kindness FOR THEM, and to bring them
back, reconciled and forgiven, to his fellowship and favor." 4) It is
important that they should be impressed with the holiness and justice of God;

but in order to relieve fear and dread, it is equally important that they should be made aware of the fact that God loves and pities them. Compassion alone is conducive to presumption; justice alone creates despair. In the Bible the exhibitions of God as majestic and terrible are blended with his gentleness and winsomeness. These are correct attributes of the divine mind; and though they are seemingly opposite attributes, they are harmonious and indispensable to a perfect character and to the administration of a perfect moral government. They are supremely exhibited in the doctrine of the atonement.

THE ATONEMENT

1) "The Atonement, received by faith, places the subject in such relations to Christ, as that public justice does not demand his punishment, or forbid his forgiveness and restoration to favor; it opens wide the channel which sin had obstructed, for his mercy to flow in; and God, who has no pleasure in the death of him that dieth,—who never punishes merely because it is deserved, but always only because the public good demands it,—now, released from the public necessity of punishment, in the exercise of mercy, through the Atonement, freely pardons the believer, and receives him into favor." 2)

This is the great fundamental theme of theology because it touches all the principles of moral government, and without an atonement there could be no other form of government apart from the simple operation of the law. The moral government is in the hands of a Mediator, whose mediatorial government is a government sui generis. It does not supercede the existence of law; rather, when it has done its work, it will again restore its subjects to the government of law. By the atonement the law is vindicated, and at the same time many rebels are released from the eternal endurance of its penalty.

1 The materials exhibiting Beecher's views of the "Atonement" are derived chiefly from unpublished notes on his "LECTURES ON SYSTEMATIC THEOLOGY."
"The faith once delivered to the saints includes, it is believed, among other doctrines, the following: ....

"That, according to the principles of moral government, obedience, either antecedent or subsequent to transgression, cannot avert the penalty of law; and (that) pardon, upon condition of repentance merely, would destroy the efficacy of moral government;

"That an atonement has been made for sin by Jesus Christ, with reference to which God can maintain the influence of his law and forgive sin, upon condition of repentance towards God, and faith in our Lord Jesus Christ: that all men are invited sincerely, in this way, to return to God, with an assurance of pardon and eternal life if they comply."

I. The **design** of the atonement was to maintain and perpetuate the government of the universe by moral law, and to sustain law while a dispensation of mercy was introduced to save a vast multitude of the fallen race.

II. The **exigencies** to be met by the atonement were:

A. To provide for the maintenance of the stability of law while pardon could be offered to its transgressors -- a provision for the suspension of law over the world for at least seven thousand years, without in the slightest degree impairing its power or authority;

B. To provide for the increase of the power of **motives** over both fallen and loyal minds;

C. To render it consistent to make universal offers of pardon for sin for at least seven thousand years -- offers based on sincerity and upon such conditions as the subject would be able to comply with in every respect;

D. To render it consistent for God to interpose remedial influences, such as his wisdom might choose, should the terms of pardon be rejected; and

E. To provide that all the foregoing exigencies might be met through an atonement without at the same time impairing confidence in God or his law.

III. The Sincerity of God in His Proffers and Man's Ability to Comply Therewith.

As proof that God desires the salvation of all men, it is to be observed that he sends out his messengers to proclaim the universal invitation. There is every evidence which the nature of the case renders possible that God in his proffers is sincere: his own declaration that he desires not the death of the sinner, but rather that all should turn and live; the effort he puts forth to influence them to turn; the joy he expresses when they do turn; and the sorrow which he manifests when they continue on and perish.

That the salvation of the whole human race is consistent with the glory of God, the maintenance of law, and the government of the universe, is evident from the facts. That the proffers of universal pardon and salvation when there existed no provision for such, would result in as great or still greater evil than if provision had been made, all prove that confidence in God would thus be undermined and the ground for trusting in his sincerity taken away.

The fact that the terms upon which God holds out the proffers of pardon are such as are within the ability of man to comply with, is evident from the recognition that any other view would represent God as mocking his creatures—tantalizing them with a good which he has not brought within their reach. At the same time, any other view of the terms of God's proffers would release the subject from all obligation to comply therewith.

IV. The Influence of the Atonement Upon the Universal Government of God.

A The permanent government of the universe is that of law. Devils transgressed the law and felt the full weight of the penalty. Man likewise transgressed the law and the curse commenced its operation. All that the atonement proposes to do is to suspend the operation of law for a time until rebels can be reclaimed and brought back under its dominion.
B. At the close of the mediatorial interposition the government will again be one of law. The gospel system is merely an episode in moral government and not a permanent arrangement. By the atonement, motive such as can operate upon mind has been greatly increased. It has given an exhibition of God which could not have been given in any other way. The design of the atonement is not solely the salvation of those who are to be saved thereby. It has provided a manifestation of God whose influence is to extend throughout the entire universe for all time.

C. The whole power of law lies in its sanctions -- its rewards and penalties. Empty promises and threats would be of none effect in sustaining the law. As soon as it would be seen that the thing promised or threatened was not to be fulfilled, law would lose its power and confidence in God would be abandoned.

D. The influence of law depends upon the known character of its administrator. If he is known to be powerful, just, and holy, there will be no hope for the transgressor to escape with impunity. If he is weak, insincere, and variable then the influence of law will be destroyed.

E. The evidences of the character and purposes of God are not intuitive, but manifested and proved. Mind is not an object of apprehension, neither can character be seen with the eyes. Design is the only evidence of the existence of mind, and works and deeds the only evidences of the existence of character.

F. All the works of God are designed to be mediums of exhibiting the character of their author. Laws, physical and moral, exhibit adaptation to the production of happiness.

G. Government by law can become the medium of exhibiting the character of God only by its sanctions of rewards and penalties. If the action of law is suspended there must be evidence; first, that it is only a temporary and local suspension; second, that the claims of the law are neither waived nor relaxed -- that the obligation to obey the law is as binding as if there had been no suspension of the penalty; and third, that God's attachment to law and his purpose to maintain it are supreme.

One cannot judge of the adaptation of the atonement from its effects upon diseased minds. The immediate effect of the suspension of law upon the minds of sinners, over whom it is suspended, may be persistence in rebellion. Because sentence against an evil work is not immediately executed, their hearts become fully set within them to do evil. They sin
with the hope of impunity. This effect proves that the character and
habits of the sinner are depraved. The same effect is not produced upon
pure minds. Taking the universe as a whole the strength of motives is
immeasurably increased by the atonement.

V. The Adaptations of the Atonement to Sustain and Perpetuate the Power
of the Law.

A. The government of commands are principles of action.

B. Some of God's creatures transgressed. The law is executed
in its utmost rigour, and in its execution an eternal evidence
of God's determination to maintain law is exhibited.

C. If under a system of clemency anything is done to uphold
the sanctity of the law while such a system is introduced, this
is evidence that the law itself could not save nor could it be
upheld without interposition in such a system. If this system
of clemency, while it extends salvation to many who would other­
wise be lost and sustains the sanctity of the law without imposing
its penalty upon the guilty, at the same time develops the mode
of God's being and his moral character--his benevolence, mercy,
and the like, as they could not be developed in any other way,
then it constitutes the highest degree of evidence that God's
attachment to law and his determination to maintain it are
supreme.

D. This system develops the tri-personality of the Godhead. This
is not taught by the "light of nature." The three persons
are represented as consulting together in relation to a remedial
system: the Father occupying the station of the Guardian of the
law; the Son as providing for an atonement; and the Holy Spirit
applying the provisions made by the Son.

E. The atonement itself is not sufficient. Sinners must
repent and exercise faith. They must have a Mediator to plead
their cause before the Father. They must have influence such as
shall return them to perfection in the sight of the law, sancti­
fied through the Spirit. When this process is completed, then
all subjects are brought under a system of law; while those
refusing to be benefitted by the system are driven out with
Devils and made to endure the full penalty of violated law.
Looking at the system as a whole then, and the mode of its opera­
tion, who can doubt God's attachment to law?

"But it is only as the vastness of his being, the extent of his works,
the glory of his laws and moral government, and of their administration,
are considered,—in alliance with all the nearness and tenderness of parental
affection,—that the entire character of God comes out upon the soul, and all his claims to our confidence and love are felt, and the exceeding sinfulness of sin is realized, and the riches of his goodness apprehended in providing a Redeemer,—and with such a sacrifice of feeling to himself and to his Son as must be implied in giving him up to suffering and to death, that we might be delivered from shame, and live forever.

DECRETA DEI

The sole object of the government of God is to express his benevolence, and his eternal decrees are nothing more nor less than the plan which God has devised to realize that benevolent object.

18. DEGREES—"The decrees of God are his determination to create a universe of free agents, to exist forever under the perfect laws of his moral government, perfectly administered; for the gratification and manifestation of his benevolence, for the perfect enjoyment of all his obedient subjects; with all that is implied therein, and all the consequences, foreseen." 1

The chief end of all of God's decrees is the promotion of happiness. "The means (of arriving at such an end) is the creation and government of free agents. Holiness, justice, and mercy could not be manifested in the government of matter. If God created all things for himself, it was for the gratification of his benevolence. If (he created all things) for the manifestation of his glory, it was to exhibit the eternal and unbounded excellence of his attributes by a practical display of them in creating and governing a universe and conferring upon it the highest degree of happiness possible.

It is to be expected that the mind of the omniscient God will act

3 Unpublished notes of "LECTURES ON SYSTEMATIC THEOLOGY," Lecture Twelve.
in some way to accomplish the benevolent purposes for which his govern-
ment was established. It is likewise to be supposed that that Mind should
act with foresight, design, and plan. Hence, the decrees of God refer
primarily to what he will do, and the method by which he has chosen to
exhibit his infinitely wise and benevolent designs. Secondarily, they
refer to the foreseen consequences of the acts of his intelligent creatures.
In no way do God's decrees constitute rules for human conduct, since they
surpass immeasurably what human beings can do. Instead, they constitute
the plan of the development of the fulness of the wisdom of God, together
with his benevolence and power, in the satisfaction of his own judgment and
heart, and in the endowment of the universal heart of his loyal subjects
with confidence and love and joy.

It follows, therefore, that the decrees of God must bear the evidences
of his own attributes and character. They are eternal, because God in his
wisdom, knowledge, and benevolence is eternal. They are immutable, because
God is all-wise and to him there are no possible plans which are better
than those he has chosen, and he will not turn against his wise, benevolent
motives adopted from eternity to eternity to resort to inferior methods of
divine fulfilment. "He did not enter upon his government to learn wisdom
by experience. Before they (the opponents of divine sovereignty) were yet
formed, his vast dominion lay open to his view; and before he took the
reins of created empire, he saw in what manner it became him to govern.
His ways are everlasting. Known unto God are all his works from the begin-
ning.... To object to the choice of God, with respect to the management of
the world, because it is eternal, is to object to the existence of God. A
God of eternal knowledge, without an eternal will or choice, would be a
1) God without moral character."

Inferences

I. If God decreed to make man a free, moral agent then he undoubtedly saw that he could create him such, and conceived it to be the wisest and best plan for human creation. Because the plan was both wise and good, God desired it and determined to execute it, and has done it; and man, by the execution of the decree of God, was created a free, moral agent.

II. Since God has created man free and accountable for his deeds, he has further decreed that man should be governed by perfect laws, perfectly administered in a divine moral government of laws and motives.

III. The foreknowledge of God is not the cause or motive of human actions, nor is it that which makes them certain. God's knowledge is in accordance with truth; "and inasmuch as he has decreed to make men free agents, and knows that he has done so, he foresaw their actions as the actions of free agents, and not as the actions of machines, or the results of necessity."

IV. The foreordinations of God do not destroy free agency, even though the outcome of human actions are certain in the mind of God beforehand. If God creates the certainty by irresistible omnipotence, then man is not a free moral agent, nor is he to be held accountable for his deeds. But if, on the other hand, the certainty which God creates is a moral certainty, and not a physical necessity, then man the free agent chooses and acts in the regular exercise of his powers as a free moral agent, under the laws and government of God. The certainty of his conduct is foreordained by God and foreknown to him; man himself, the free moral agent, actually makes the certainty.

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1) "Foreordination in the natural world is one thing and in the moral world it is another. The former has reference to His own direct action. The latter has reference to the consequences that will follow upon the consequent action of free agents.

"God foreordains whatsoever comes to pass; that is, he has fixed upon a plan which he will carry out by direct action—and this plan is such as renders certain to his mind everything that will follow as a consequence of this action. The certainty, however, is only a moral certainty and not a physical necessity, as respects the consequences of God's actions. The decrees of God are therefore of two kinds: first, direct—comprehending what he does; and second, indirect—comprehending the consequences of his actions."

V. While God has foreordained all that comes to pass, he is neither the author of sin nor the creator of evil. On the contrary, he is the creator of free moral agents and places them in a perfect system of moral government and surrounds them with sufficient motives to induce them to abstain from sin; and by his Law, Gospel, and Providence allures them to obedience. By all the powers of his being and attributes God seeks to create obedience in his loyal subjects and repentance in transgressors. Sin is the voluntary action of an agent and cannot be produced by any but the agent himself.

The moral government of God reveals the character of the divine Governor in every aspect of its administration. The decrees of God are in accordance with his attributes. It is the attribute of a just government to unite individual good with universal good. Sin is the perversion of God's benevolent designs, and the fact that God overrules sin proves in no way that he is the author of sin, or that sin is a necessary means of the greatest good.

VI. There is no evidence that physical evil would have existed without sin. Natural evil then is not the result of design, but merely incidental

1 Unpublished Notes on "LECTURES ON SYSTEMATIC THEOLOGY," "Decreta Dei," Lecture Twelve.
to the system chosen by infinite wisdom. The decrees of God have good, and only good, as their design. Because the divinely chosen plan is the wisest and the best, it does not include evil; in fact, God did all that he could by moral influence to shut out sin. He could not have done more consistently with the system of moral government, without subverting the plan by destroying free agency and accountability in the subjects of his government; nor would he turn aside from the system foreordained in order to exclude the possibility of sin.

VII. The decrees of God in no sense destroy the free agency of man. In his moral government God influences human minds with moral influences or motives; through: first, the manifestation of his own character; second, the motive of filial relationship; third, the guardian and conservative influences of law; fourth, the gospel; fifth, his providential government throughout the universe; sixth, the impulses of the Holy Spirit.

VIII. The practical utility of God's decrees for the production of faith resides in the following facts:

A. That God acts by design and in accordance with his own will, a fact which lays at the foundation of all evidence as to the nature of his being and the mode of his existence;

B. That the decrees furnish the ground of resignation to the will of God;

C. That they provide for belief in the universal efficacy of prayer;

D. That they give occasion and opportunity for exercising gratitude towards God; and

E. That they establish the foundation for universal confidence in the providences of God in the administration of his moral government.

**Election**

In accordance with his decrees God has provided a way for all men to abandon their prison-house of sin and return to him. The prison doors have
been opened; the doors of admission into the kingdom of his Son have been opened to all who will enter. By command and entreaty, by the power of moral suasion included in his government, the law, the Gospel, and particular providences, God has invited transgressors to come into the liberty of his redeemed children. The gracious overtures of the divine invitation are unheeded, and by choice each sinner prefers to remain in his loathsome, dreary abode. He wilfully refuses to be saved.

19. ELECTION—"But, as God has determined that the redemption of his Son shall not be unavailing through human obstinacy, so he hath chosen in Christ, multitudes which no man can number, that they should be holy and without blame before him in love." 1)

In the case of the sinner who dies in his sins, the tragedy is the result of his own voluntary choice of self-destruction. The decrees of God in no way compel the sinner to sin; the decrees of election do not exclude him from salvation when he has sinned. He is voluntary in his alienation from God. He is voluntary in his choice of evil in preference to the goodness of God. He is voluntary in his refusing to return to God through Jesus Christ. An atonement for all his sins has been graciously provided and free pardon is offered if he will but repent. This he will not do. Christ is able and willing to save him, but he will not come to the Saviour.

"Aversion to God and his government caused his departure, and the same aversion prevents his return by Jesus Christ. God has built an eternal prison, and the sinner fits himself for it, and goes there of his own accord, in spite of all the restraints God has laid upon him, and all the obstructions by which he has blocked up the way to ruin. God has done everything, but just to exert almighty power; yet he will not turn. He will die! He shuts his eyes; he stops his ears; and casts behind him Bibles, and Sabbaths, and prayers, and exhortations, and entreaties; he treads under foot the blood of the covenant, and does despite to the Spirit of grace; and, though a host of opposing means, and while God, and angels, and men, are entreating him to stop, he forces his way down to ruin."

2 Ibid., Vol. II, p. 28.
To illustrate further the voluntary principle in the doctrine of election, it may be said that "election is as if a man should go to a prison on fire, open all the doors, and loose every chain, and then call to the prisoners to come out! They will not. Then he rushes in, seizes as many as he can, and drags them out. These are the 'elect.' Those whom he is obliged to leave, all of whom have been set free, and invited to come out, and every one of whom could, but does not, come, are the 'reprobates.'"

THE PROVIDENCE OF GOD

"The Providence of God is the administration of motives, in the form of mercies and afflictions." For such administration God utilises any or all of the laws of the universe in subordination to his moral government. While those laws retain all the properties and attributes with which they were originally established, they are also susceptible to adaptation to the carrying out of the particular providences and purposes of God with respect to mankind. Accordingly, that form of divine government may be described as follows:

20. PROVIDENCE-- "God exercises a providential government, which extends to all events in such a manner as to lay a just foundation for resignation to his will in afflictions brought upon us by the wickedness of men, and for gratitude in the reception of good in all the various modes of human instrumentality; that all events shall illustrate his glory, and be made subservient to the good of his kingdom; and that his government is administered in accordance with a purpose or plan known and approved of by him from the beginning."

The particular Providence of God consists, then, "in the use God makes of the natural world in its adaptations to aid in his Moral Government."

3 Unpublished notes on "LECTURES ON SYSTEMATIC THEOLOGY," Lecture Nineteen.
God, in accordance with his wisdom, power, and benevolence, may modify the general laws of the natural world at any time and under any circumstances. In adapting them for particular providences of man, God neither destroys their identity nor permanently alters their normal operations. He can maintain the stability of the system of nature's laws and yet suspend or modify them indefinitely. "That, heretofore, God has employed physical causes as motives in the administration of his moral government, is as certain as the records of his Word:

1) "According to the Bible, the government of God over nations is a moral government, universal and entire; and his dominion over the material world, in the administration of a particular providence, accommodated to the purposes of moral government, and diversified according to the exigencies created by the character and deeds of his subjects, for punishment to the incorrigible, and for purposes of forebearance and forgiveness to those who break off their sins, and turn to God, is announced and repeated with equal clearness and frequency on the sacred page."

2) Inferences

I. An act of divine Providence is not to be regarded as a moral law, or rule of human activity.

"From its very nature, it cannot be a rule of life. It is the course of the Divine conduct in the administration of his government on earth; whatever he does, or for wise reasons permits to be done.

"But it cannot be our duty, were it possible, to do everything that God does, much less to do everything which he permits to be done, and yet whatever comes to pass in time, is considered in the Bible as being in such a sense a part of the Providence of God, that if it be auspicious, it creates an obligation of gratitude, and if inauspicious, an obligation of resignation to his providential will."

3 "A SERMON DELIVERED AT THE FUNERAL OF HENRY OBOOKIAH," a Native of Owhyhee, and a Member of the Foreign Mission School in Cornwall, Connecticut, 18th February, 1818.
II. The providential acts of God do not possess the properties requisite to moral laws, or rules of life.

"A law to be obligatory must express intelligibly the will of the law-giver concerning the conduct of subjects. But the Providence of God makes no such intelligible disclosures, either of his character, or will; or shall answer daily, and amid all the diversities of circumstance in which we are placed, the purpose of a plain and practicable rule of conduct. Clouds and darkness are round about him; none, by searching his Providence, can find out his will as a moral rule. The laws of no government can be correctly and amply inferred, merely, from the general course of the administration of the government; much less, can the will of God, as a rule of life, be inferred from an administration so extended, and so perplexed by inscrutable mysteries and contrary movements, as in the Providence of God."

III. The established connexion in the Providence of God between virtue and happiness, and sin and misery, does not furnish an intelligible indication of the Divine will as a rule of life.

"But there is in the constitution of Providence, no such marked discrimination between good and evil, as the immediate consequences of human action, as right or wrong, but rather such a total want of discrimination as justifies the inspired declaration that 'one event happeneth to them all.'

"The precepts of a law must also precede its sanctions, and be intelligible without them; but if the good or evil attendant on actions be the only indication of the Divine will, the reward and punishment precede the precept, and from these only do we learn what the precept is. But did the Providence of God indicate plainly and universally his will, inasmuch as it does it by its sanctions only, it would not in that case be the rule of duty, but merely the medium of revealing it."

IV. The Providence of God does not make it the duty to do certain things
or to abstain from doing them.

"We do indeed use such language, but never with exact propriety; and yet in reference to circumstances which render it, perhaps, sufficiently intelligible.

"Ability and opportunity to accomplish an action, are essential to the existence of moral obligation to do it. Now the Providence of God may supersede our ability to do what God has required, and in that case, may cancel our obligation. It may also restore our ability, and in that case may create obligation, not directly by cancelling and re-enacting law, but indirectly by taking away, and restoring our ability or opportunity to obey.....

"The obligation is always contained in some law, antecedently in being; and the Providence of God only modifies our duty, by modifying our ability and opportunity."

CRITICAL CONTENTS:—Beecher's Theology of the Moral Government

I. Beecher's conception of the Moral Government of God reveals unmistakable evidences of the influences of Bishop Butler and Jonathan Edwards. In the latter, Beecher keenly observed all those tendencies to emphasize the moral agency of man—accountability commensurate with human ability. For that specific purpose the conception of God as "Governor" instead of "Sovereign" seemed to be more advantageous, especially since the remarkable discoveries in the fields of natural science were popularizing the ideas of "law" and "order" in the physical realm.

Obviously, this modified conception of God was a departure from the Calvinistic doctrine of the absolute divine sovereignty. The following sentence from Edwards, for example, suggests an innovation which was more than a mere compromise. Said he, "It may be worthy to be considered,
whether it is not of great, or greater importance, that the law of God, that great rule of righteousness between the supreme moral Governor and his subjects, should be maintained inviolate." Since the basic conception of God as moral governor rests upon the principle of government by law, it is contradictory to the concept of divine sovereignty, and both God and man are placed under obligations to the same impersonal moral law by which both are bound. Such a fundamental change of conception shifted the center of gravity of the entire New England theological system. Each of the several doctrines in the system thenceforth took its form and meaning from the "governmental," or "rectoral" view of God. The doctrine of the atonement was no exception. According to Beecher's presentation of the matter, God's forgiveness is grounded not in the totality of his entire being, but in his benevolent character as moral governor of the universe.

II. Beecher's definition of theology — "the science of God's moral government," is convincing proof that his great theme is no mere analogy or thought pattern. God's moral government is a government "sui generis," -- an objective reality, the laws and sanctions of which are acknowledged to be more binding and more influential than those of any political government that ever existed.

According to the definition in question the end of theology is knowledge concerning a certain form of divine government, rather than the apprehension of the character and personality of the divine governor. In the study of theology, the inquiring mind and the seeking heart is confronted not by a personal self-revelation, but by a system of governmental administration. It is in the operation of the system that the character and purposes of God are ultimately unfolded. "His view of theology,"

1 "WORKS," Vol. VIII, P. 489.
observed the editor of Beecher's "AUTOBIOGRAPHY," "was that it was best studied in revivals, where the claims of God's government are pressing on revolted minds, and every plea of the rebellion is urged with all the ingenuity of self-defence, aided by the suggestions of the Deceiver, to stave off conviction. He felt that no man could preach the Gospel, in such scenes, under the full baptism of the Holy Ghost, grappling with the souls of men in every stage of conviction, without encountering first or last every great problem in theology, not as it lies in books, but as it exists as a fact in the great working system of the universe."

However that may be, the fact remains that before the claims of God's government can be pressed upon rebellious subjects there must be a knowledge of what those claims really are. For that reason a knowledge of what God has done in history in and through Jesus Christ is of paramount importance. The fact that God confronted men in the person of Jesus Christ is all but lost sight of in Beecher's theology of moral government. Men are summoned to repentance on the ground that they have broken the law of the realm instead of the heart of the Saviour. The atoning work of the "Mediator" was seemingly a governmental device for justifying criminals and restoring them to their legal status as loyal subjects of his government, instead of the gracious approach of the Father toward sinful men in his purpose to restore them to his fellowship as redeemed children.

The root of the difficulty lies in the fact that in his magnificent conception of God's Moral Government everything else in the thought of Beecher is made to conform thereto. In the previous chapter it was observed how his appreciation of the Bible was dominated by the idea of its being a "Code of Laws." In this present chapter his apprehension of God is

circumscribed by the idea of divine "governor." But a governor is not at liberty to act spontaneously and graciously toward individual transgressors of the law, since he himself is bound by the requirements of the law and is under obligation to execute and defend it at all cost. Nor does the fact of a benevolent attitude or disposition alter the situation, even though such an attitude may include along with justice, mercy, compassion and even love itself. In a word, satisfaction to the law and the forgiveness of sins are reciprocally exclusive. In the role of governor, God is not at liberty to exhibit the compassion of a father. The one is motivated or restrained by law, the other by grace; and the terms "grace" and "gracious," it has been observed once before, are not among those with which Beecher's vocabulary is so richly endowed.

III. The same air of artificiality pervades Beecher's description of the functions of the gospel. Said he, "It is the glory of the Gospel that it upholds the moral law and moral government of God".... "He sent his Son to vindicate and establish this law, to redeem mankind from the curse and to bring them back to the obedience of the same law from which they had revolted."

All this sounds quite different from Jesus' declaration of the good news of the gospel: "The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, because he hath anointed me to preach the gospel to the poor; he hath sent me to heal the broken-hearted, to preach deliverance to the captives, and recovering of sight to the blind, to set at liberty them that are bruised, to preach the acceptable year of the Lord." (Luke IV, 18-19)

One naturally gathers from the governmental interpretation of the gospel that the primary purpose of God is to sustain and administer a system of jurisprudence, the matter of saving souls being merely incidental to the system. The warning of John McLeod Campbell at this point is apropos. Said he, "Let us take the warning given, not 'to keep the divine jurisprudence out of sight;' but let us guard also against awakenings
which do not reach to the depths of a man's being; neither prepare for that Gospel which comes from the depths of the heart of the Father. It must ever be remembered, that, while the Gospel recognises the law, and honours the law, it raises us above the law; while, as to the very point of these two characters of God, viz., the Lawgiver and the Father, we know that it is only by the revelation of the Father that God succeeds in realising the will of the Lawgiver in men. How much more can He thus alone realise the longings of the Father's heart!" 

IV. The doctrine of the atonement as taught by Lyman Beecher bears the watermark, "Grotian," in common with all the other modifications of the "governmental", or "rectoral" theory as set forth by Hugo Grotius in his famous treatise, "A DEFENCE OF THE CATHOLIC FAITH CONCERNING THE SATISFACTION OF CHRIST, AGAINST FAUSTUS SOCINUS," published in Leyden in 1617. A comparison of the doctrinal statements of Grotius and Beecher will indicate the kinship of the two themes. Grotius maintained that "THE CATHOLIC DOCTRINE, therefore, is as follows:

"God was moved by his own goodness to bestow distinguished blessings upon us. But since our sins, which deserved punishment, were an obstacle to this, he determined that Christ, being willing of his own love toward men, should, by bearing the most severe tortures, and a bloody and ignominious death, pay the penalty for our sins, in order that without prejudice to the exhibition of the divine justice, we might be liberated, upon the intervention of a true faith, from the punishment of eternal death."

Beecher summarised the doctrine in the following manner:

"The Atonement, received by faith, places the subject in such relations to Christ, as that public justice does not demand his punishment, or forbid his forgiveness and restoration to favor; it opens wide the channel which sin had obstructed, for his mercy to flow in; and God, who has no pleasure in the death of him that dieth, — who never punishes

merely because it is deserved, but always only because the public good demands it, — now, released from the public necessity of punishment, in the exercise of mercy, through the Atonement, freely pardons the believer, and receives him into favor."

It will be observed that the ideas which are common to both of these statements, and which identify the theory of the atonement which they both represent as "governmental," or "rectoral" are: first, that God is considered as a ruler; second, that the character of his government is derived from his own benevolent character; and third, that the sufferings of Christ served as a penal example. This is the body of doctrine to which Professor Foster referred when he spoke of it in connexion with the ethical root of the New England system of theology. Said he, "The Grotian theory is the only theory of the atonement which fits this idea (of love to every creature according to its worth) in combination with the idea of the freedom of the will." It is the same doctrine which Beecher declared to be "the great fundamental theme of theology because it teaches all the principles of moral government."

A. The artificial form and opportunist character of the governmental theory of the atonement is at once apparent. It is a legal device or scheme invented to meet a given situation — something created to fit into a pre-constructed system. Its language is that of the law court, written in technical legal terminology, setting forth the requirements of the law with reference to a transaction about to be entered into, and enumerating the terms in the form of an advocate's brief. God is presented in the characters and offices of "Lawgiver" and "Ruler." Jesus' conception of God — the father who is moved with compassion towards his lost children, is thereby wholly eclipsed by the idea of God as "governor" who is moved by

justice tempered with benevolence. The use of such terminology with reference to God and what he did for sinful men in and through Jesus Christ is ill-suited to the burden of interpreting and expressing the experience of the forgiven soul with which God has dealt graciously. The language of the soul is of such a nature as conveys a correspondence between that which is present in the heart of God toward the sinner and that which takes place in the heart of the redeemed child toward God. The language of jurisprudence is not sufficiently rich to express that divine-human correspondence.

3. More serious than the character of the language used to describe the governmental theory of the atonement, are the implications of the theory which reflect upon the character of God. If it is true that, according to Beecher, "the design of the atonement was to maintain and perpetuate the government of the universe by moral law, and to sustain law while a dispensation of mercy was introduced to save a vast multitude of the fallen race," then the question arises: Is it not possible for God to be merciful while he is just? Likewise, if it is true that the Gospel system is merely an episode in moral government and not a "permanent arrangement," and "all that the atonement proposes to do is to suspend the operation of law for a time," one is led to inquire: How can God be sovereign in will and in purpose in a government where the moral law is suspended for any reason whatsoever? If justice is intercepted by mercy, what becomes of the immutable righteousness of God under such conditions?

Again, if it is true that God "never punishes sin merely because it is deserved, but always only because the public good demands it," does that mean that God's attitude toward the nature of sin has changed during the dispensation of mercy? In all of these conditions it is apparent that Beecher conceives God's sovereignty and governmental administration as
arbitrary acts: and "an arbitrary act," declared John McLeod Campbell, "does not reveal character." God's righteousness is altered, seemingly, in degree as one of his attributes dominates or displaces another. In that case God is not moved to act at all times in unison with his entire being; since his attributes, apparently, do not co-exist in harmony with each other.

C. Pressing the matter still further, the administration of punishment for any other reason than that it is deserved is not only unjust but immoral. Punishment must be retributive if it is to gain respect or produce righteousness. Therefore, punishment for the purpose of making a public demonstration, as a penal example designed to deter men from their sins by frightening them into righteousness, is unjust and produces demoralising effects both in the offender and in the onlooker. By the same token, sin which remains unpunished produces the same demoralising effect both in the offender and in the offended party, or community.

D. The sharp distinction drawn between "distributive" justice and "public" justice -- a characteristic of all forms of the governmental theory of the atonement, sets up a conflict and assumes absolute justice to be a myth. "But, surely, rectoral or public justice," to quote Dr. McLeod Campbell again, "if it is to have any moral basis -- any basis other than expediency -- must rest upon, and refer to, distributive or absolute justice...... Rectoral justice so presupposes absolute justice, and so throws the mind back on that absolute justice, that the idea of an atonement that will satisfy the one, though it might not the other, must be a delusion." According to Beecher's theory, the justice of God pertains only to "public" justice. Here again is an impingement upon the integrity of God's character. If justice is an attribute of the Almighty, does not his

2 Ibid., pp. 68-69.
justice characterise his attitude and conduct in all places and under all conditions? Can God uphold justice with respect to the universe and fail to deal justly with individuals?

More than that, the analogy of rectoral justice as applied to God places him in a false relation with humanity. It has nothing in common with the analogy of parental justice, for example. By no conceivable stretch of the imagination could it be made to harmonise with the justice of God who in Jesus Christ leaves the ninety and nine in the wilderness and goes out after the one lost child until he finds it.

E. Finally, as to the nature of the atonement, Beecher is silent. What it is that Christ suffered; how it is that the death of Christ justifies the sinner; how the atonement makes it possible for God to forgive the sinner; or how the sinner is saved in consequence of what Christ did — all these vital inquiries are left unanswered. The words of Professor Stevens used to describe the governmental theory of Grotius are applicable also to Beecher's exposition. Said he, "It has almost nothing to say of the ethical aspects of salvation. The exposition is a juridical dialectic, portraying a kind of apparatus hanging between heaven and earth. It is difficult to clothe it with the character of reality."

V. The question must now be asked: What were the vital principles to which Beecher was endeavouring to give expression; or, what were the eternal truths to which he gave confirmation in his views on the atonement?

A. Beecher possessed a profound sense of the awfulness of sin in its power to separate transgressors from the full benefits of the mercies of God. Added to that he was greatly impressed by the realisation that the gift of forgiveness was neither cheap nor insignificant. To the contrary, the cost of forgiveness is such that it demands the suspension of all the

laws of reason and justice for its bestowal. Since it is the nature of sin to generate rebellion toward God and defiance toward the moral law, forgiveness, in order to be productive of righteousness, must inflict a wrench upon the entire moral universe. Forgiveness is something which transcends law and is contrary to law, something which the law cannot bestow. Herein is the spirit of God triumphant over the reign of law. "For what the law could not do, in that it was weak through the flesh, God sending his own Son in the likeness of sinful flesh, and for sin, condemned sin in the flesh: that the righteousness of the law might be fulfilled in us, who walk not after the flesh, but after the Spirit." (Romans VIII, 3-4).

B. Similarly, while the act of sin is committed by the individual, its consequences are universal; "for none of us liveth to himself, and no man dieth to himself." (Romans XIV, 7). The moral government theory of the atonement keeps alive with burning conviction the obligation of the individual to live with the best interests of the common good constantly in view. It presents the never-to-be-forgotten spectacle of the innocent, suffering on account of the sins of the wicked. More than that, there is present the Christian ideal of sacrificial suffering and dying for the good of the community. In the words of Principal Denny, written with reference to the theory of Grotius, Beecher's theory "directed attention to the effect of Christ's work on men as well as on God -- to the new life, as well as to the maintenance of God's honour or the satisfaction of His law. It helped to remove the ban of individualism, and to revive the idea of the Kingdom of God by its emphasis on the idea of a common good."

C. If there is one aspect of the atonement more than another which stands out pre-eminently in Beecher's doctrine of the atonement, it is its universal invitation. Herein lies the motivating power which drove him to

phenomenal revivalistic activities through his life-time. The conviction, that the salvation wrought by the atonement is for sinners everywhere, constrained him to devise ways and means for the evangelisation of the whole world. Since God in his proffers of salvation includes all men, the burden of responsibility for their redemption rests with them. Nothing but a perverted will can stand between their perversity and the acceptance of God's merciful overtures. Because that is true, Beecher rested neither day nor night without the terrific weight of responsibility bearing heavily upon his consciousness, that as an ambassador in God's moral government, he was commissioned to overcome the obstinacy and stupidity of transgressors and leave them wholly without excuse for their rebellious persistence in sin.

D. While Beecher affirms that the governmental theory of the atonement rests upon the basis of faith, at no point in his exposition does he state explicitly what the nature of that faith really is or just how it operates. Faith as a gift of God graciously bestowed upon the human heart, calling forth a response in the nature of a recognition of sonship to God and of a realisation of eternal fellowship with him, made possible by the redeeming work of the Son -- all this and much more is left to conjecture.

Through the mists and clouds of misconception and misapprehension, there shine rays of light -- fore-gleams of a fuller revelation of the Father in the sacrificial death of his Son. Through the shadows cast by the unnaturalness of the governmental theory of the atonement, there shines upon the consciousness of Beecher the realisation that the riches of God's goodness are apprehended in his provision of a Redeemer, -- "and with such a sacrifice of feeling to himself and to his Son as must be implied in giving him up to suffering and to death, that we might be
delivered from shame, and live forever." It remained for Horace Bushnell, a generation later, to receive the fuller revelation and to realise more profoundly the unspeakable cost to the Father with which the work of redemption was consummated in the person of his Son.

Meanwhile, with Dr. McLeod Campbell, "we should be thankful for the power which the atonement has over men's spirits, even when only partially understood and in part misconceived of, and thankful that justification, adoption, and sanctification are recognised in men's systems, though the relation in which these stand to the atonement be artificial rather than natural, yet should we feel it desirable to attain, if it may be, to that fuller apprehension of the great work of God in Christ which will render it to us a full-orbed revelation of God, and a manifestation, not of the rectitude of the moral Governor of the universe merely, but of the heart of the eternal Father, — connecting itself naturally with our justification, adoption, and sanctification, and all that pertains to our participation in the eternal life which is the gift of the Father in the Son."

VI. The "utilitarian" character of Beecher's theology has already been commented upon in Chapter III, in connexion with the "system of duties" propounded by his teacher, Timothy Dwight. Beecher was undoubtedly familiar also with Paley's famous definition of virtue: "the doing good to mankind, in obedience to the will of God, and for the sake of everlasting happiness."

It is interesting to note in passing that, according to Beecher, the promotion of happiness is "the chief end of all of God's decrees."

Moreover, if God created all things for the manifestation of his glory, "it was to exhibit the eternal and unbounded excellence of his attributes by a practical display of them in creating and governing a universe and conferring upon it the highest degree of happiness possible."

Since the decrees of God refer primarily to what God does, and the chief end of his decrees is the promotion of happiness, happiness must be the goal toward which God is striving. Said Beecher, in his "SERMON DELIVERED IN THE NORTH PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN HARTFORD (CONNECTICUT), MAY 20, 1813," on the evening subsequent to the formation of the "Connecticut Society for the Promotion of Good Morals:"

"Happiness is the important thing in the universe of God. It is the lawful object of desire to all rational beings. It is the great object upon which the benevolent desires of the Almighty mind terminate. It is the thing which God commands us to seek, both for ourselves and for others. To be happy as we can be, and to communicate as much happiness as we are able, is the chief end of men."

Here there seems to be a false note. No one will deny that there is immeasurable comfort and assurance in the thought that God performs his every act with reference to the greatest happiness of the greatest number. Nor will any one contradict the ideal that in human relations the happiness and well-being of others is the noblest standard by which one may govern his conduct, regardless of how much or how little happiness his conduct will bring in return. But is not genuine happiness a gift of God? Is it not true that as a gift of God it is dependent neither upon time nor circumstances? If not, how does it happen that happiness as a goal of human endeavor is seldom, if ever, realised? Or, how does it happen that those who have the most to make them happy are often times the most wretched, while those who have the most to make them miserable are frequently the most happy?

In a word, happiness is the accompaniment of faith in the goodness and
love of God. As a goal for human activity it is not only unworthy, but futile. To ascribe to God that which is not worthy as a goal for human beings, as being the chief end of all of God’s decrees, is untruthful. Whatever God does with reference to humanity is in accordance with his own character as good. People who love God for what he is, regardless of any thought for their own happiness, have already received happiness as a gift of God’s grace. "There is the truth that the good must be pleasant, otherwise it cannot be an object of desire. The nature of the good is not pleasure, and yet pleasure is a result and accompaniment of the good. 'Man’s chief end is to glorify God,' but those who glorify God will experience pleasure in the highest degree. They 'enjoy him forever.' And the glorifying of God involves the promotion of the well-being of humanity, which is not inconsistent with the promotion of pleasure."

Ultimately the goal of the Almighty and the goal of humanity must be one and the same. There can be no conflict or inconsistency between the two; and just so sure as man makes it his chief end "to glorify God," just so sure will he come to know in his own experience the happiness of being able "to enjoy Him forever."

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VI

THE MORAL AGENCY OF MAN

The subjects of the Moral Government of God are moral agents. As such, they are also free agents; since the term "moral" is used to distinguish voluntary conduct from involuntary action. Free moral agents are accordingly accountable agents, — deserving of praise or blame, rewards or punishments. The moral agency of man, therefore, presupposes his freedom as a moral agent and his accountability as a free agent.

21. MORAL AGENCY—"All the glory of God, in his Law and Gospel, and all the eternal manifestations of glory to principalities and powers in heavenly places, depend wholly upon the fact, that men, though living under the government of God, and controlled according to his pleasure, are still entirely free, and accountable for all the deeds done in the body." 1)

That which makes a moral agent accountable is the fact that he is a free agent. The constitutional powers of a free agent, including the possibility of their correct exercise in obedience, are essential to moral obligation and accountability.

22. FREE AGENCY—"Men are free agents, in the possession of such faculties, and placed in such circumstances, as render it practicable for them to do whatever God requires, reasonable that he should require it, and fit that he should inflict literally the entire penalty of disobedience. Such ability is here intended as lays a perfect foundation for government by law, and for rewards and punishments according to deeds." 2)

3) It is consistent with free agency:

1 That there should be a time when the first accountable action
takes place;

II. That this time should not be known or forgotten by the subject;

III. That the first and all succeeding actions should be right;

IV. That the first and every succeeding action should be wrong;

V. That those who begin to act right should change and act wrong;

VI. That one should change from a wrong to a right course of action;

VII. That the subject should sustain a mixed character, — part right and part wrong, (not that any specific action is part holy and part unholy;)

VIII. That constitutional liabilities or the consequences of habit do not annihilate the power of change;

IX. That men may see the better way and choose the worse; and

X. That free agency does not consist in the wisdom of choice, but in the power to choose between alternatives.

There must be a free agent before there can be an accountable agent.

23. ACCOUNTABLE AGENCY—"Accountable agency consists in the action of mind which is voluntary; (or,) choice in view of motives, with the power of deciding differently." 1)

The fact that mind cannot be held accountable for that which is in no way under its control, is self-evident. The prerequisites to accountability in moral agents are: (1) understanding, to perceive the rule of action; (2) conscience, to feel moral obligation; (3) the power of choice, in the view of motives. These properties of mind constitute the foundation of accountability.

FREE AGENCY

3)

"I commence with the subject of Free Agency, or the Natural Ability

1 Loc. cit., Lecture Thirty.
2 Cf., Paragraph #12, Chapter V, p. 163.

These paragraphs constitute the opening of the argument in Beecher's defence at his trial before the Presbytery of Cincinnati.
of Man, as the foundation of obligation and moral government.

"I begin with this first because, ..... it is 'the hinge of the whole controversy.' ..... It is the different theories of free agency and accountability which have, in all ages, agitated the Church. There is not a discussion about doctrine, at this time, in the Presbyterian Church, which does not originate in discrepant opinions respecting the created constitutional powers of man as a free agent, and the grounds of moral obligation and personal accountability. Settle the philosophy of free agency, — what are the powers of a free agent, — how they are put together, and how they operate in personal accountable action, — and controversy among all the friends of Christ will cease.'

24. NATURAL ABILITY—"The constitutional powers of a free agent, including the possibility of their correct exercise in obedience, are necessary to moral obligation, and to reward and punishment, under the benevolent, wise, and just government of God." 1)

By NATURAL INABILITY is understood the "fact that an agent, though ever so willing, cannot do his duty, from defect of capacity." Ability of some kind or degree is certainly indispensable to a personal accountability to law. Some possibility of obedience in man is essential to personal obligation and to the administration of rewards and punishments. Accountability for personal transgression presupposes the existence of some ability to refuse the evil and choose the good. In the faculties and powers of a free agent there must exist the possibility of right action. There must be in free agency that which qualifies the agent to act as he is required to act -- something which qualifies him for obedience. The evil which befell the race in consequence of the sin of its common ancestor, and in consequence of our relation to him as "our federal head," in no way destroyed the power of the soul to choose life or death in the view of motives, -- it being the natural ability of man to obey the Gospel. "The fall perverted, but did not destroy, the free agency of man. It perverted

2 Ibid., Vol. III, p. 287.
the use of his powers in action, but did not destroy the existence of those powers which distinguish man as a subject of moral government from animals, and which lie at the foundation of all obligation."

While the powers of a free agent must be commensurate with accountability, actual obedience is not essential to free agency, nor does free agency secure in fallen man any degree of obedience without the special influence of the Holy Spirit. This bias to sin does not act coercively, thereby creating a fatal and irresistible necessity of sinning; rather does it bear toward inability to obey, the same certainty of result as that which is borne toward effect by cause in the realm of nature. Accordingly, man is an accountable agent because he is naturally able to obey the commands of God as a free agent; he is a sinner because he is morally unable to obey.

25. MORAL INABILITY—"By moral inability, the fact (is understood) that his capacity as an agent renders possible and makes obligatory the performance of duty, so that it is prevented only by an existing contrary choice, an obstinate refusal, including in the term not only single consecutive volitions, but that general and abiding decision of the mind for God or against him." 2)

It is called "MORAL INABILITY" because it indicates that the natural bias of human nature toward evil, "though wrong, as securing wrong action with unfailing certainty, it does so not by a fatal necessity of sinning, but by an unnecessary, unreasonable, inexcusable aversion of the soul to God and his reasonable service." The soul is so exempt from the laws of a natural necessity that it is never forced to choose wrong; since there exists in every case, the possibility of making a different, or contrary choice. Created self-existing agents do not act independently of God; for

2 Ibid., Vol. III, p. 287.
the supposition that human agency is capable of choosing the good and refusing the evil, does not imply that the mind is self-existent, but that its powers are efficacious while being upheld by the Creator. The first man had power to stand and power to fall; and that which is the essence of free agency, was the ground of his accountability. Moreover, there is apparently nothing in the nature of the fall of Adam from which to infer necessarily the destruction of the constitutional power of free agency, either in Adam or in his posterity. To the contrary, "the original powers of free agency and accountability bestowed on man, in innocency, decide that power to choose, with a power of choice to the contrary, is an essential constituent of accountability, in all his posterity."

26. CHOICE—"Choice, in its very nature, implies the possibility of a different or contrary election to that which is made. There is always an alternative to that which the mind decides on, with the conscious power of choosing either..... Choice, without the possibility of other or contrary choice, is the immemorial doctrine of fatalism." 2)

"The question of free will is not whether man chooses; this is notorious, -- none deny it; but whether his choice is free as opposed to a fatal necessity, as opposed to the laws of instinct and natural causation; whether it is the act of a mind so qualified for choice, as to decide between alternatives, uncoerced by the energy of a natural cause necessitating its effect: whether it is the act of an agent who might have abstained from the choice he made, and made one which he did not." That choice is as it is necessarily, to the exclusion of all ability of any kind to make it other than it is, cannot be admitted without abandoning the purpose of God in his government of moral agents, and going over to the very heart of fatalism. The certainty of choice in given circumstances

2 Ibid., Vol. III, pp. 222 and 225.
3 Ibid., Vol. III, p. 223.
does not determine the manner of the certainty; nor is the manner one of natural necessity without the power of contrary choice. That a free agent always chooses alike in the same circumstances affords no evidence that he has no ability of any kind to choose otherwise, or that he has to choose as he does by fatal necessity. To require a right act of the will without a competent cause of choice in mind, would be to require an effect without a cause; but the foundation of accountability is the possession of something to be accounted for -- the capacity of choice with power to the contrary.

1) ORIGINAL SIN

Under the heading of Original Sin, the nature, powers and constitution of man, his fall and its consequences upon his posterity, are comprehended.

The corporeal nature of man was created immortal; not of itself, but sustained by the power of its Creator. Sin destroyed the immortality of the body. The soul likewise was created immortal, and it continues such in spite of sin. The immortality of the soul consists not in its immunity from the forces of disintegration and annihilation; nor does it exist in any native power of its own, but in the power derived from Omnipotent Agency.

The progenitor of the race, Adam, was created holy, possessing a supreme preference for God. "Holiness consists in voluntary right action." Adam was endowed with susceptibilities which inclined toward right action. He was free to act voluntarily, however, "and, properly speaking, holiness did not exist until Adam performed right actions."

1 The substance of this section is derived chiefly from unpublished notes of Beecher's LECTURES ON SYSTEMATIC THEOLOGY." Cf. "WORKS", Vol. III, pp. 350-351.
2 Ibid.
3 Ibid.
Adam was created in the image of God; but from the time of the fall, God's image was lost to the ancestors of the race. Moreover, the "stings of a guilty conscience" drove them from the presence of their Creator.

I. What Original Sin is Not:

A. The posterity of Adam was not present either to consent to his sin, nor to act with him in his sin.

B. Since moral qualities are not transferable from one act to another, the sin of Adam and its moral qualities were not transferred to his posterity so as to become theirs. Actual sin and original sin must not be confused. "I believe in original sin as existing anterior to actual sin or any knowledge of law." 1)

C. The posterity of Adam is not guilty and liable to punishment for his sin in the same sense that he himself was. Blame without accountability cannot be just. As the consequence of his transgressions, however, the whole earth (animate and inanimate nature) was cursed, and his posterity became victims of pain and suffering.

D. Sin did not enter the physical body whence it was transfused into the soul, in accordance with the doctrines of the Gnostics and the Manicheans.

E. Sin was not an emanation from the mind of Adam to the mind of his posterity through natural generation, because: there is no evidence that the essence of mind is sinful; nor is there any evidence that mind begets mind; nor is sin transferable.

F. The sin of Adam did not create a fatal necessity to sin in subsequent generations.

G. Sinful volitions are not created by God for the use of man as punishment for the sin of Adam.

H. Behind the will there is neither the original sin of Adam nor a moral taste. There is no necessity for anything in back of the will. There was no corrupt taste in back of the will of Adam.

I. Original sin does not consist in a premature development of the appetites and passions, before the guiding influence of motives are brought into action.

J. Original sin consists not in the power of example, for neither Adam nor Cain was influenced by example.

27. **IMPUTATION**—"Imputation and Social Liability are synonymous terms. Imputation is not the imputation of sin, strictly speaking, but the evil (consequences of sin)." 1)

Children are punished for the sins of their parents in the same manner, though not in the same degree, as the posterity of Adam is punished for his sin. Neither the sin of Adam nor the sins of immediate parents place the offspring under the fatal necessity of sinning; nor do the punishments which children endure imply personal guilt, but rather the calamitous consequences to which society as a whole is liable on account of parental sins. Guilt, as applied to the posterity of Adam, in consequence of his sin, means liability to evil. The children of the race share the character of their fallen progenitor, and likewise all the deplorable consequences of his transgression.

Whether or not the constitution and character of the entire posterity of Adam would become perverted, in the beginning, depended upon the obedience or defection of Adam. He was in this respect the constituted "federal head" and representative of the race, by divine appointment. In this sense, "all mankind, descending from him by ordinary generation, sinned in him, and fell with him in his first transgression; that is, their character and destiny were decided by his deed." The effects which fell upon Adam as a punishment, fell upon his posterity as a calamity — the loss of original righteousness.

II. Epitome of Views on Original Sin:

28. **ORIGINAL SIN**—"Original sin is the effect of Adam's sin upon the constitution of his race, in consequence of his being their federal head and representative by a divine appointment or covenant." 4)

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1 Unpublished notes of "LECTURES ON SYSTEMATIC THEOLOGY,"
"Remarks on Imputation."
A. "It (original sin) consists in the perversion of those constitutional powers and susceptibilities which in Adam before the fall eventuated in actual and perfect obedience, and which in their perverted condition by the fall eventuate in actual and total depravity.

B. "It is in its nature involuntary; and yet, though certain and universal in its influence to pervert the will and affections, does neither force the will, nor by an absolute necessity of nature determine it to evil, or impair obligation, or excuse actual sin. It descends from Adam, by natural generation, through all the race.

C. "It is a bias or tendency of nature to actual sin, which baffles all motives and all influence short of Omnipotence, to prevent its eventuation in total actual depravity, or to restore the perverted will and affections to holy obedience.

D. "It is this bias to evil, the effect of the fall, which, though impaired by regeneration, is not annihilated but remains in the regenerate, — which, combined with the habits of actual sin, constitutes the law in the members warring against the law of the mind, preventing, until the soul at death is made meet for heaven, the unbiased and unperverted exercise of the will and affections in perfect accordance with the moral law.

E. "It is denominated......, and exceedingly evil and depraved nature, as being in all its tendencies and all its actual results adverse to the law: and on the ground of our alliance with Adam, our federal head, and our social liability, it results in that choice and character which deserve God's wrath and curse,....."

THE SALVATION OF INFANTS

Infants, as well as adults, are subjects of original sin. Their sin, however, in distinction from actual sin, consists in the "influence of a prevailing effectual tendency in their nature" to actual sin. The prevalent tendency is justly called a "depraved nature". Being thus depraved, infants, no more than adults, can be saved without an atonement and the special influence of the Holy Spirit in regeneration, "to overcome and remove this bias to evil of original corruption, and secure the unperverted exercise of their voluntary powers in spiritual obedience, and

ultimately be prepared for perfect conformity to the will of God in
heaven."

29. **INFANT DEPRAVITY**—"Before the era of known law and actual sin, infants
manifest a depraved action of mind, voluntary and sinful in its character
or qualities. Selfishness, self-will, malignant anger, envy, and revenge
indicate clearly their existence and action in infant minds anterior to
the knowledge of God's law." 2)

It is a singular fact that the experience of "learning to do wrong
(may be had) without any teaching; to do right only with the greatest care."
Apparently all the sinful characteristics which stigmatise adult men as
"wicked" are present in infants, in the embryo stage. These characteristics
are inconsistent with innocence; that is, "exemption from evil tendency."
Such expressions of mind, feeling, and will are, in their nature, unbenevo-
ent and malignant; and compared with the requirements of the divine law
of love, they are not only not subject to God's law, but they are contrary
to that law. In adult man, when knowledge and understanding are developed,
these same infantile actions become enmity against God, resulting in that
total depravity which makes the regenerative influence of the Holy Spirit
indispensable.

"All this, however, which is anterior to knowledge, and personal
accountability, and actual sin, comes upon them in consequence of their
federal alliance with Adam, and as the curse of the law brought on them
by his sin imputed to them."

I "The Condition of Infants Who Die in Infancy"

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3 "A SERMON TO CHILDREN," unpublished MS. deposited in the Sterling Library, Yale University.
4 Correspondence with Dr. Plummer, "AUTOBIOGRAPHY," Vol. II, p. 391.
6 Beecher's lecture on this subject included with his unpublished "LECTURES ON SYSTEMATIC THEOLOGY," is here given in toto, from the MS. notes of those lectures. The entire lecture is inserted at this point, not only (cont'd)
There is no subject upon which men feel a deeper interest than this, nor is there a subject upon which there has been more false teaching and conjecturing. Infants are saved, but not because they are holy and fit for heaven without an atonement. That was the doctrine of Pelagius. If by the term "holy" we mean love to God, infants are not holy, for infants are incapable of this; (and) if we are to understand by this term the constitutional antecedents of right and wrong action, they are not holy,—for infants are not as Adam was in their constitutional antecedents.

Infants in the Bible are called "innocents," but are never called "holy," "pure in heart," or "sinless." That the constitutional antecedents are perverted or under a bias, appears from Romans V; also from the fact that all the prominent traits of depravity,—as selfishness, anger, revenge, envy, and so forth, appear in very early age, and are developed just as soon as there is any development of character. It is true of every human being who descends through Adam, by ordinary generation, (that he) always chooses wrong; and these earliest developments of character prove conclusively that infants are unfit for heaven. We have no reason to suppose that if infants should wake up under the government of God, unchanged in another world, that they would act right.

We are not to suppose that infants are saved because through Adam they are subjected to any fatal necessity to actual sin. Such a fatal necessity would destroy accountability; and, of course, then there would be no need of a Saviour. But as true as is the fact that all the descendants of Adam do sin, so true is the fact that they are not coerced to sin.

We are not to advocate the salvation of infants on the ground that their social liabilities are so unjust and severe that God, (in order) to

(continued) because of its popular interest, but more particularly because of the fact that Beecher's thoughts on the subject of infant salvation mark a theological stage in advance of this day.
save his character, must save them. The wisdom, benevolence, and knowledge of God contradict such an idea. If it is unjust for children to suffer on account of being associated with Adam, then it was unjust for God to establish such a system. But while God disclaims the idea of punishing the child for the sins of the parent, he still upholds the doctrine of social liabilities. .... That these social liabilities do exist and that man is thrown under peculiarly unfavourable circumstances by the misconduct of those preceding him, (are facts) demonstrated not alone in the case of Adam. History, sacred and profane, and also daily experience bear unambiguous testimony to the same point.

The peculiar circumstances in which the nations whom God destroyed by flood were placed, were, in one sense, the cause of that unbridled wickedness which called down the wrath of God upon them. Wickedness had for ages previous been accumulating. Each generation born and brought up under influences strongly tending to vice, added to and augmented the wickedness of the age preceding it,—thus going on from bad to worse until their cup of iniquity was full. (So) in the destruction of Jerusalem, the intolerable vice and awful iniquity that called down the vengeance of God in so striking a manner was not wickedness which had sprung up during the existence of the generation which was thus signally destroyed. The wickedness of the Jews had been for ages augmenting more and more until it reached the final issue. This generation was influenced directly by the preceding generations and clearly shows the force and extent of social liabilities. It by no means forms an excuse,—a shield under which the guilty offender can shield himself. No necessity is laid upon him. He acts freely. The same principle (of social liability) may be carried out in reference to the children of idolatrous and heathen nations.

It is not to be supposed that the state of the infant is such as to
render the atonement unnecessary in its behalf. The result of its connexion
with Adam is such as would render (the possibility of) its introduction into
heaven unsafe, without the redeeming intervention of the atonement. Al­
though free from actual sin, it bears the marks of the curse which are
antecedents to actual sin. As they (the antecedents) are the results of
actual sin (in Adam) they cannot be removed without first the shedding
of blood.

The subjects of these (antecedents) cannot be admitted thus to heaven
because of the absolute certainty that as soon as they act they will act
wrongly. (They are) in the possession of an unsanctified nature without
any provision for (their) sanctification. We can not suppose that infants
are saved without the atonement; first, because the law forbids it. The
execution of the threat upon Adam shows that the penalty affixed to the
violation of the command was to extend to all his posterity. Second, the
influence exerted upon the intelligent universe by such an act, on the
part of God, would prohibit it. Third, because fallen man can be fitted
for heaven only through the influence of the Holy Spirit, and the Spirit
is the purchase of the atonement.

Prevalent Opinions

Pelagius and Arminius would have infants saved irrespective of the atonement.
On the ground of impurity, supralapsarians believed that there were elect
infants who were saved, and the remainder were damned. Some, revolting at
this idea, contended that infants were annihilated at death. The damnation
of infants has been embraced in no creed of a Protestant church. Some
portion of the Calvinists have gone so far as to say that the children of
pious parents dying in infancy were elect and consequently saved; but they
at the same time made no assertion respecting the remainder, but acknowl­
edged ignorance.
Evidence of the Salvation of Infants

A. The Bible nowhere asserts that infants will be damned. It nowhere draws the inference that, from the fact of their depravity, damnation will result. It nowhere asserts that the efficacy of the atonement will not be applied to them.

B. While the Bible asserts that election extends to (those) finally saved, it nowhere asserts that any will be reprobated who are not guilty of actual sin.

C. The Bible nowhere teaches the discrimination of election as applied to infants. The Bible is silent in regard to elect infants; neither is a lost infant spoken of—a significant silence.

D. All the cases of final suffering spoken of in the Bible are for actual sin. In the long catalogue of sins for which man will be excluded from heaven and confined in torment, we nowhere find Adam's sin reckoned among the number.

E. All, in relation to whom we have direct testimony that they are lost, have had previously a season of probation. Such was the case of the Angels who fell—of Adam and Eve, of all their accountable offspring since. But such is not the case (with) infants.

F. No direction has ever been given to parents or guardians as to any means to be used to secure the salvation of infants who might die before (the age of) accountability. It has been maintained by some that baptism (is) productive of such results. But the Bible makes no such assertion, and the after-conduct of those who were baptised in infancy universally shows that no such effects are produced by baptism. This doctrine is held by Catholics and the high church Episcopal.
Infant baptism has reference solely to God and the parent. It is an act of consecration by which the parent devotes the child to God and promises to bring him up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord. Its design is not to impart any mysterious efficacy to the child, but to remind the parent of his duty and covenant.

The prevalence and permanency of the gospel religion depends upon two things: first, a high standard of holiness on the part of those who profess it; and second, the fidelity of the Church in bringing up the children committed to her charge. To secure the former, the ordinance of the Lord's Supper was instituted. To secure the second, Infant Baptism was appointed. If this covenant entered into by the parent is faithfully performed, the promises on the part of God are yea and amen.

G. The representations of the Bible are that the blessings of the atonement are to extend to all the race of Adam. Nowhere, then, was (there) not been voluntary perversion. But if infants are not saved there is no sense in which infants can be said to be bettered by the atonement of Christ. It is not to be supposed that the case of their dying before responsible action should be worse than those who have committed actual sin. Adam is represented as the federal head of the human race and the results of his fall (are represented) as being felt by all the race. So Christ is represented as the head of believers, and the implication is that the results of his federalship may be felt as extensively as (those) of Adam. But such is not true in the supposition that infants are lost.

H. In Matthew XIX, 14, we have positive proof of the salvation of infants. "Suffer the little children, and forbid them not,
to come unto me, " must mean one of two things: either that they
are members of the visible church; or that they (constitute)
a part of the redeemed in heaven. The latter is undoubtedly the
true meaning and forms positive proof that infants are saved.

I have now presented eight reasons in favour of belief in Infant
Salvation, and there is no evidence to the contrary. In preaching, little
practical use can be made of the doctrine of Original Sin. I sometimes
make this appeal: if infants must have been lost without an atonement,
what must be your guilt who have added to original sin, actual sin and
have despised the atonement which has been made?

ACTUAL SIN

The time when actual sin commences—"the time when social liability
(the antecedent effect of Adam's sin) is succeeded by personal demerit for
actual transgression," is perceptible to no one save to the all-seeing
eye of God. The first actual sin in each individual "does not commence
from the womb." It is voluntary, uncoerced, inexcusable, "and might have
been and ought to have been avoided as really as any of the actual sins
which followed it." Accordingly, at whatever time personal accountability
commences," in the sight of God the sinner is a free agent," and is held
"inexcusable for his first as really as for any other actual sin."

30. ACTUAL SIN—"The evil of sin is to be sought in its own nature, and is
to be estimated by the effects it would produce if armed with power to
express itself. Considered in this point of view, it is a deliberate,
total and obstinate dissent from the government of God. As a temper of
mind, it is enmity against God, and hostility to his law, and his entire
government." 2)

Sin not only rejects God as the supreme object of affection, but it

establishes and supports "a separate, and opposite, and unworthy interest."

The temper and designs of sin are diametrically opposed to the temper and purposes of God. If one succeeds, the other fails. Sin is a "wandering star, which will not obey the impulse of the sun."

Moreover, there can be no neutrality between God and the things of the world; since it is the nature of mind to choose, if not forcibly prevented therefrom. "To prefer the world, or God, is the unavoidable result of free agency;" but from the very nature of free agency, neutrality cannot exist among accountable beings. "Where men are qualified to obey, and love is required, neutrality would be disobedience. To regard God, as compared with the creature, with indifference, would be adding insult to rebellion. But such a state of mind is impossible."

TOTAL DEPRAVITY

"All which is admirable in intellect, or monitory in conscience, or comprehensive in knowledge, or refined in taste, or delicate in sensibility, or tender in natural affection, may be found in man, as the result of constitution, or the effect of intellectual and moral culture; but religion is not found, except as a result of the divine interposition. The temple is beautiful, but it is a temple in ruin;—the divinity is departed, and the fire on the altar is extinct."

51. TOTAL DEPRAVITY—"The doctrine of the entire depravity of man is not inconsistent with free agency and accountability; for depravity is the voluntary transgression of the law, and the law is, 'Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart;' and entire depravity is the constant refusal to love, in this manner, the Lord our God."
Total Depravity is a doctrine distinct from Original Sin. The latter is the antecedent of the former, and the two are in no way identical.

There are two kinds of moral character: benevolent, and selfish. The benevolent character chooses God as the governing purpose of the soul, while the selfish character devotes its allegiance to self as the supreme object of affection. The withholding of supreme love to God constitutes total depravity, and is the cause of all subsequent acts of rebellion. It is generic, whereas its resulting offences are specific.

I. What Total Depravity is Not:

A. Total or entire depravity does not mean that everything that man possesses—such as his powers of body and mind, reason and conscience, are depraved. These may exist in a perverted state; and if so, they are in such a state through the influence of sin; but it cannot be affirmed that they are depraved.

B. Entire depravity does not mean that men are as bad as they are capable of becoming. Every sinner may go from bad to worse.

C. By entire depravity is not meant that there is in each and every individual a central power of depravity which radiates and transmits iniquity to all the faculties—a "disinterested principle" that is conducive towards evil in every possible way. Rather, depravity flows more directly in the channel of the governing purpose of the life of the individual.

D. Depravity does not mean that men are destitute of conscience, or that they perform more wrong acts than right.

E. Total depravity does not mean that a wrong
purpose* governs the soul -- a purpose which exalts self
as over against God.

II. "The Native Character of Man"

The native character of man refers not to the native constitution of
man, but to "the character which all men first form who come up to personal
action." The term "native" as applied to character, "means the character
which all men first sustain, in the exercise of their own powers, under
the perverting influence of the fall."

Religion, which is "holy love" -- supreme love to God and impartial
love to man, being the fulfilment of the divine law, "does not belong to
men by nature." It is "never a quality of his heart by natural birth, and
is the result of a special divine interposition which makes him a child of
God." Universal experience gives evidence that "all men are conscious that
they set their affections first supremely on the world, and not on God."

Sinners who have been awakened to their true condition have discovered
that they had "no true love to God, and Christians can look back to the
time when evidently they had none."

The nature of total depravity is demonstrated in the native character
of man:

A. "It consists in the want of love to God, and loving the crea-
ture more than God; in covetousness, which is idolatry, having other
gods before him.

B. "The depravity of adult man is voluntary, as opposed to a
coercive necessity of sinful choice.

C. "It is positive. Not merely the want of love to God, but
actual transgression (or rebellion) against God. Active enmity.

D. "It is great, as committed against a being of infinite

1 "WORKS," Vol. III, pp. 53-82. The two sermons written under this ti-
tle were published and included in Beecher's "Views of Theology," by request
of the Synod, at Dayton, Ohio, October 1835.
excellence—a violation of infinite obligation—against the most powerful motives in the most aggravating circumstances, and with unparalleled obstinacy of determination.

E. "The depravity of man implied in the absence of religion is entire—fallen adult man is totally depraved.

E. "It illustrates the nature and necessity of regeneration, as being the commencement of holy love to God in the soul; .... It is a change perceptible by its effects, and instantaneous in its commencement. There is a moment when he who loved the world more than God gives it up, and gives his heart to God,— a time when the METANOIA comes to pass."

CRITICAL COMMENTS—Beecher's Doctrines of Moral Agency

I. The foregoing account of Beecher's doctrines on the subject of Moral Agency is a representation of his attempt to render the Edwardian doctrine of free agency consistent with the Calvinistic doctrine of divine sovereignty, and to make them both harmonise with the Westminster Confession of Faith. In that attempt it was uppermost in his mind to remain true to the doctrine of Edwards and at the same time preserve the unity of the Churches on the important subject of the freedom of the will. The result was not altogether gratifying. First of all, he was handicapped at every step by reason of the fact that he was on the defensive. Also, his tendency to philosophise led him to establish conclusions which astonished both the "Old School" and the "New School" factions, and exposed him to the assaults of both.

One of his decisive conclusions was directed against Fatalism— that in any given case of choice, man still retains the "power of contrary choice." His frequent use of this expression, with reference to the free-
dom of the will, called forth the severe criticisms published in Dr. Joseph Harvey's, "AN EXAMINATION OF THE PELAGIAN AND ARMINIAN THEORY OF MORAL AGENCY AS RECENTLY ADVOCATED BY DR. BEECHER IN HIS 'VIEWS IN THEOLOGY,'" (1837); and Prof. Albert God's, "DR. BEECHER'S THEOLOGY," in "Princeton Review Essays," (1847). Both of these reviewers asserted that Beecher's treatment of the doctrine of the freedom of the will is at variance with Jonathan Edwards' denial of a power of contrary choice, and is in accordance with the Pelagian and Arminian writers.

In the use of the terms "power of contrary choice," Beecher was in agreement with Dr. Nathaniel W. Taylor, who, in a letter to Dr. Beecher, dated 14th January, 1819, wrote: "The first defect is his (Edwards') definition of moral agency and free will. Now I cannot but think this defect even a gross one. If language has any meaning, a free will is a will which is free, and to say that free will is a power to do as we please or as we will is saying nothing to the point." Over against the denial of the "power of contrary choice," by Edwards, Taylor was convinced that: "Moral agency implies free agency—the power of choice—the power to choose morally wrong as well as morally right under every possible influence to prevent such choice or action."

While Beecher conceded that Edwards did repudiate such a power of contrary choice, he denied that his doctrine was contradictory to the views of Edwards, and quoted him as follows: "In these things (acts of the will), to ascribe a non-performance to the want of power or ability, is not just; because the thing wanting is not a being able, but a being willing. There are faculties of mind, a capacity of nature, and everything else sufficient, but a disposition; nothing is wanting but a will."

In view of this, Beecher declared that Edwards did affirm the ability of the individual to perform acts required of the will; and stoutly maintained that, "whether Edwards calls this the power of contrary choice or not, it is all that I mean by it, and therefore, in the thing, if not in the name, I agree with Edwards."

In the above paragraphs there may be seen an instance of Beecher's attempt to reconcile Taylor with Edwards (and incidentally, the "Old School" with the "New"), by affirming his adherence to the doctrines of both. The writer is of the opinion that if the former affirms his belief in the "power of contrary choice," as being essential to moral agency, while the latter denies that there is any such power, there can be no reconciliation of such opposite views, without undue liberties of interpretation. The writer is equally doubtful if the ordinary meaning attached to the words, "power of contrary choice" can be legitimately read into the lines of Edwards quoted above.

II. A second difference between Beecher and Edwards lies in the meaning which each attaches to "liberty" as applied to the will. Edwards had asserted that "to talk of liberty or the contrary as belonging to the very will itself, is not to speak good sense." Said he: "Liberty, as I have explained it, is the power, opportunity, or advantage that any one has to do as he pleases, or conducting himself in any respect according to his pleasure; without considering how his pleasure comes to be as it is." Beecher, on the other hand, applied the name "liberty" to a power to choose right actions as well as wrong. "The question of free will," said he, "is not whether a man chooses; this is notorious—none deny it; but whether his choice is free as opposed to a fatal necessity...." In order to render

a person accountable for his deeds, it is not sufficient that his actions are voluntary, his will also must be free.

That this difference between himself and Edwards really did exist, Beecher acknowledged; but he refused to believe that it was any more than a difference in the use of terms. According to the sermons of Edwards, Beecher insisted that he used "liberty," not merely with reference to a power to act as one chooses, but to a power to determine one's choices, and to determine them aright. In that conclusion, the present writer concurs.

III. The question may now be raised: To what extent, if any at all, are the views of Beecher, Arminian and Pelagian in character? The case brought against Beecher by Dr. Harvey was constructed upon his adoption of the phrase, a "power of contrary choice." To this was added the correlate: "The question of free will is not whether a man chooses." Combining these two, 1) Harvey sets forth the formula:

"FREE AGENCY DOES NOT DEPEND ON CHOICE."
"FREE AGENCY DOES DEPEND ON A POWER OF CONTRARY CHOICE."

The writer was impressed by his observation that in both the reviews mentioned above, the fact that Beecher believed in the moral inability of man to obey the will of God was hardly mentioned. On the other hand, the doctrine of natural ability, together with the alleged heretical doctrine of the "power of contrary choice," was magnified out of truthful proportion. Dr. Harvey, for example, presents his criticism thus: "Dr. Beecher admits moral inability, but then it will appear, in the following examination, that he introduces an appendage to natural inability, as a counterbalance to this admission. This appendage is what he calls an alternative power of choice, or a power of contrary choice, the object and effect of which will be to enlarge natural ability so far as to overcome moral inability,

1 "EXAMINATION OF MORTAL AGENCY," p. 124.
or to throw a bridge of natural ability over the chasm which the orthodox have always believed to lie between the existence of natural powers of moral agency, and a disposition of heart to use them aright."

Surely, to these and similar charges, the reviewer must have noted Beecher's words of reproof and defence contained in his sermon, "DEPENDENCE AND FREE AGENCY:" "The inference is as illogical as it is unscriptural, that ability to obey the Gospel implies any such certainty of obedience as supersedes the necessity of the Holy Spirit;" or, a positive statement in his sermon, "THE NATIVE CHARACTER OF MAN:" "In short, men are ....wicked as a consequence of the fall of Adam, and religious as the consequence, and only as the consequence, of the interposition of Jesus Christ, and the renewing of the Holy Ghost."

As to the charge of Arminianism, Beecher nowhere gives evidence that he holds to the theory of the self-determining power of the will. What he did consistently advocate was his conviction that in the view of motives man was naturally able to choose the good or the evil, without compulsion in either case. The capacity for choosing is not a creation of the will, but a God-given endowment of human nature. Neither is the power to choose the right a product of the will, for the will is morally unable to choose any good. Its choices, therefore, are only evil until the gracious influence of the Holy Spirit enables the will to choose the good, in the presence of the evil. Indeed, Beecher repudiated the Arminian theories concerning the "power of contrary choice" which assume that the will is indifferent to motives down to the time of choice; that it is subject to the contingency of volitions, resulting in an absolute uncertainty of choice in the

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1 Loc. cit., "PREFACE," p. V.
3 Ibid., Vol. III, p. 65.
sense of chance; and that the will determines each choice by a preceding
act of choice.

Pelagius assumed that an act of sin has little or no tendency to
perpetuate itself, thereby forming a sinful state of the will. Beecher
maintained that the withholding of supreme love to God constitutes total
depravity, and is the cause of all subsequent acts of rebellion.
Pelagius held that there is not a radical difference between good men and
evil, but rather a graduation from the worse to the best. Beecher insisted
that there can be but two kinds of moral character: benevolent and selfish.
Pelagius maintained that the sin of Adam had no effect upon his posterity,
except by way of example. Beecher affirmed that Adam was created in the
image of God; that as such, he was the "federal head" of the race by divine
appointment; that all mankind sinned in him and fell with him; and that the
loss of original righteousness which befell Adam as a punishment, befell
the entire race as a calamity.

Pelagius asserted that the Law and Gospel was given as moral influences
to deter men from sin. Beecher declared that men break the moral law, and
nothing short of the Atonement can save transgressors from the penalty of
the law. Pelagius believed that grace consisted in the giving of truth,
precepts, admonitions, and the like, including freedom of the will.
Beecher insisted that freedom of the will is a natural endowment of the
constitution of man, and grace is a divine act, "by which God finds and
receives, regards and treats the penitent sinner as though he had never
sinned." (Unpublished Notes of Beecher's Theological Lectures).

The following paragraphs, declared by Professor Foster to be one of
the best interpretations of Augustine which have ever been given, summa-

Beecher's position with respect to the Pelagian controversy:

"Down to his time, the free and natural ability of man were held by the whole Church, against the heretical notions of a blind fate, of material depravity, and of depravity created in the substratum of the soul. The great effort, hitherto, had been to maintain the liberty or uncoerced action of the mind in choice, with the power of contrary choice. But now Pelagius arose, and denied the doctrine of the fall; and from this time it became necessary, not so much to prove natural ability, which Pelagius admitted, as to prove a moral inability, which he denied.

"The Church had now to enter upon a new controversy, and to fix her eye upon the question, What were the consequences of the fall? The question of free agency was no longer to be argued, for that was not now controverted. Both Augustine and Pelagius admitted it. The question which now exists between Dr. _____ and myself was not an issue between them. The question, indeed, turned on the same words, namely, free will—but it did not mean the same thing. The question between them was, Is the will unbiased?—is it in equilibrium? It was not, whether it was free from the necessity of fate, or the coercion of matter, or of created depravity—but the question was, Has the fall given it a bias? Has it struck it out of equilibrium, and struck the balance wrong? Pelagius said, No. Augustine said, Yes; and while, in opposition to Pelagius, he denied free will (meaning unbiased will), he was as strong in favor of free will in the other sense as any of the fathers before him; as strong as I am;—so that, if I am a Pelagian, Augustine was a Pelagian, although his whole strength was exerted against Pelagius. If what I teach is Pelagianism, then Augustine, and Calvin, and Luther, and all the best writers of the Church in this age, have been Pelagians, except the few who deny natural ability."

IV. Having compared and contrasted Beecher's views on the freedom of the will, with those of his teacher and with those of the Arminian and Pelagian advocates, there remains the task of attempting to evaluate Beecher's contribution to the theory of moral agency. It was mentioned in an earlier section that it was Beecher's purpose to rid the doctrine of the freedom of the will from any fatalistic tendencies or implications. What Edwards had done to establish the sovereignty of God, with reference to the doctrine of the will, Beecher, in the judgment of the writer, preserved, by his attempt to destroy the philosophy of fatalism.

Edwards defined "liberty" as follows: "The power, opportunity, or
advantage that any one has to do as he pleases, or conducting himself in any respect according to his pleasure; without considering how his pleasure comes to be as it is." In the opinion of Professor Stowe, the last clause annihilated all that preceded it, and gave a "servum arbitrium" in its place. The consideration of how the pleasure of men comes to be as it is, he maintained, "is the most important, the most fundamental consideration of all; especially when we are thinking of the relations between finite creatures and their infinite Creator. With this definition of liberty, Edwards' celebrated distinction between natural and moral inability is a mere illusion....."

Beecher met this objection by asserting that the moral causes or motives which produce volition, antecedent to choice, are none other than "means" operating on the will by the sovereign grace of God; "for," said he, "sovereignty consists in rescuing men without reference to legal or Moral desert; but not in doing it without means." By "means" therefore, is understood all the resources at the command of the Holy Spirit, by which the influences of God are brought to bear upon the will, -- and the will which is determined by divine agency cannot be said to be coerced by fate. In that case it is impowered to choose to the contrary, even against its native tendency or inclination.

Alas, in other cases, the will may even resist the impulses of the Spirit and choose the evil by its moral inability to choose the good. This would in no way do violence to the sovereignty of the Spirit, since it is His prerogative to work when and where, and how He pleases. At the same time, the freedom of the will is preserved in that it has chosen between two moral opposites.

2 "LETTERS OF THE REV. DR. BEECHER ON THE 'NEW MEASURES' IN CONDUCTING REVIVALS OF RELIGION," p. 86.
Moreover, the distinction is established between natural and moral inability. Man would be naturally unable to choose between right and wrong, good and evil, if his choices were determined by fate; since fate furnishes no enabling power for the human will to overcome its bias to evil. In that case, the victims of fate would be condemned both to natural and to moral inability, since moral inability cancels the capacity of natural ability for right volitions. The divine sovereignty, however, through the enabling grace of the Spirit, not only preserves the natural ability of men as free moral agents to choose between right and wrong, but it transforms moral inability, thereby supplementing natural ability.

The logical conclusion from these premises is that he who yields his will to the will of God experiences the greater degree of the freedom of the will. Since the greatest deterrent to volition is a moral inability, the sovereign will of God overcomes the barriers of moral impotency and transforms them into full and complete freedom of will, by enabling the otherwise biased will to choose contrary to its evil tendencies and inclinations.

V. In the introductory chapter, page 55, reference was made to the fact that among the New England theologians who were responsible for modifying the orthodox views regarding children dying in infancy, Lyman Beecher stood foremost as an advocate of the broader view that, "all infants are saved by the grace of Christ through the wonderful efficacy of the Spirit."

While this was considered to be a departure from the traditional doctrines, it was his careful distinction between "original sin" and "actual sin," together with his insistence upon the elements of free agency constituting accountable agency, which induced the Church to re-think the doctrinal problems of infant election and infant damnation. The conclusions of the Congregational and Presbyterian churches in the United States, on
these great mysteries, are beautifully crystallised and set forth in permanent documentary form in a "DECLARATORY STATEMENT," to the Constitution of the Presbyterian Church in the United States, adopted 1902-1903:

"Second, With reference to Chapter A, Section 3, of the Confession of Faith, that it is not to be regarded as teaching that any who die in infancy are lost. We believe that all dying in infancy are included in the election of grace, and are regenerated and saved by Christ through the Spirit, who works when and where and how He pleases."
THE HOLY SPIRIT AND THE MEANS OF GRACE

"The doctrine of the Trinity pours upon the world a flood of light. The peculiar mode of the divine existence lies at the foundation of the plan of redemption, as unfolded in the Bible; and brings to view, as a motive to obedience, an activity of benevolence on the part of God, a strength of compassion, a depth of condescension, and a profusion of mercy and grace in alliance with justice and truth, which no other exhibition of the mode of the divine existence can give."

32. TRINITY—"The God of the universe has revealed himself to us as existing in three persons—the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost—possessing distinct and equal attributes, and in some unrevealed manner, so united, as to constitute one God." 2)

Revelation gives evidence that there is but one God, who is self-existent. It further shows that in the "comprehensive substance of this self-existent being," three real, divine persons—equal in their character and attributes, are "sustained and developed by the eternal essence." Between the divine personalities of the Trinity, there exists "intelligent social communion, mutual plans, and distinct official agencies in the work of redemption." Tripersonality of the Godhead is developed in the system of clemency; in which system an atonement is provided, while at the same time the sanctity of the moral law is upheld. "The three persons are represented as consulting together in relation to a remedial system; the Father occupying

3 "WORKS," Vol. II, p. 172
the station of guardian of the law; the Son as providing for an atonement; and the Spirit applying the provision made by the Son."

It is the doctrine of the Trinity that there are three persons united in one essence, and that in the plan of redemption the tripersonality of God has been revealed. The manner in which these three persons are thus united, however, is not revealed. With respect to God the Father, his divinity is known by the divine character of his works. By the same evidence the divine character of Jesus Christ is made manifest. As Jehovah of the Old Testament, Jesus Christ was he by whom the works of creation took place. He was subordinate to the Father, in that he was sent by him. The same is true with regard to the Spirit; and as the Son is subordinate to the Father, so the Spirit is subordinate to the Son.

2) Things Pertaining to the Trinity Which Are Known to be Certain

I. "There are three persons in the Godhead existing in one essence.

II. "These three persons occupy different spheres as to official capacity. The Father (is) the guardian of the law. The Son assumes a sphere subordinate to the Father; so that he is said to be sent by the Father, and God is said to have made the worlds by him. (The) Spirit is subordinate to the Son.

III. "Christ being the creator and preserver and administrator of all things affords the only standing evidence of the Father. As the works of creation, and so forth, testify to the existence of the original creator who is revealed to be Christ, we could know of the existence and official capacity of the Father only as (he is) revealed by the Son.

IV. "The acting Divinity of the Jews -- the Angel so frequently spoken of in the Old Testament -- the captain of the Lord's hosts was Jesus Christ.

V. "The existence of three persons in the Godhead is clearly implied in (the) Old Testament, though not as clearly revealed as in the New Testament. When the three persons are spoken of in (the) Old Testament they are so spoken of as represents them (as) acting, each in his sphere, without encroachment.

VI. "When occasion demands it the Father interposes and performs what properly belongs to the official capacity of the Son. (e.g. "The Trans-

1 Unpublished Notes of "LECTURES ON SYSTEMATIC THEOLOGY," "The Atonement."
2 Ibid., "The Trinity," Lecture Twenty-Six.
VII "The Father never interposes as to destroy the evidence that creation, preservation, providence and government of (the) church and (the) world comes (within) the sphere of Christ's official capacity."

Jesus Christ is the "acting divinity of the universe." Throughout the Scriptures the attributes, works, and worship ascribed to God, are also ascribed to His Son. In the moral government of the Father, the law and likewise the Gospel with its remedial influence are in the hands of Jesus Christ, the Mediator. Hence, the dominion of God's Son—and likewise the dependence of man upon him for ability to do anything, is universal and entire. Men are dependent upon Jesus Christ, both as creatures and as sinners. By His creative capacity, man is endowed with natural ability—"under the guidance and influence of the government of God—to choose the good and refuse the evil." Upon Him are men dependent for the successful application of their natural powers. "He who creates the endowments of man puts them into ample requisition, or sends them into relative obscurity."

As sinners, the condition of men is hopeless without Christ. For that divine influence which sustains the moral law of God, and at the same time opens the door of mercy to a lost world, men are dependent upon the mediatorial work of the Son of God. "Direct forgiveness of sin, on condition of repentance, is impossible, upon principles of law. To make an atonement, was what man could not do; and to save without an atonement, was 'what the law could not do.'"

Moreover, sinners are dependent upon Christ for a willingness to do anything for the salvation of their own souls. Their dependence is occasioned, not by any constitutional defect which renders evangelical obedience a nat-

ural impossibility, or which destroys the power of free agency and accountability; but while these endowments remain "wholly perverted, and hopeless of recovery without the grace of God," they are neither annihilated nor are they impaired in respect to "their competency to create perfect obligation," and to sustain entire accountability. The moral dependence upon Christ is the dependence occasioned by deficient character as sinners—the obstinate perversion of their powers as free agents. This kind of dependence originates in the "obliquity of the will," and meets and baffles unaided efforts at every step in the attempt to persuade men to be reconciled to God.

Perverted mind once ruined never recovers itself. "The way of man is not in himself. Wise is he to do evil, but to do good he has no knowledge. The main-spring of the soul for holy action is gone, and divine influence is the only substitute. It is the sinner's duty to repent, but he refuses. It is his duty to come to Christ, but he will not." Indeed, men are as dependent upon Christ for the continuance and consummation of holiness as they are for its beginning. Once the heart is renewed, it possesses no self-preserving energy of its own creation. It is not only possible that the saint left to himself, apart from the preservation of Christ, may fall, but it is certain that he will fall.

**IMMEDIATE REPENTANCE**

The duty of man to love God is a duty of the highest obligation, the violation of which constitutes a criminal offence of the highest order. "The Being who demands love is worthy; the beings of whom he demands it are able to love; and the affections of his creatures belong to HIM. He claims

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them as his right, and declares that he is robbed when they are withheld. The highest good of his subjects, for time and eternity, is found in giving their hearts to HIMSELF; and ruin is the consequence of refusal. The obligation to love according to the law is, therefore, superlatively great. It is also constant; so that the sinfulness of man is great in its nature and great in its amount, for it is the violation, constantly, of the highest possible obligation."

When the character of man is considered as entirely depraved, when the cold, selfish heart is consulted, or when the requisitions of the law and Gospel and their exposition by the apostles are read, it is evident that "if God does not demand immediate spiritual obedience, he does not demand anything." Nor can there be any conceivable conflict or inconsistency between the doctrine of dependency upon the sovereign grade of God, and the doctrine of man's free agency and accountability. "God commands the sinner to obey the Gospel; and the sinner, thoroughly furnished with all the powers and means of moral agency, refuses to obey." By his refusal to obey the divine command, the sinner is accountable for his impenitence, "because he is able and only unwilling to do what God commands... Indeed, to be able and unwilling to obey God is the only possible way in which a free agent can become deserving of condemnation and punishment. So long as he is able and willing to obey, there can be no sin; and the moment the ability of obedience ceases, the commission of sin becomes impossible."

4 Ibid., "WORKS," Vol. III, pp. 22 and 23. Upon the force of these passages Beecher was charged with heresy before the Presbytery of Cincinnati.
Furthermore, "There is no position which unites more universally and entirely the suffrages of the whole human race than the necessity of a capacity for obedience to the existence of obligation, and to the desert of punishment for non-obedience."

The Scriptures ascribe to man some kind of inability to obey the requirements of the Gospel; but it is an "impotency of will by reason of sin," and not a natural, or constitutional inability. The bondage of the will, the necessity of sinning, and the impossibility of man's being able to save himself apart from grace, mean according to the Reformers, "that certainty of continuance in sin which arises from a perverted free agency, and not from any natural impossibility." Edwards maintained that the natural capacity of man as a free agent is commensurate with the divine requirements. Man's inability to render evangelical obedience is a moral inability,—"only the opposition of a contrary choice," which prevents a right choice in every instance. However, this moral inability—resulting in persistent disobedience, constitutes no excuse for continuance in sin; "and the preaching of immediate repentance and faith, as growing out of them (the doctrines of free agency) has been the practical course in the great and repeated and augmenting revivals of our land."

Finally, it must be added that the natural ability of every sinner to comply with the terms of salvation, together with the moral inability—or impotency of the will, resulting in a voluntary and obstinate perversion of free agency, constitutes the grounds of the indispensableness of the interposition of the Holy Spirit and the provision of the means of grace.

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1 Loc. cit., "WORKS," Vol. III, pp. 22 and 23. Upon the force of these passages Beecher was charged with heresy before the Presbytery of Cincinnati.
The Holy Spirit--"It is called the Holy Spirit, not by way of any preeminent personal excellence, but as the divine agent to whom is committed the work of commencing and perfecting holiness in the hearts of men." 1)

The sinner is dependent upon the Holy Ghost (Spirit) by reason of his wilful refusal to accept the proffers of the atonement. It is this voluntary and obstinate rejection of the atonement, made in his behalf, which "renders the Holy Spirit indispensable to his salvation." 2)

The work of the Holy Spirit is, therefore, wholly remedial. When the Spirit comes to convince the impenitent of his sin, "He finds only the will perverted, and obstinately persisting in its sinful choice." 3) All that He accomplishes in the sinner is to make him willing to render obedience to the command of God, because the change which is commanded is a change in the will. Disobedience, resulting in alienation from God, is the crime charged against the sinner; immediate repentance, resulting in reconciliation to God, is the requirement demanded of the sinner. Accordingly, the means employed to effect the remedy and to produce the change of will are moral: the Law; the Gospel; the Scriptures; the Atonement; the Church; the Word; Prayer.

All those moral influences, and more, are the means through which the Holy Spirit effects the change known as REGENERATION, in the perverted free agency of men; thus enabling the obstinate will to render immediate repentance.

REGENERATION

34. REGENERATION--"Regeneration is a radical change of the affections

3 Ibid., Vol. III, p. 31.
of the heart, or the commencement of holiness in the soul." "In regeneration, the chief end of man is changed from the love of the creature supremely, to the supreme love of God." 1

The change produced in the constitution of man by the fall, resulted in the creation of an "universal and prevalent propensity to actual sin," and a "bias which neutralizes the power of truth and motives to reconcile men to God." Through the special influence of the Holy Spirit in regeneration, man's evil inclinations are overcome by a moral change; and they remain impaired in the regenerate until they are completely removed by the Spirit, in the process of sanctification.

I. The Nature of Regeneration.

In the act of regeneration a change is effected in respect to man's chief end. The change thus brought about is a moral change, and not a physical transformation. Whereas, prior to that experience, the affections of the unregenerate man were centered upon himself and worldly interests; now, through the enabling grace of the Holy Spirit the regenerate person centers his affections upon God and the affairs of his Kingdom. The subject of the change is a new creature. There has been "no change in the powers of mind which constitutes free agency and accountability;" but the change which resulted in the formation of a new character, took place through voluntary action.

It is not to be understood that the regenerated creature has become perfect, or that the change has been completed at once; "but it does mean that there is a universal change in all the moral elements of his character." The love which is centered upon God supremely, and upon men impartially, "is the love in quality, though not in degree," which the law requires.

3 From an Unpublished "SERMON ON REGENERATION," the MS. of which is deposited in Sterling Library, Yale University. 4 Ibid., Unpublished MS.
toward God and one's neighbours. Manifesting itself as it does in the soul in all religious and social relationships, it becomes the soul's \(1\) "spring of action."

The effects of the divine interposition of the Holy Spirit are instantaneous. From the very nature of the case, this must be so; for, as all men are destitute of religion by nature, "its commencement in the soul is at all times sudden. There is a moment when he who loved the world more than God begins to love God more than the world." To speak of love, or of any of the other Christian graces, as in the process of gradual formation is an absurdity. There can be no halfway stage between love and hate, penitence and rebellion, faith and infidelity. These are positive states of mind which admit of no progressive stages.

It is true that the experience of the impenitent sinner, preceding regeneration, may be one of progressive development towards surrender, as the means of grace are brought to bear upon his consciousness in the growth of seriousness, solicitude, and conviction. Likewise, the subsequent increase in holiness and piety is a series of progressive stages. But regeneration itself is an experience of crisis — sudden and instantaneous.

Nor is the difference between the instantaneous and the so-called "progressive" conceptions of regeneration a difference of metaphysical subtlety, merely. The vastness of the distinction between the two is measured only by the results produced. "Progressive regeneration" falsely presupposes some principle of virtue residing in the natural man "which needs only cultivation to bring it up to the maturity of holiness."

Holiness itself is accordingly associated with some sort of "nondescript, mystical goodness, which grows imperceptibly under culture, as the harvest

1 Loc. cit., Unpublished MS.
Virtues are legitimised as efficacious to salvation, thus establishing spurious grounds of hope. Moreover, "progressive regeneration" creates a spirit of self-righteousness and self-complacency, thereby producing an attitude of hostility toward the Biblical teachings concerning man's total depravity and the absolute necessity of a radical change of character. The ultimate effect of such a conception of regeneration is to arouse virulent prejudice and violent hostility, not only towards the doctrines of the Bible, but against the truths of revelation itself. The inevitable result is sure to follow: a society wherein scepticism and infidelity is rampant.

Regeneration is not only instantaneous by nature, but it is likewise perceptible. Its operations are at all times and in all circumstances matters of consciousness, and the evidence of its existence is felt by the entire personality. This does not mean that in every case the Christian perceives the time or the occasion when the transition actually takes place; nor does it mean that having perceived that a change of some description has taken place, the regenerated soul perceives immediately the evidence that the transition is one of actual regeneration. "But that the change is real, and great, and instantaneous, when a sinner, who has loved the world supremely, first sets his affections on things above, is self-evident." The idea of unperceived affection for God, if such a state were possible, would be just as ridiculous as being in love with husband or wife, parent or child, without realising the powers of affection.

All of the changes which are brought about in consequence of the changed heart cannot be noted, but it is certain that many of them are "matters of reality in human experience..... One of the most prominent and important evidences of a change is faith in Christ,— the {ending} of

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self-reliance, (and the beginning of) a new and affectionate reliance on him, and (the) consecration to him of soul and body for time and eternity."

35. FAITH--"Faith implies a change of character, and is the gift of God."

II The Efficient Cause of Regeneration.

The efficient cause, or author of regeneration is none other than God. His influence constitutes "that power without which all other influence is vain, and by which means otherwise impotent are made effectual." In every instance of the work of regeneration, the immediate antecedent and effectual cause is "the special influence of the Holy Spirit."

The power of God employed in the work of regeneration is supernatural, in contrast with the power of any created being or any law of nature, "or natural efficacy of truth or motive, in the ordinary operation of cause and effect, natural or moral." As such it is distinct from the normal operation of divine power revealed in the world of nature. The regenerative power of God is supernatural, in that it is"an interposition to accomplish unfailingly a change in the will and affections of men, which never takes place without it."

Furthermore, the power which is revealed in regeneration is supernatural because "it is an act of God's ALMIGHTY POWER, -- as really so as the creation of worlds, or the resurrection of the dead." It represents the greatest exhibition of his omnipotence that has ever been revealed.

"But when a mind, armed with such terrific power of accountable action as may bear justly the responsibilities imposed by

1 From an Unpublished "SERMON ON REGENERATION."
God's eternal government, become so alienated, and fully set on evil, as to baffle the regular influence of law and Gospel, this creates an obstacle to the reclaiming of that mind vast and momentous; and furnishes occasion, probably, for the greatest display of omnipotence ever to be witnessed by the universe."

III. The Necessity of Regeneration.

Argument and motive unaided are insufficient to prevail upon sinners to repent and return to God. Conviction of sin, regeneration into the new creature, and sanctification in holy love are possible only through the sovereign Spirit of God.

The Spirit is not indispensable because it forces the will of man, or because the will of man is necessarily determined to evil. It is because the bias to actual sin occasioned by the fall and resulting in a perversion of the will and affections, together with the power of habit resulting from evil volitions, render all means and efforts toward the production of religion "abortive which are not made effectual by the special influence of the Holy Spirit." During this aberration of the will and affections from God, there remains in the unregenerate man nothing which can be transformed into religion by any possible influences of culture or refinement. "The temple is beautiful, but it is a temple in ruins; -- the divinity is departed, and the fire on the altar is extinct."

IV. The Effectual Means of Regeneration.

The work which the Holy Spirit accomplishes prior to regeneration, is known as common grace.

By effectual means is understood the "means which God employs and

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renders efficient in producing the change." The Scriptures, and likewise the C onfession of Faith, are unequivocating in their testimony that God accomplishes the change of regeneration by his almighty power, associated with the use of means, or instrumental agency. By analogy, it is unquestionably true that, in view of the fact that in the government of the world of nature the powers of God are associated with and expressed through the instrumentality of natural causes, in the government of the moral world His powers are revealed to moral agents through the instrumentality of moral causes. It is not to be understood, however, that the Spirit makes the truth and motives of the Word effectual in regeneration in the same way that God uses natural causes to produce natural effects. To the contrary, the Spirit persuades and enables sinners to "embrace Jesus Christ freely offered to them in the Gospel." It is a work of grace, as well as of almighty power.

The effectual means with which the almighty power of God is associated in the act of regeneration is "THE WORD" or "THE TRUTH," by which is meant: "the whole revelation which God has made to man." Since the Bible is preeminently the revelation of God, the reading of its truths, — and especially the preaching of its doctrines, constitute the principal means of grace.

But it is not as natural causes produce natural effects that God employs the truth and motives of "THE WORD" to make it effectual in regeneration. "Nor is it the letter, the simple naked truth as a mere matter of intellectual perception, which becomes effectual, even in the hand of God. Facts and propositions do not contain and exhibit the whole

3 Ibid., Vol. III, p. 364.
truth contained in the Bible." The Bible is a "depository of divine
feeling." One great object of the Bible is to make the sinner "acquainted
with his own heart:" but until the Spirit gives the truth life and reality,
the unregenerate man cannot understand it, — all is darkness and terror
until conviction has been aroused, and the work of regeneration has been
consummated through the enabling grace of the Holy Spirit.

"It (revealed truth) is the means employed by the Spirit
of God to awaken the sinner to a sense of his danger, and to
bring home to his heart a deep conviction of his guilt and
just condemnation. It is by the truth that the Spirit of
God converts the soul, and sanctifies the heart, and sheds abroad
the love of God, and awakens hope, and diffuses peace and joy."

Accordingly, the "foolishness of preaching, by which He saves, is not
foolish preaching; and the weak things which He employs to confound the
mighty are not uncultivated intellect and ignorance." The preacher,
on the contrary, is the agency of the Holy Spirit, and an ambassador of
the moral government. As such he is a gifted person. He is admonished to
remember at all times the gift that is his "as an ambassador of Jesus
Christ to negotiate peace between God and men — the mightiest power God
delegates to mortals."

1. The Church

37. CHURCH—"The church, as a collective body, is the organ of God's
moral administration, — a chartered community, formed for the special
purpose of giving efficacy and perpetuity to the revealed laws of the
divine government." 6)

God has effected "his purpose of redeeming men, by the instrumentality
of a visible society organized exclusively for that end." This society,

6 "THE DESIGN, RIGHTS AND DUTIES, OF LOCAL CHURCHES," "Works," Vol. II,
p. 222.
7 Ibid., "WORKS," Vol. II, p. 204.
denominated the "Church of God," had its inception at the time of the Fall. Throughout the ages the designs of the Most High in the organisation of the church, and the condition of admission therein have been the same; until finally, individuals, possessing the required qualifications, associating themselves to maintain the ordinances of the Gospel, become "a society incorporated by the God of heaven, with specific chartered privileges," -- thus constituting the foundation of local churches.

The Designs of Local Churches

I. "One obvious design of local churches is the consummation of holiness in believers, and their preparation for heaven."

God is pleased to accomplish the work of perfecting the saints progressively. The church is the society in which the divine influences are to be executed. To that end, and for the purpose of edifying the body of Christ, preachers, teachers, and evangelists are said "to be given."

II. "Local churches are designed, also, to secure the purity and perpetuity of revealed truth."

With the completion of the sacred canon, the "lively oracles" were committed to the church, together with the responsibility of contending earnestly for the doctrines, precepts, and ordinances contained in the Scriptures.

III. "Local churches are organized, also, for the preservation of the Sabbath, and the maintenance of the public worship of God."

In order for revealed truth to be made effectual in securing the salvation of men, it must be communicated. To that end the instrumentality of a system of moral influence, -- and not of physical force, must lend its aid. Such a system of influence is found in the Word and institutions of Heaven; and, sustained by the church, they exert a power for righteous-

ness on the consciences of men, and upon the formation of the laws and habits of society.

IV. "Another design of Heaven, in the organization of local churches, is, by means of an efficient system of religious instruction, to secure the continued existence of these religious corporations themselves, for the benefit of the rising generation."

As the work of redemption must be continued throughout all generations, the appropriate means must be transmitted from one generation to another. The church will live by enterprise directed especially toward the children of the church. "To every church is committed the superintendence of that education of children upon which her continued existence depends." Moreover, to the local churches is committed the responsibility of providing religious instruction for each generation and for the evangelisation of the world, together with the dissemination of the Scriptures translated into the language of every tongue and dialect.

The requisite qualifications for membership in the Christian church are "personal holiness in the sight of God, and a credible profession of holiness before men." Since the Scriptures recognise but two classes of persons, the friends of God and the alienated, it is to his friends that he has committed the preservation and propagation of religious truth and divine worship. Likewise, the obligations of brotherly love have their origin in the existence of the love of Christ in the hearts of his friends, which love is made known to the world through a credible profession of true religion. It follows, therefore, that a church of Christ can neither be constituted nor continued without personal holiness in its members. Not every member must be holy, necessarily, but if none are pious, the religious society cannot be constituted a church of Christ. For that

2 Ibid., Vol. II, p. 211.
reason, "every person believing himself to be the subject of true religion, and able to afford to others credible evidence of the fact, is bound to confess Christ before men, and to enrol himself as a member of some visible church."

38. LORD’S SUPPER—"The sacrament of the Lord’s supper is not merely a memorial of an absent friend and benefactor; but the token of a covenant, in which we avouch the Lord Jehovah to be our God; and which is renewed and sealed as often as we sit down at his table." 2)

A covenant can be sealed only by those who have taken its vows, and only the holy can swear allegiance to the Lord Jehovah.

39. BAPTISM —"The parent, and the whole church, at the baptism of an infant, renew respectively their covenant with God, to be faithful in the work of religious education." 2)

Whereas the Lord’s supper has reference to the perpetuity of the church by the continuance and consummation of holiness, the baptism of infants refers to the perpetuity of the church by renewing its vows of fidelity in the religious education of its children in the cooperation with the parents.

Infant baptism, however, does not constitute the grounds for adult membership in the visible church. While the baptised children of the church are the special objects of its care, when they reach the years of understanding a credible profession of religion is required of them as a qualification for membership in the "family of the faithful." In the event that that family membership should cease, connexion with the church must, of course, cease.

It follows, therefore, that every person who believes himself to have become the subject of true religion, and is able to give evidence of

2 Ibid., Vol. II, p. 216.
its fruits in his life, is bound to confess Christ before men, and unite himself as a member of some visible church. Besides the more advantageous enjoyment of personal privileges afforded by the church, and the more efficient cooperation in the preservation and propagation of the Gospel, the believer "needs the confidence for action which a profession of religion only can inspire, and the facilities and excitements to action which social enterprise alone can afford."

2. Prayer

In the providential moral government of God, prayer is the most efficacious means of grace whereby the world is filled with his presence, "not as a non-resident occasional visitant," but as an abiding presence, on the right hand and on the left.

40. PRAYER—"It is by wants multiplied and felt, and made known to God by prayer, and providentially answered, that a fresh and inspiring intercourse is kept up between ourselves and God." 3)

Desire and helplessness, together with hope, "constitute the most powerful spring of action which can be applied to mind in distress." The recognition of need and the consciousness of impotency, coupled with a sense of dependence upon the resources of God are essentially what take place in the experience of the suppliant when he avails himself of the means of grace offered through prayer. God's method of supplying human needs through "a providential moral government, administered with reference to prayer," is efficient beyond all other forms of administration in the production of hope and enterprise.

Prayer, according to the foregoing description, is not only a means

3 Ibid., Vol. I., p. 313.
by which the felt needs of men are supplied, but the very act of prayer itself is the answer to prayer; for it furnishes the most efficient means by which intercourse is carried on between God and men, and when men have access to God, all their needs are at once supplied. God furnishes not only the answer to prayer, but he provides also the pressure of necessity, the sense of impotency, and the earnest desire.

CLINICAL THEOLOGY

Whereas the act of regeneration is instantaneous, the experience of sanctification is progressive; the former is a crisis, while the latter is a process of growth. In both cases the Holy Spirit is the efficient cause. It follows, therefore, that "the church is not a place, where none but the perfect associate, but a conservatory association (a "spiritual hospital") in which the first movements of holiness are cherished, and strengthened, up to the confirmed and perfect health of Heaven." 1

The theology of Lyman Beecher was curative, designed for the express purpose of restoring "disordered minds." He was convinced that the doctrines of the Christian religion were reasonable, and he was equally confident that he could make them appear so to others. His "clinical theology", so designated by himself, was not so much a distinct system of truth or body of dogmatic utterances, as it was a method, or technique, for the "adaptation of particular truths to particular states of mind." 3

Specifically, it was designed to eliminate, so far as possible, all the common misapprehensions and misconceptions which accompanied the Calvinistic system.

That he regarded those misapprehensions and misconceptions as being serious, and their effects as far-reaching, is evident from the following:

"It is my deliberate opinion, that the false philosophy which has been employed for the exposition of the Calvinistic system, has done more to obstruct the march of Christianity, and to paralyze the saving power of the Gospel, and to raise up and organize around the church the unnumbered multitude to behold, and wonder, and despise, and perish, than all other causes beside."

In the introductory chapter of the present thesis, mention was made of the fact that Beecher inherited a constitutional weakness, the consequences of which proved to be almost fatal in young manhood. So persistent were the attacks of stomach disorder, and so severe were they, that the prospects of his usefulness in the ministry were dubious. At an early age he discovered in his own experience the direct bearing of the health of the body upon the health of the mind. He also became skilful in the ability to discriminate in himself between the mental effects of physical disease and nervous disorder, and the genuine emotions produced by the operations of the Holy Spirit upon the conscience; and traced the variations of moral feeling to their proper causes. "Indeed, for no other thing did he become more celebrated than for his power of imparting hope to the desponding; and it was these dark and doubting hours of his own early life, painful as they were, which furnished him with the necessary knowledge for the guidance of hundreds of sensitive and troubled spirits to the firm ground of a cheerful, intelligent, religious hope."

In that connexion it should be observed that the introductory lectures to Beecher's "SYSTEMATIC THEOLOGY," at Lane Seminary, included several discourses on "Qualifications for the Gospel Ministry, Preparatory to the Millennium." In the third lecture he emphasised the qualification of constitutional fitness, and the importance of physical education. The work

2 "BIOGRAPHICAL INTRODUCTION," p. 7.
of the ministry will "task the whole man." Ministers must guard against the temptations of "effeminacy," "voluptuousness," "ease," and "literary pursuits." Since there is a "sympathy existing between the mind and the body," so that "if one is debilitated the other is also," it is evident that "physical energy is indispensable to mental vigor, decision, and perseverance." Without physical exercise it is impossible to complete eight years of preparation for the Gospel ministry. "More than one half the students in our colleges and seminaries destroy their constitutions and sow the seeds of death before they complete their studies."

As evidences of the truth of these statements, look at the "multitudes of broken-down ministers, and feeble, nervous students." Physical education should begin in infancy and continue throughout the years of study. This must be done if ministers are to be "equal to the labors preparatory to the Millennium. It is practicable to save an immense amount of life and usefulness by observing strictly Nature's laws. Indeed, I believe that the time of actual useful life may be doubled, so that instead of a minister's being obliged after ten years labor to retire from the field, he will go on gaining strength and momentum for a great number of years."

Another qualification for the ministry is "good common sense." The minister's business is to deal with mind, and unless he understands the nature of mind, and is able to adapt himself to circumstances, he will forever be touching the wrong strings, producing discord." It was Beecher's frequent use of the term "common sense," together with marked similarities and striking coincidences between his own system of philosophy and that of the founder of the Scottish "school of common sense," which led some of

1 Op. cit., Unpublished MSS. Notes of "LECTURES ON SYSTEMATIC THEOLOGY."
his students to conclude that Beecher was familiar with the fundamental 1) principles of the philosophy of Thomas Reid.

"This peculiar shaping of doctrine for direct practical medicinal ends, taken in connexion with his skilful observance of the laws of the physical and mental system, constituted that clinical theology, which was yet too closely dependent upon his own individual genius to be adequately preserved and transmitted as he earnestly desired." However that may be, it is certain that he succeeded in transmitting his clinical theology to at least one of his students at Lane Seminary, as the following testimony will show:

3) "He was intensely practical, and gifted in the diagnosis of spiritual ailments, laying his finger on the precise spot, and fearlessly prescribing the remedy..... With as much sagacity as the hound tracks the game he would follow human depravity to all its hiding-places and 'refuges of lies.' We never knew his peer in meeting 'difficult cases' and solving the doubts which so often amount to chronic infirmities. It was this which made his theological lectures in after days so fascinating to young men, who were thoughtful enough to anticipate the difficulties both in theology as a system and in its applications to specific cases, as they come up in an actual ministry. How often have his explanations met our personal wants, and how often, years after we have left his class-room, have we thanked God for the help we had derived thence for our work in the ministry."

The primary sources of information concerning the technique and content of the clinical theology of Lyman Beecher are his letters to his children and two rare booklets, entitled: "INSTRUCTIONS FOR YOUNG CHRISTIANS (1834);" and "A GUIDE TO PIETY: OR DIRECTIONS TO PERSONS JUST COMMENCING THE RELIGIOUS LIFE(1842)." The instructions given therein are thoroughly practicable, and the explanations lucid. The style and vocabulary, in large part,

1 This conclusion is unlikely, since the works of Reid were not published until after Beecher left Yale, and it is improbable that they were ever the subject of his investigation and study.
are those of the psychologist and the psychiatrist; and where such words and phrases as the following, chosen at random, are used in describing his methods, it is at once apparent that Beecher was moving in the sphere of the religious psychologist:


Finally, when the eye catches such striking sentences as: "it would be as vain to seek all the varieties of Christian experience in one person, as to seek all varieties of human features in one face," thought leaps instantly to the "Gifford Lectures on Natural Religion," delivered in Edinburgh, 1901-1902, when William James lectured on the "VARIETIES OF RELIGIOUS EXPERIENCE."

As to the actual procedure by which he conducted his clinics, or "inquiry meetings," Beecher here describes what certain visitors saw and heard at one such gathering:

"I took them into my inquiry meeting. There was great variety of cases. Language of simplicity came along, and they'd

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1 "A GUIDE TO PIETY," p. 6.
see me talking 'way down in language fit for children, and then, the next moment, rise up into clear, strong, philosophic language. And then the language of free agency and ability came along, ..... I made something of free agency -- more than a Calvinist would do usually -- and brought folks up to do what they were able to. But next minute came along the plea of morality and self-dependence, ..... So they (the visitors) saw that I had my replies according to the subject, and in the course of the evening heard me touch on seven or eight or more different states of mind."

This method of teaching and preaching with reference to particular types of minds was condemned as being "selective" in character, and its pursuance occasioned Beecher no little difficulty at the hands of his more conservative colleagues and opponents, who charged him with the guilt of exhibiting and over-emphasizing selective phases of the Gospel, to the exclusion of the whole counsel of God. These charges became grounds for the suspicion that by the time of his departure for the West, Beecher had lost in considerable degree whatever capital in reputation he may have enjoyed in New England. They were the basis upon which the principal issues rested in the subsequent heresy trial — "Wilson vs. Beecher."

Beecher's reply to his opponents throws further light upon his selective method in applied clinical theology:

"I have never preached them (the doctrines of natural ability), except for a particular purpose; just as a physician gives calomel to a patient in a fever, and when the fever is broken then administers bark and tonics. I have not gone on preaching my own views blindfold. But when I thought I had preached the doctrine of natural ability long enough to root out the opposite errors, then I have brought up the doctrine of moral

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dependence .... I hold that we are not to take a whole apothecary's shop of medicine and throw it upon the people all at once, but that we are to administer it judiciously in measure, according to the state of the pulse."

"I have never been ultra Calvinistic, pushing my opinions toward Antinomian fatality; nor have I at all more leaned to the doctrine of Pelagian free will and human self-sufficiency; and in doctrine I am what I ever have been, having gained only the more accurate and comprehensive knowledge which use and study afford, and the facilities of presenting to every man his portion in due season, as the result of experience in the adaptation of particular truths to particular states of mind."

CRITICAL COMMENTS: — Beecher's Teachings Concerning the Holy Spirit and the Means of Grace

I. Beecher is absolutely right when he says that "the peculiar mode of the divine existence lies at the foundation of the plan of redemption, as unfolded in the Bible." The fact of redemption and the correlative experience of being forgiven, reacted upon the New Testament writers in such a way as to teach them to think of God in ways beyond the strict ethical monotheism conceived by the writers of the Old Testament. Moreover, Beecher's recognition that the vital truths expressed by the doctrine of the Trinity are grounded in the facts of history, gives his theology a note of authority which rings true to the facts of human experience. The consummate purpose of God, as revealed both in the administration of his Moral Government and in the testimony of the Scriptures, is to redeem mankind from destruction, and to break the powers of sin. It was perfectly natural, as well as logical, that Beecher should have set forth his conception of God in terms of an economic Trinity: "the Father occupying the

station of guardian of the law; the Son as providing for an atonement; and the Spirit applying the provision made by the Son."

Such a classification and assignment of departmental offices and functions to the persons of the Trinity would be false and mechanical, were it not for the fact that Beecher stands firmly upon the facts of the historical revelation. Jesus Christ, he affirmed, was he who was known as Jehovah in the religious history of the Jews of the Old Testament.

With respect to the revelation of God in the New Testament, here again, Beecher's thoughts are suggestive: "We could know of the existence and official capacity of the Father only as (he is) revealed by the Son."

The natural conclusion would be, therefore, (although Beecher himself nowhere states it thus) that Jesus Christ was God, giving himself upon the cross in the work of redemption.

As to the person and office of the Spirit, Beecher is not so rewarding in his ideas. According to him, the tripersonality of God is developed in the system of clemency, or of the atonement. Said he, "But the sinner's dependence on the Holy Ghost is occasioned by his (the sinner's) wilful refusal to accept the atonement." In the light of these declarations, one cannot help but inquire: first, has not the tripersonality of God existed from the beginning, throughout all eternity? and second, was not the sinner dependent upon the Spirit prior to the Atonement? If the Father is God, and the Son is God, and the Spirit is God, all three persons must have existed from eternity. If God is known to be God by the divine character of his works, and likewise the Son, why should not the Spirit be thus known, even from the beginning? The Father had not to wait for the Atonement before he could send his Spirit to the consciences of men. God

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1 UNPUBLISHED THEOLOGICAL LECTURE NOTES, "The Atonement".
has never been in the state of becoming; he has always existed in the
fulness of his being. The Spirit has always been and still is the form
or mode of God's eternal presence in and among his people. Otherwise,
Beecher's economic Trinity gives the impression that the Godhead consists,
not only of three distinct persons, but of three separate persons — both
in being and in function. Such a conception of God could hardly be
expressed in the words, "three persons: one God."

Another disturbing tendency in Beecher's theology of the Trinity is
illustrated in those expressions which speak of the three persons as:
"acting, each in his sphere, without encroachment;" and, "the Father inter­
poses and performs what properly belongs to the official capacity of the
Son." Such distinctions sound arbitrary and artificial, and the implica­
tions derived therefrom are frequently disastrous in their consequences;
as for example, when one is constrained to declare: "I love Jesus, but
I hate God." If the three persons of the Trinity constitute one God, they
must be represented as one in their purpose to redeem, one in the act of
redemption, one in their attributes which make all three divine, and one
in the self-revelation of the Father.

But throughout his entire exposition of the precious truths residing
in the doctrine of the Trinity, Beecher has placed the emphases upon the
eternal verities: Jesus Christ the Son is the revelation in history of
God the Father; the Holy Spirit is the revelation of God in the redeeming
work of the Son; and all three are united in the self-revelation of God
in time and in eternity. In these respects Beecher would join in spirit
with the late Professor H. R. Mackintosh, and say:

"Yet it is in the unity of God as known in Christ that our
minds come finally to rest. The triune life is apprehended by

us for the sake of its redemptive expression, not for the internal analysis of its content. The problem can never be one of ontology mixed with arithmetic. Throughout, our aim is bent on history and its meaning, as we strive to apprehend the one God in his saving manifestation. To this point of view faith is constant. From this point the doctrine must set out only to circle round at last to its fruitful origin. God as Holy Love we name the Father; this same eternal God, as making the sacrifice of love and appearing in one finite spirit for our redemption, we name the Son; God filling as new life the hearts to which His Son has become a revelation, we name the Spirit. In this confession we resume the best it has been given us to know of the eternal God our Saviour."

II. The doctrine of Immediate Repentance was a child of the New England theology -- the offspring of the Edwardean theory of the will. None of the disciples of Edwards and of the New England school were more faithful in pressing home upon the conscience the obligations and responsibilities inherent in the idea of free moral agency, particularly as they applied to the critical necessity of rendering Immediate Repentance. This theology was designed and preached for the express purpose and with the fervent expectation of producing revivals of religion, through the instrumentality of which it was hoped to convert the world to Christ and speedily introduce his Millennial reign. In preparation for that magnificent event, sinners must first be convinced that they are rebels against God, that their immediate duty is to submit and repent, that all of their objections and protests are unreasonable, and that before God they are wholly without excuse.

At the same time, it was brought home to the consciences of sinners that their depraved moral nature made it impossible for them to obey the commands of God; and hence, impossible for them to repent. That each and every human individual who ever lived possessed a morally depraved nature, Beecher admitted unhesitatingly; that sinners were naturally unable to repent and do it at once, he denied with all the force of his personality.

The practical difficulty which his doctrine raises, has to do with
Beecher's explanation of the meaning of repentance. To him the matter presented no difficulty, since his definition was founded on the authority of the Scriptures: "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy strength, and with all thy mind; and thy neighbour as thyself." (Luke X, 27). The facts of human experience, however, prove that to practise the Christian grace of love is not a matter of exercising the will. Beecher himself acknowledged to his daughter, Catherine, in a letter dated 27th October, 1822: "all feel as if it is as impossible to love as to lift a mountain." But with that admission, he hastened to balance it by urging the exercise of the will in another equally difficult practice: "I believe you may as well waive the subject as a matter of speculation, confess your sins, and cry for mercy, remembering that it is indeed your duty to do that which you cry to God to help you to do." Ah, that too is a real difficulty: how can the sinner confess his sins unless he is willing to obey, and how can he will to do good when his will is evil?

Professor Mackintosh expresses the irony of the situation in his volume, "THE CHRISTIAN EXPERIENCE OF FORGIVENESS." After asserting that the chief end of man, according to the Christian view, "is to turn into conscious and willed obedience, throughout all the powers of his being, that absolute dependence upon God by which he lives," the author continues as follows:

"We find, instead, the universal phenomenon of man's nature divided against itself, at variance with neighbour and with God. If our true destiny is to obey, it is a destiny we are obviously unable to accomplish. It is not simply that we freely reject the Higher Will; we discover that to accept it gladly is beyond us. All who reach moral personality learn, on the faintest self-scrutiny, that their moral being is somehow wrong and crooked;
that along side of the commanding sense of obligation there are fermenting within them a set of half-blind and half-perverted instincts, evil tendencies which solicit their choice, lead their will astray, and often master it shamefully.

"In short, we cannot begin the life of moral struggle and consent to face ourselves without feeling within us the dreary pain of the bad conscience — without becoming aware, that is, that our will is evil. It is not wholly evil, as we shall see, but evil taints it in every element. Thus the fatal distinction between what we are and what we ought to be comes home to us. We are forced to look with open eyes on the one hand at our moral obligations, on the other at our moral incapacity."

Thus the conscience is burdened with the painful sense of what the sinner ought to be, by the obligations imposed by the Creator; and with the equally painful sense of what the sinner actually is, because of a corrupt will.

III. The remedy for this deplorable situation, as prescribed by Beecher, is the interposition of the Holy Spirit and the provision of the means of grace. Indeed, the work of the Holy Spirit is wholly remedial. All that He accomplishes in the sinner is to make him willing to render obedience to the commands of God, because the change which is commanded is a change of the will. But to accomplish this change (Regeneration), the Spirit uses various "means," including human agencies and institutions. "Sovereignty," he affirmed, "consists in rescuing men without reference to legal or moral desert; but not in doing it without means,...." Surely, Beecher must have realised that this is a novel conception of divine Sovereignty. Under such an arrangement, the question naturally arises: Is regeneration the gracious gift of the sovereign Spirit; or, is regeneration the product of the will, assisted by the remedial influences of the Spirit?

It appears to the writer that Beecher's difficulties with regard to the freedom of the will have to do with his failure to recognise that in

1 "LETTERS ON THE 'NEW MEASURES' IN CONDUCTING REVIVALS OF RELIGION," p. 86.
the matter of salvation the initiative is with God. On the part of man, it is a matter of faith. The will to believe is the gift of God. When God has taken the initial step through the impulses of the Holy Spirit upon the guilty conscience, He establishes the grounds of faith, and it is by faith that the sinner is redeemed. Beecher is so zealous to enhance and enlarge the free and accountable agency of man, that he appears to overlook the sovereignty of God in the gracious bestowal of "faith." The word itself, it has been noted before, is strangely missing from his vocabulary. He was so absorbed in asserting what man can and ought to do, that he all too frequently neglected to emphasise what God does or has done, even before the sinner takes his first step towards repentance. If Beecher had related faith in some definite way with the Holy Spirit, the deficiency would have been eliminated. What is more, by associating the one with the other, a great and profound principle of religious truth would have been advanced.

The words of Principal Denney in this connexion are rich and suggestive:

"New Testament religion is characterised by a kind of assurance — an initial assurance, on which it is sustained from the outset — which cannot be explained at all except on the assumption that the one thing needful for the salvation of sinners was once for all done and endured at the cross. No matter how potent the Passion of Christ may be as a motive to reproduce in us its own characteristic moral qualities, the Christian attitude to it is not that of repeating it; it is that of depending upon it, believing in it, trusting to it to the uttermost. Of course it is a motive of transcendent power, but it is its completeness and finality in itself which make it such a motive, and it is as final and complete in itself that the apostles contemplate it."

Likewise, Dr. Karl Barth is emphatic in his utterances on the importance of faith. Said he, "This (theologia crucis) arises at the point where man has sacrificed his highest and best — just that, —where he has delivered it up to be judged and so has laid hold of the promise; and this he does on

the strength of his faith and on the strength of his faith alone, because
he himself has been laid hold of by the unsubstantiated, self-substantiated
mercy of God, because Christ the crucified is, in his derelictio, the bearer
of the promise."  

IV. A further difficulty is encountered by Beecher through his failure
to clarify his thoughts in regard to motives. For example, when he says
in one instance that the means employed by the Spirit to effect the change
of Regeneration are moral, and not physical, and in another instance when
he asserts that God accomplishes this change by his "almighty power," and
in still a third instance, that "heretofore, God has employed physical
causes as motives in the administration of his moral government," it is
not easy to determine to what extent after all the will is really free.
Certainly, "moral motives," "almighty power," and "physical causes," as
motives, cannot be used interchangeably and have the same meaning. If the
will is motivated by either of the last two, it is not motivated by purely
moral motives.

The constant use of these phrases, in connexion with his exposition
of the doctrine of Regeneration, was responsible for evoking Professor
Foster's criticism of Beecher in his, "GENETIC HISTORY OF THE NEW ENGLAND
THEOLOGY:" "But, strange to say, though familiar with Taylorism (the
theology of Nathaniel W. Taylor), Beecher fell into confusion as to the
nature of the moral government of God, and repeatedly refers regeneration
to the 'almighty power of God as really so as the creation of worlds or the
resurrection of the dead.'"

More serious than his failure to agree with Dr. Taylor in this respect,

was Beecher's apparent denial of the use of motives purely moral in the experience of Regeneration, and thereby implying that strictly speaking the will is not absolutely free. A paragraph from Professor A. Seth Pringle-Pattison's book, "THE IDEA OF GOD IN THE LIGHT OF RECENT PHILOSOPHY," being the Gifford Lectures for 1912 and 1913, is apropos:

"The person is certainly not a fixed and unchangeable unit. He is open to moral education and spiritual regeneration: he may change so much as to become, in the expressive phrase of religion, a new creature. But although he is thus open to all the influences of the universe, these do not act on him like forces ab extra. They make their appeal to him, but he must give the response. He cannot be driven, he must be drawn. And, therefore, the process of transformation is always, in a very real aspect of it, his own act, his deliberate choice.

"We may believe in the ultimately constraining power of the Good, but a moral being cannot be commanded; he must be persuaded, and the process may be long. 'Behold, I stand at the door and knock: if any man hear my voice and open the door, I will come in to him, and sup with him, and he with me.' Even the divine importunity will not force an entrance. This freedom belongs to a self-conscious being as such, and it is the fundamental condition of the ethical life; without it we should have a world of automata."

V. Finally, before terminating this consideration of Beecher's theological views, mention should be made again of the fact that he was a keen observer of human nature and a firm believer in the essential integrity of the human mind and its consciousness to receive and communicate the truths of God. He believed that, having made allowances for the fact of total depravity, there was still a definite correspondence between the mind of God and the minds of men.

This conviction was demonstrated in his Clinical Theology. His efforts to adapt particular truths to particular states of mind is convincing evidence that he believed that the human mind was the means of communication through which God speaks truth to the soul, and as such

the constitution of mind is essentially honest, because God is honest.  

1) "Now, I think," said Beecher, "that God is as honest in the moral world as he is in the natural world. I believe that in our consciousness he tells the truth; and that the natural constitution and universal feelings and perceptions of men are the voice of God speaking the truth; and if the truth is not here, where may we expect to find it?"

The appeal in this instance is not only grounded in the character of God, but also in the dependability of "common sense." The frequent appearance of these words throughout Beecher's sermons and lectures give impressive evidence that he was thinking and experimenting along the lines laid down by the Scottish school of common sense philosophy. In the last analysis, however, his faith in the honesty of the mind as an interpreter of the truths of God, rests in his quiet confidence in the honesty and truthfulness of God. This faith is tenderly expressed in his letters to his children, while they were in the midst of religious doubts and perplexities concerning their duty to render immediate repentance. The paragraphs which follow 2) were written to his eldest daughter, Catherine:

"I do desire that, upon divine testimony, in opposition to any presumptuous reliance upon your own supposed consciousness, you believe in the actual fact of ability as the foundation of equity in the divine requisition, and such ability as clothes with justice all divine requisitions and penalties, and with mercy all divine interpositions, both of the Mediator to atone, and of the Spirit to sanctify. This I desire you to do, as I do myself; for, though I believe the course of reasoning correct which I adopt and have pursued in this letter, my faith stands not in my speculations, not in my capacity to see and explain how it can be that I am so able and so obstinate, but on the fact that it is so because God can not err, can not lie, and has declared it to be so; in fact, administers his eternal government on the assumption of ability commensurate with requisition.

"Were I to depart from my implicit confidence in God, I could find as many difficulties and ask as many unanswerable

questions as you do.

"But I know that what God says is true, and what he does is right; and here I rest my faith, and desire you to rest yours; and if I have plunged into deep waters in this letter, it is not because I prefer to wade in them, but to rescue from drowning my own dear child, who is attempting to lay among the billows the foundations of her hope and confidence toward God.

"Write immediately; and Oh! may God grant to your sightless eyes light, and to your rebellious, disconsolate heart, peace in believing."

In this simple confession of faith, there is laid bare the heart of Lyman Beecher in his passion for the souls, not only of his own children, but for the children of God everywhere throughout the wide, wide world.
HIS SOCIAL REFORMS
TOWARDS THE MILLENNIUM

In the preceding chapters an answer has been sought to the question: "What was the theology of Lyman Beecher which made his religion great?"

The answer has been found in the motif which resounds throughout his entire doctrinal system — the moral government of God, which is a government of motives by moral suasion; administered over free moral agents, upon whom rest the obligations and responsibilities derived from personal accountability. The principle of free agency with all its implications was the life-giving spirit with which Beecher endeavoured to resuscitate a "dead orthodoxy." The comprehension of the idea that God was about to do something magnificent, — beyond the powers of human imagination to conceive, and in the consummation of that eternal divine purpose was using human personalities and institutions, furnished Beecher with a "motive always present and efficient."

That motive, according to Professor Stowe, "was the glory of God and the good of men. He felt that his help was needed; that he was appointed to do something, that he could do something, and that he must and would." Because God was a great Governor, the creator of great designs and purposes, and the doer of great things, Beecher lived "every moment under the impression that he had a great work to do for God and man, which must be done at once, not a minute to be lost."

The fulfilment of all of God's wondrous purposes was about to take place with the "approaching Millennium in which Christ shall reign through-
out the world victorious over all the forms and powers of evil." That doctrine, it has already been observed, was one of the profound themes handed on to the New England theologians from their teacher, Jonathan Edwards. Its inception in America was contemporaneous with the "great awakening." Nor did it fail to awaken Beecher to extraordinary activity. Said he:

"I was made for action. The Lord drove me, but I was ready. I have always been going at full speed. The fifty years of my active life have been years of rapid development.

"I foresaw it from the first. I had studied the prophecies, and knew that the punishment of the Antichristian powers was just at hand. I read also the signs of the times. I felt as if the conversion of the world to Christ was near. It was with such views of the prophetic future that I from the beginning consecrated myself to Christ, with special reference to the scenes I saw to be opening upon the world. I have never laid out great plans. I have always waited and watched the fulfilments of prophecy, and followed the leadings of Providence. From the beginning my mind has taken in the Church of God, my country, and the world as given to Christ. It is this that has widened the scope of my activities beyond the common sphere of pastoral labor."

With these personal testimonies in mind, it is now time to examine the relationship between the theology of Lyman Beecher and his social reforms. Dr. Lyman Abbott painted an ominous picture of the religious life of New England in the first quarter of the nineteenth century, and summarised his remarks thus:

"Such was the legacy which the Puritan theology of the eighteenth

century left to New England: a fear of God; a reverence for his law; a strenuous though narrow and conventional conscience; but also a religion divorced from ethics; a Church silent in the presence of intemperance and slavery; without missionary zeal or missionary organisation; threatened by the intellectual revolt which eventually carried from it some of its wisest and noblest men; and surrounded by a community lapsing into indifference and neglect or combining in open and cynical infidelity."

Such was the legacy inherited by Beecher; such was the environment in which he thoroughly believed the Millennium would someday take place.

The chief sources of information concerning Beecher's views on this subject are in the introductory discourses to his "LECTURES ON SYSTEMATIC THEOLOGY," Part I. "The Gospel Ministry."

According to the signs of the times and the confirming testimonies of Prophecy, he maintained that the Millennium would actually appear within one hundred and fifty, or two hundred years. He further declared that it would commence in America; the reason for this being that the moral, political, social and economic obstacles incidental to older civilisations do not exist in America. As to the precise location in America, he was convinced that the Millennium would make its initial appearance in the new territories of the West.

The following are the elements of which the state of society would consist in the age of the Millennium:

I Universal Intelligence of Mankind. — The parts of the earth under the immediate control of Satan are the places where ignorance, anarchy, Popery, Mohammedanism, and paganism prevail. His realm has been one of ignorance and superstition, over which he has reigned for nearly six thousand years. "Thirty years of education will entirely destroy the

prevailing errors of the pagan world."

II. **Universal Indoctrination.**— The proverb, "No matter what a man believes if his heart is only right," will be shown to be false.

III. **Possession of the Soil by its Cultivators in Fee Simple.**— Hitherto the orders and ranks of society have received their support from unrequited toil. But God will "turn and overturn until equality shall prevail."

IV. **Universal Liberty and Self-Government.**— The progress of Democratic principles, though slow, is sure; and doubtless a providential hand rules the whole of society.

V. **Universal Holiness.**—An eminent holiness will characterise the state of society. The arts and sciences will be reclaimed for righteous uses.

Although the Millennium will be of divine origin, its advent may be obstructed and its progress impeded by:

I. A vigorous resistance of Despotic governments against Republican liberty;

II. The union of Feudal monopolies and false religions;

III. The excesses of Liberty — "ultraism;"

IV. The violence of party spirit;

V. The ambitions of selfish men;

VI. The love of ease, wealth, fame, and voluptuous living.

The causes and instrumentalities by which the Millennium will be brought in will be of two kinds: **Providential** and **Moral.**

I. The diffusion of the truth of the Gospel will bring about revo-

2 Ibid., First Lecture.
olutions in the political world. Knowledge will destroy Despotism, Catholicism, and the varied forms of tyranny, in preparation for the reign of civil and religious liberty. The union of civil and ecclesiastical powers will be dissolved.

II. The pursuits of industry and commerce will constitute appropriate means by which the way will be prepared for the introduction of the Gospel to the nations of the earth. Moral means must be preceded by powerful providential means.

III. The primary and immediate moral cause by which the Millennium will be effected will be the preaching of the Gospel, "The preaching of the Gospel is God's remedy for the woes of mankind." When the world has been brought under its influence, then will the Millenium descend upon the nations.

From the foregoing description of the elements which will constitute the state of society in the age of the Millennium, it may be observed how Beecher arrived at the conclusion that "theology and politics are next of kin." "Their study," he further maintained, "is but the study, in different relations and connections, of the fundamental principles, and historical facts, and moving powers of the universal government of God."

It is perfectly evident also that according to Beecher, the Millennium, or the"kingdom of God is a kingdom of means; and though the excellency of the power belongs to him exclusively, human instrumentality is indispensable." Civil government is a government by divine ordinance; and while the forms which it may take is left to human discretion, God himself has prescribed

1 Loc. cit., Second Lecture.
what the character-requirements of its rulers must be. Civil rulers are God's ministers, charged with the responsibility of defending the temporal welfare of nations by the promotion of motives and restraints, through legal measures. Accordingly, "they who rule over men need to supply the deficiencies of their wisdom, by taking hold on the wisdom of God; and hide their weakness by taking hold on his strength."

Likewise, it follows that the "exposition of public guilt and danger is the appropriate work of Gospel ministers." Those things which strengthen the influence of political government, are the sanctions which are furnished by the moral government of God. "Other influence may do something; but no influence will be so effectual as that by which God has fortified the allegiance of his subjects. He is wise in heart. His wisdom has never been supplanted by created discretion. His government is perfect; and if we would secure individual, domestic or civil enjoyment, we must walk in his statutes, and regard the motives of his moral government."

Indeed, the recognition by the civil authorities of the power of the Gospel to promote the welfare of society not only preserves the benefits conferred by the Christian religion, but it is one of the most effective means of preparing the nations for the advent of the age of Millennium. Furthermore, that which impedes the advance of the Millennium jeopardises the well-being of society. "Sin is anti-social. It will sunder the ties of society."

But civil laws cannot produce benevolent dispositions, purified motives; nor can they destroy selfishness, ambition, avarice, envy, pride, or voluptuousness. These are conditions of the heart. Nothing humanly created, -- neither laws, science, nor philosophy, -- can expel, subdue, or withstand the power of sinful volitions. The only

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1 From "A SERMON DELIVERED IN THE NORTH PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN HARTFORD, MAY 20, 1813."
3 "THE PRACTICABILITY OF SUPPRESSING VICE, BY MEANS OF SOCIETIES INSTITUTED FOR THAT PURPOSE," p. 22.
remedies are those provided by the moral government of God in the administration of motives.

Obviously, then, the most effectual way of promoting good morals is the promotion of real, experimental religion; and if we would be fellow-workers together with God, "we must work as he works. We must stimulate and restrain, by applying to the mind the constituted motives of his government ......, we must add to the influence of conscience, the decisive influence of right dispositions, of a holy heart." Hence, whatever will be the most effective means of deterring men from sin and of producing moral reformatons will be the most efficient means of establishing the foundations of civilised society. For the accomplishment of that end, and for the moral reformation of the world, revivals of religion are alone adequate. All other means have been relied on in vain. "The disease is of the heart, and they reach it not. But revivals touch the deep springs of human action, and give tone and energy to the moral government of God."

"They (revivals) multiply families that call upon the name of the Lord and train up children in his fear, and churches constrained by the love of Christ to propagate the Gospel. They elevate the standard of charity, and augment the capital which is consecrated to the renovation of the world, and the importance of prayer which secures its application and efficacy. They multiply the hosts of evangelical ministers and missionaries. They repress crime, and purify the public morality, and breathe into legislation and the intercourse of nations that spirit of the Gospel which shall banish wars, and introduce peace upon earth and good-will towards men. They pour daylight upon darkness, and destroy, with a touch, the power of sophistry. Hence, nothing is so terrible to the enemies of evangelical truth as revivals of religion, because nothing is so irresistible."

It is likewise true that whatever is immoral and destructive to social institutions, is an impediment or obstruction to the work of revivals of religion and must be reformed if the new state of society under

1 From "A SERMON DELIVERED IN THE NORTH PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN HARTFORD, MAY 20, 1813."
2 "RESOURCES OF THE ADVERSARY, AND MEANS OF THEIR DESTRUCTION,"
the Millennium is to be born. "When I saw a rattlesnake in my path I
would smite it." That was the extent to which Lyman Beecher set himself
up to be a reformer, and thus it was that throughout his career in public
life, he was instrumental in promoting the following reform measures:
Against Duelling; Intemperance; Slavery; Public Lotteries (Gambling);
Profanity; Sabbath-Breaking, including the continuance of Sunday Mails;
and Poverty.

In order to counteract the forces of opposition, and at the same time
to improve the moral and intellectual conditions in the City of Boston, as
well as to furnish wholesome and elevating amusements, Beecher organised
or sponsored the following societies during his ministry in that city:

"The Boston Lyceum"
"The Franklin Debating Society"
"The Boston Young Men's Society"
"The Boston Young Men's Marine Bible Society"
"Young Men's Society for the Promotion of Literature and Science"
"Boston Laboring Young Men's Temperance Society"
"Lyceum Elocution and Debating Society"
"Mercantile Library Association"
"Young Men's Temperance Society"
"Mechanics' Lyceum"
"Mechanics' Apprentices Library Association"
"Young Men's Christian Association"

In the opinion of Professor Stowe, "it belonged to Beecher and his
class [at Yale] to reform public morals and correct erroneous inferences
from the old theology." Years later, after the passing of both Lyman
Beecher and his son Henry Ward, Lyman Abbott observed that the father had
"carried into ethical questions the same intensity of conviction and fiery
earnestness which he carried into theological controversies. He was more
of a theologian than his son, but he was not less a moral reformer."
Having examined the doctrinal theology of Lyman Beecher, and having observed how that its emphasis upon the doctrine of free agency and accountability furnished unprecedented motive power to human instrumentality in the progress of civilisation towards the Millennium, the remainder of this dissertation will treat the subject of Beecher's ministrations in the world of public morals and of his influence as a social reformer.

AGAINST DUELLING

© LAWS OF THE STATE OF NEW-JERSEY, 1703-1821 ©

"AN ACT for the punishment of crimes. Passed the 18th of March, 1796.

"And be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, (Council and General Assembly of the State of New-Jersey) that if any person shall, by word, message, letter or any other way, challenge another to fight a duel,...... or shall accept a challenge, although no duel be fought, or knowingly be the bearer of such challenge, or shall any ways abet, prompt, encourage, persuade, seduce, or cause any person to fight a duel, or to challenge another to fight such duel, every person so offending shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and, on conviction, shall be punished by fine, not exceeding five hundred dollars, or imprisonment at hard labor, not exceeding two years, or both. And further,

"If any person shall engage in and fight a duel with another,...... although death does not thereby ensue, or shall be a second in any such duel, then, and in such case, every person so offending shall be adjudged to be guilty of a high misdemeanor, and, on conviction, shall be punished by fine, not exceeding one thousand dollars, or imprisonment at hard labor, not exceeding four years, or both."

In spite of the above statute, Colonel Aaron Burr, then Vice President of the United States, challenged General Alexander Hamilton to a duel in the year 1804. The latter had recently been appointed Ambassador to Paris. They were involved in a dispute, personal and political in nature, which had been prolonged over a period of fifteen years. The crisis was reached at the fatal meeting on 11th July, at Weehauken, New Jersey, when Hamilton was mortally wounded. He had resolved not to return the shot, but

1 Revised Statutes, Paragraph 56, Page 259.
when he received his opponent's fire his own pistol fired involuntarily in an opposite direction. His death occurred on the following day.

When the issue of the duel became generally known, the entire nation was stunned with regret and sorrow. "Few individuals died more lamented than General Hamilton, whose funeral at New York was observed with unusual respect and ceremony. All the public functionaries attended, and the bells, muffled, tolled during the day. All business was suspended, and the principal inhabitants were mourning for six weeks. No death save that of Washington, had filled the republic with such a deep and universal regret." 1)

Hamilton had striven to bring about a peaceful settlement of their differences, but without success. On the evening before his interview with Burr, he wrote his will; also, a paper on which he recorded the following comments:

"On my expected interview with Colonel Burr, I think it proper to make some remarks explanatory of my conduct, motives, and views. I was certainly desirous of avoiding this interview, for the most cogent reasons:--

"First.—My religious and moral principles are strongly opposed to the practise of duelling, and it would ever give me pain to shed the blood of a fellow creature in a private combat, forbidden by the laws.

"Secondly.—My wife and children are extremely dear to me, and my life is of the utmost importance to them, in various points of view.

"Thirdly.—I feel a sense of obligation towards my creditors, who, in case of accident to me, by the forced sale of my property, may be in some degree sufferers. I do not think myself at liberty, as a man of probity, lightly to expose them to hazard.

"Fourthly.—I am conscious of no ill will to Colonel Burr, distinct from political opposition, which, I trust, has proceeded from pure and upright motives.

"Lastly.—I shall hazard much and can possibly gain nothing by the issue of the interview."

At that time Lyman Beecher was minister of the Presbyterian Church at East Hampton, Long Island. The news of the combat between Burr and Hamilton aroused his indignation against the outrages perpetuated by the illegal custom of duelling. "I kept thinking and thinking," said he, "and my indignation did not go to sleep. It kept working and working, and finally I began to write.... It was the duel, and myself, and God, that produced that sermon." At last, after six months' labour, the sermon was ready for delivery. It was preached first in East Hampton, and then before the Presbytery, at Aquebogue, Long Island, 16th April, 1806. By order of the Presbytery the discourse was printed in a limited edition for local circulation. A few copies reached New York City, where it was reviewed by a prominent editor. In consequence, an association against duelling was formed in New York, based upon the principles set forth in Beecher's sermon. The remedy for arresting the practice of duelling, as advocated by the author, was the withholding of the public suffrage from duellists:

"THERE IS NO WAY TO DEAL WITH THESE MEN, BUT TO MAKE THEM FEEL THEIR DEPENDENCE ON THE PEOPLE; AND NO WAY TO EFFECT THIS, BUT TO TAKE THE PUNISHMENT OF THEIR CRIMES INTO OUR OWN HANDS. OUR CONSCIENCE MUST BE THE JUDGE, AND WE MUST OURSELVES CONVICT, AND FINES, AND DISGRACE THEM AT THE POLLS. HERE, AND NOWHERE BESIDES, WILL OUR VOICE BE HEARD, AND OUR WILL BECOME LAW."

Subsequently, at a meeting of the Synod, convened at Newark, New Jersey, Beecher introduced a resolution recommending the formation of societies against duelling. After a heated discussion, in the face of stubborn opposition, the resolution was adopted. Meanwhile, the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, during its session of 1805, had already passed resolutions against duelling, and recommended to all the

ministers under the care of the Assembly that they should scrupulously refuse to attend the funeral of any person who had fallen in a duel; and that they should admit no person into the full privileges of church membership who had been involved in any way in duelling, without first securing evidence of penitence and personal reformation.

"When the above recommendation of the General Assembly to ministers in their connexion, to discountenance, by all proper means in their power, the scandalous practice of duelling, came to hand, he (Beecher) was led to inquire whether the evil did really admit a remedy? what that remedy might be, and in what manner, as an individual, he might exert himself with effect? The ensuing discourse, delivered first to the people of his own charge, and afterwards before the Presbytery, is the result of this investigation. The efficacy of the proposed remedy, if applied, he cannot question; and that in the mass of community there is yet remaining a sufficient abhorrence of the crime to effect its extinction, he can no more question. Whether the public mind can be so generally awakened to the subject, and engage to act with such decision as to counteract the influence of sophistry, political prejudice, and other causes, time alone can determine. The Presbytery, however, were disposed to make the experiment, so far as the distribution of this discourse, seconded by their own efforts and the co-operation of their churches, might have influence; hoping that this small beginning might awaken a more extensive attention to the subject, and issue in a general combination of all good men and real patriots, to cleanse the land from blood."

The matter of duelling was not only a moral issue, but it became a political one as well. In 1839 the Congress of the United States passed a law prohibiting duelling in the District of Columbia. When Henry Clay was running for the office of President, his Democratic opponents printed and circulated forty thousand copies of Beecher's sermon. Thus it was that Lyman Beecher entered upon his career as a social reformer, and thus it was that the name "BEECHER" for the first time was assured of a permanent place in the annals of history.

1 "PREFACE," to the "Remedy for Duelling," published by request of the Presbytery, 1806.
TEMPERANCE MEASURES AND LECTURES

1) The credit of having "originated the temperance reform" was ascribed to Lyman Beecher by Robert Ellis Thompson, in "A HISTORY OF THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCHES IN THE UNITED STATES," (Volume VI, page 108, of the "American Church History Series). The author further maintained that "the temperance agitation may fairly be dated from Lyman Beecher's "SIX SERMONS ON INTEMPERANCE," preached in 1825 at Litchfield, Conn., and published the next year."

Guy Hayler, author of "PROHIBITION IN ALL LANDS, (London: 1913)," recorded the following item with reference to the origin of temperance reform in the United Kingdom: "Three (four) years after Dr. Lyman Beecher preached his Six Sermons in the United States, Rev. Dr. John Edgar of Belfast, inaugurated the Temperance Crusade in the United Kingdom by issuing his now historic appeal in August, 1829." Dr. Edgar, late Professor of Divinity, at Belfast, Ireland, in an "ESSAY ON INTEMPERANCE," referred to the "SIX SERMONS," thus: "By the Sermons which are now published he (Beecher) commenced, in America, a system of reformation of incalculable extent, and created a new era in the world's history."

It is evident from Beecher's own testimony contained in his "AUTOBIOGRAPHY AND CORRESPONDENCE," that his interest in the problem of Intemperance was first aroused during his ministry at East Hampton. In connexion with his revival efforts in that parish he preached to the Montauk Indians who lived at Montauk Point, on the tip end of Long Island. One of the

1 Opus cit., p. 108.
2 Ibid., p. 130.
3 Ibid., p. 38.
impediments which tended to defeat his labours was intemperance among the Indians. A certain unscrupulous white man exploited the red men by bartering liquor for corn. Finally, when the winters set in, and the supplies of corn were exhausted, the Indians were compelled to buy back their own corn at exorbitant prices. The result was poverty, misery, hardship, and suffering—all of which burned an indelible impression upon the conscience of Beecher. In such an environment the idea of his sermon, "A REFORMATION OF MORALS PRACTICABLE AND INCONSPERABLE," germinated. That sermon was the forerunner of his more famous "SIX SERMONS," which likewise had their inception at East Hampton, though they were not given to the world until after their author had moved to Litchfield.

Prior to 1825, Lyman Beecher had not been an advocate of total abstinence. He was convinced that drunkenness was traceable chiefly to the consumption of hard liquors. The circumstances which led him to adopt more stringent sentiments on the subject of Temperance are described by Esther H. Thompson, in the "Waterbury American," 22nd February, 1906, and quoted in "THE HISTORY OF THE TOWN OF LITCHFIELD, CONNECTICUT (1920)," by Alain E.

"Two leading members of his own church," says Miss Thompson, "Capt. Wadsworth and Deacon Bradley, kept a tavern and grocery store in Bantam, where fermented and distilled liquors flowed freely as was then the universal custom in such places. Unseemly carousals were common, in one of which there was a battle wherein salted codfish figured as weapons, adding thereby no dignity to the church, and deeply grieving the wife of Capt. Wadsworth who was the sister of Deacon Bradley. She was a woman of superior intellect, deep piety, and early became a believer in total abstinence.

"It is said that her influence was potent in arousing Dr. Beecher to see and to preach against the evil of intemperance. But he was especially led to sentiments so much in advance of the age by the scruples of his friend and parishioner, Hezekiah Murray, from the Pitch. This man owned a Still. Noticing the

evil effects of its product on the young men of the neighborhood, he forbade his own sons to drink from it. Then he questioned, 'if distilled liquor was bad for his children, was it right to put it before the sons of his neighbors?' and he came to Dr. Beecher for advice.

"At first the minister, in accordance with the almost universal opinion of the time, argued strongly in favor of moderate drinking. But the subject was before him and 'would not down.' After weeks of careful thought and study, there thundered from the pulpit the memorable Six Sermons on Intemperance, which we are told were afterwards extensively circulated on both sides of the Atlantic, and started a movement which has never stopped."

The crisis had not been reached, however, until the occasion described by Beecher himself, and quoted by President Joseph E. Tuttle, in "THE LATE LYMAN BEECHER, D.D." from the "American Presbyterian and Theological Review," 1) April, 1863. Said Beecher:

"I had long been impressed with the growing evils of intemperance already swelling into a deluge of ruin. Excited by my observations, and feeling that something must be done, I blocked out those six sermons, and laid them on the shelf for the moment when Providence should bid me preach them. The tide was running with gulf-stream power in favor of intemperance, and one wanted nerve to stem it single-handed.

"There was a young man living in a remote part of the parish in whom I had an almost paternal interest. I had married him and had watched his course with pleasure. Occasionally I preached at his house and remained over night. For some time my visits were evidently pleasant to him, but at last I began to notice that as soon as meeting was over he would hurry off to bed, but I did not suspect the cause. I knew something was wrong, because his wife seemed crushed by some terrible grief. One night after meeting I drew my chair beside her and said: 'My child, tell me what it is!' For a while she hesitated, and then with a passionate outburst of grief

exclaimed: "My husband has become a drunkard!" This was a peal of thunder in a clear sky. My heart bled for her, and I heard Providence almost audibly saying: 'Go preach the preaching which I shall bid thee.' I felt the time had come to take the sermons down from the shelf, and I did so, with what result is known to the world."

The effect produced by the "SIX SERMONS" was instantaneous. In 1826, the year following their delivery in Litchfield, they were published in Boston in several editions. Subsequently, the copyright privileges were sold to the "American Tract Society" who printed the discourses for worldwide distribution. The sermons were numbered, therefore, "among the most efficient, permanent documents of the temperance reform in both this country and Europe. They have been translated into many foreign languages, even into that of the Hottentots, carrying with them the burning energy which first gave them birth."

Several factors contributed to their immediate success and lasting greatness. First of all, the "SERMONS" were written during the prime of his manhood. They combine the fervour of youth and the power of matured thought. They are characterised by logic, strength and fiery earnestness. "Then, his warmest personal sympathies were enlisted to save his friends. His mind, always practical and never working so forcefully as when it was pursuing some grand and tangible object, had one of the most terrible evils to wrestle with."

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Moreover, Beecher's discourses were designed to meet a great human need which was universally felt. Already, the first warning had been given by Dr. Rush, in 1804, through the publication of his pamphlet, "INQUIRY INTO THE EFFECTS OF ARDENT SPIRITS UPON THE HUMAN MIND AND BODY." What was needed was the sound of an alarm, in view of the imminent perils which were encroaching unstopped. It remained for the General Association of Connecticut to arouse the churches of New England to a realisation of the perilous crisis. This was accomplished at the Association Meeting of 1812 when the committee, appointed for the purpose of recommending ways and means to stay the flood of intemperance, made its epoch-making report. The drafting of the provisions and recommendations contained therein was the work of the chairman of the committee—Lyman Beecher. An extract of the report is here given:

"The General Association of Connecticut, taking into consideration the undue consumption of ardent spirits, the enormous sacrifice of property resulting, the alarming increase of intemperance, the deadly effect on health, intellect, the family, society, civil and religious institutions, and especially in nullifying the means of grace and destroying souls, recommend:

1. Appropriate discourses on the subject by all ministers of Association.

2. That District Associations abstain from the use of ardent spirits at ecclesiastical meetings.

3. That members of Churches abstain from the unlawful vending, or purchase and use of ardent spirits, where unlawfully sold; exercise vigilant discipline, and cease to consider the production of ardent spirits a part of hospitable entertainment in social visits.

4. That parents cease from the ordinary use of ardent spirits in the family, and warn their children of the evils and dangers of intemperance.

5. That farmers, mechanics, and manufacturers substitute palatable and nutritious drinks, and give additional compensation, if necessary, to those in their employ.

6. To circulate documents on the subject, especially a

sermon by Rev. E. Porter and a pamphlet by Dr. Rush.

"7. To form voluntary associations to aid the civil magistrate in the execution of the law.

"And that these practical measures may not be rendered ineffectual, the Association do most earnestly entreat their brethren in the ministry, the members of our churches, and the persons who lament and desire to check the progress of this evil, that they neither express nor indulge the melancholy apprehension that nothing can be done on this subject; a prediction eminently calculated to paralyse exertion, and become the disastrous cause of its own fulfillment..................

These reform measures were carefully considered and discussed by the association, after which the report was adopted en toto. A thousand printed copies were ordered for wide distribution. One of the immediate results of the action taken by the Connecticut Association was the founding of the Massachusetts Temperance Society, in 1813, the oldest society of its kind in America.

During the year which followed the publication of the "SIX SERMONS," associations were formed throughout the United States for the purpose of putting into effect the reform measures proposed by Beecher. In some towns in New England the consumption of spirituous liquors was reduced by one forth, while in others it was diminished by one half. "Before the American Temperance Societies had existed three years, "THE CONSUMPTION OF ARDENT SPIRITS HAD BEEN DIMINISHED ONE HALF IN NEW ENGLAND, AND ONE THIRD OVER THE WHOLE STATES OF THE UNION." 1) In Ireland and in Scotland, before seven months had passed by "more than sixty Temperance Societies, contained above 4,000 members, had been formed." 2)

In the summer of 1846, "A World's Temperance Convention" was held in London, at which representatives from the temperance organisations of the United Kingdom and the United States were present. The sessions

2) Ibid., p. 11.
were held August 4th, 5th, 6th, and 7th in the "Literary Institute,"
Aldersgate Street. On the list of prominent temperance advocates was
Lyman Beecher, — then seventy-one years of age. He delivered addresses
in London, Edinburgh and Glasgow. Before embarking for America he addressed
a huge gathering in the "Concert Hall," Lord Nelson Street, Liverpool.

When Beecher became minister of the Hanover Street Church, in Boston, Massachusetts, he organised the first "Young Men's Christian Association" in that city, for the benefit of the young men of his parish. One of those young men was converted by Dr. Beecher in a revival meeting, and later entered Lane Seminary as his pupil, in preparation for the Gospel ministry. He was an ardent admirer of Beecher, and wrote the following paragraphs with reference to the influence of the "SIX SERMONS" in connexion with

1) the reform activities of the Y.M.C.A.:

"There was in Lyman Beecher the most enthusiastic sympathy with young men in all their efforts for personal or public improvement. In our meetings he was an inspiring power. 'Young Gentlemen,' he would say, 'anything can be done that ought to be done.........'

"This preemptive right of the people of the old Common for any purpose which they might choose had thus far been unquestioned until we of the Y.M.C.A., under Dr. Beecher as our captain, assaulted the stronghold of intemperance in these liquor booths. It was a mighty struggle — first, with the municipal authorities; second, with the judiciary; and lastly with public sentiment. But we won the victory almost in the dark, for no one knew whence came the power that triumphed. Those ancient privileges of liquor-selling and of riotous revelry on Boston Common on public days, have never been restored in the least degree to this day.

1 James C. White, "PERSONAL REMINISCENCES OF LYMAN BEECHER, (1882)," page 8.
"This was one of the grand results of the preaching of those everlastingly famous 'Six Sermons on Intemperance,' by Lyman Beecher, which I heard him deliver in the Hanover Street Church."

In the year 1853, after Beecher had retired from active service at Lane Theological Seminary, and after his removal to Boston, at the age of seventy-eight he still showed a lively interest in civic affairs, as is evident from the contents of his, "ADDRESS TO THE CITIZENS OF BOSTON, AND MEMORIALS TO THE CITY GOVERNMENT, IN BEHALF OF THE MASSACHUSETTS ANTI-
LIQUOR LAW."

"... You are aware that the Legislature of Massachusetts, under a solemn sense of the evils and ravages of intemperance, passed a law in the session of 1852, prohibiting, throughout the State, the sale of intoxicating drinks as a beverage; providing, however, at the same time, for the sale of alcohol for all legitimate and useful purposes...."

"This law, so just and beneficial, you are aware, has not been executed in the city of Boston. As far as restraining the traffic in ardent spirits, and thus staying the tide of pauperism, crime, and wretchedness that flow from intemperance, it stands today on the statute book a dead letter. Influences have been brought to bear against its execution which thus far have left us under the full influence of the curse which it is the aim of this law to destroy.

"... Men of Boston! Are we so weak, or so cowardly, or such slaves to this usurpation, that we cannot throw off the yoke, and gain our freedom? Descendants of the Puritans—we, whose ancestors gained and established our political liberties—the inhabitants of a state that has ever occupied the front rank in every philanthropic and benevolent movement—will you, at such a crisis as this, be recreant to your duty!"

Upon the conclusion of his address, a petition was circulated among the citizens of Boston, summoning the Mayor and Aldermen to a recognition of their public duties, under the title, "MEMORIAL IN BEHALF OF AN EXECUTION OF THE LAW, PRESENTED TO THE MAYOR AND ALDERMEN WITH THE ACCOMPANYING SIGNATURES:

"To the Mayor and Aldermen of the City of Boston:

"..... The question before you, as we apprehend, is reduced to this single point. If there be any doubt respecting the propriety of the law to which we refer, it belongs to other tribunals to pass judgment on such a question. On you it devolves to see that the law is carried into effect without delay and without evasion, and this we respectfully ask; and this we are bound by our reliance on your character to believe will be done."

That was undoubtedly the occasion which evoked the supplication from Beecher:

"O Lord, grant that we may not despise our rulers; and grant, O Lord, that they may not act so we can't help it!"

NOTES:

According to the author of the "SIX SERMONS," the "universal, natural, and national remedy for intemperance," was:

"THE BANISHMENT OF ARDENT SPIRITS FROM THE LIST OF LAWFUL ARTICLES OF COMMERCE, BY A CORRECT AND EFFICIENT PUBLIC SENTIMENT; SUCH AS HAS TURNED SLAVERY OUT OF HALF OF OUR LAND, AND WILL YET EXPEL IT FROM THE WORLD."

With respect to slavery, subsequent history has shown that neither laws nor public sentiment were sufficient to banish the system from America and secure freedom for three millions of slaves. Nor were they sufficiently powerful to avert the disastrous civil war of 1860 to 1865.

As to the banishment of intoxicating liquors, public sentiment was influential enough to urge all but two of the forty-eight states of the United States to ratify and adopt the Eighteenth Amendment to the Consti-

1 From "THE BOSTON HERALD," lst (?) November, 1935
stitution. That amendment, — being the prohibition amendment, became law on 16th January, 1920. Thirteen years later, public sentiment induced three-fourths of the states to vote for the repeal of federal prohibition law; and on 5th December, 1933, the Eighteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States was repealed. The text of the prohibitory law is here quoted to show the comparison between it and the remedy advocated by Lyman Beecher in 1826:

"After one year from the ratification of this article (the Eighteenth Amendment) the manufacture, sale, or transportation of intoxicating liquors within, the importation thereof into, or the exportation thereof from the United States and all territory subject to the jurisdiction thereof for beverage purposes is hereby prohibited."

One thing which the prohibition experiment in America taught, was that the reformation of morals is not to be achieved merely by any device of politics or through any process of law. Beecher's own words are perfectly applicable to the situation: "All other means — science, legislation, philosophy, eloquence, and argument — have been relied on in vain. The disease is of the heart, and they reach it not."

In view of this declaration, one would naturally expect that inasmuch as the problem of intemperance is a moral problem, as well as social and economic, Beecher would have advocated a remedy of a moral nature. Instead, a purely artificial remedy was set forth as the "universal, natural, and national remedy for intemperance." One searches the pages of the "SIX SERMONS" in vain if he expects to discover what religion might be able to do to help the victim of intemperance overcome his vicious habits. No mention is made of the fact that He who forgives sin is also the drunkard's Saviour!

To be sure, religion as a motive to reform is implied throughout, but there would hardly be any need for the aid of religion if the "universal, natural, and national remedy for intemperance" is purely a legal process.

ANTISLAVERY

The crime of duelling was a legitimate offspring of slavery. In America they were related to each other as effect is related to cause. Dr. Beecher observed that "there is a relationship in crimes, which renders familiarity with one a harbinger to familiarity with another." The truth of this statement is strikingly illustrated by the fact that Beecher's sermon on "DUELLING" was applied to the crime of "SLAVEHOLDING," by one of his former parishioners in Boston, in 1838. The word "slaveholding" was substituted for "duelling," and "man-stealing" for "murder." Accordingly the sermon against duelling applied equally to the evil of slavery. It is not to be wondered at, therefore, that if Beecher was constrained to oppose the lesser crime he should denounce the major; since both those social evils were hostile to the work of revivals of religion, and effective in delaying the advent of the Millennium.

It happened that Beecher's interest in each of the three major reform issues of his generation -- duelling, intemperance, and slavery, was first enlisted while at East Hampton. There were slaves on Gardiner's Island. Moreover, "there were many 'people of Colour' living in Freetown, and services were held for them, they were converted in revivals, baptised with their children, taken into church membership, though not counted in

the total of church members any more than were the Indians."

As an antislavery advocate, Beecher was regarded as a reformer to a limited degree only. He represented himself as favouring at the same time, both the cause of "Colonization" and that of "Emancipation;" and while he himself was conscious of no contradiction between his views, the advocates of each policy represented him as openly inconsistent. Moreover, it was felt that his traditional conservatism tended to neutralise the effectiveness of his efforts in behalf of any phase of the slavery reform movement.

From the radical measures advocated by the extreme, or "Garrisonian Abolitionists," Beecher recoiled with a feeling of horror. The agitators of such policies were "made up of vinegar, aqua fortis, and oil of vitriol, with brimstone, saltpetre, and charcoal, to explode and scatter the corrosive matter." First and foremost, they demanded the immediate emancipation of the slaves, regardless of any other consideration whatsoever. They were said to have "hated, despised and distrusted the Colonizationists almost as much as the slaveholders themselves."

The "Colonizationists," on the other hand, denounced the "Abolitionists" as fanatics, and advocated the gradual emancipation of the slaves by purchasing them from their owners and returning them to Africa. Beecher's sympathies were principally with the policies of this second group. He stoutly resisted every proposal to attempt any form of reformation outside of or in defiance to the existing institutions -- especially the Church.

The reason for his reluctance in taking more drastic measures was not because he was unconcerned over the approaching crisis, but that he was

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more concerned for the peace and unity of the churches, which he regarded as an especially significant sign of the approach of the Millennium.

Professor Stowe maintained that Beecher "had, without being conscious of it, not a little of the old Connecticut prejudice about the blacks." While there may be an element of truth in that conclusion, Beecher was an open and avowed antislavery man. At Lane Theological Seminary, coloured students were received on an equal footing with whites; and to at least one coloured student, who was formerly a slave, special considerations were extended both by faculty and students alike. The following declarations, contained in a letter to Mr. Arthur Tappan of New York, dated 23 April, 1833, by Beecher himself, should dispel any doubts on this point:

"I am not apprised of the ground of controversy between the Colonizationists and the Abolitionists. I am myself both, without perceiving in myself any inconsistency. Were it in my power to put an end to slavery immediately, I would do it; but it is not. I can only pursue the measures best calculated, in my judgment, to get the slaves out of bondage in the shortest time and best manner; and this, as I view the subject, is to make emancipation easy instead of difficult; to make use of the current of human fears, and passions, and interests, when they may be made to set in our favor, instead of attempting to row up stream against them ......

"I trust God has begun, by the instrumentality of both, a great work, which will not stop until not only the oppressed here are free, but Africa herself shall have rest in the Lord along her extended coast and deep interior."

It was during Beecher's ministry in Boston that he was confronted with the crisis of having to declare himself either for or against the Abolitionist movement. The attitude and conduct of William Lloyd Garrison sharpened the distinction between "Abolition" and "Colonization". He was one of Beecher's parishioners, and an ardent believer in immediate repentance as propounded by Dr. Beecher.

"Is not slavery a national sin?" Garrison asked his pastor. Beecher agreed.

"Well, then," said Garrison, "in accordance with your doctrine of immediate repentance is it not the duty of this nation to repent immediately of the sin of slavery and emancipate the slaves?"

"Oh, Garrison, you can't reason that way!" protested Beecher. "Great economic and political questions can't be solved so simply. You must take into account what is expedient as well as what is right."

Up until the year 1829, William Lloyd Garrison had been an advocate of gradual emancipation. With the publication of the first issue of the "LIBERATOR," in January, 1831, he announced himself to be an avowed "Abolitionist!" The Constitution of the United States, he declared was "a covenant with death and an agreement with Hell," because it tolerated slavery. When he asked for Beecher's support, both for himself and for the cause of Abolition, the latter was said to have replied: "No, I have too many irons in the fire already." Thus, it became clear that while Beecher and Garrison were not alienated because of their purpose and desire to free the slaves, they were widely separated on the question as to the method that should be used to accomplish the common goal. Said Oliver Johnson: "I verily believe that if Lyman Beecher had been true to Christ and to liberty in that trying hour, the whole course of American history would have been changed, and the slaves might have been emancipated without the shedding of blood." Evidently Beecher thought differently, and in March, 1838, he wrote as follows:

"I regard the whole abolition movement, under its most influential leaders, with its distinctive maxims and modes of feeling, and also the whole temper, principles, and action of the South in the justification of slavery, as signal instances of infatuation permitted by Heaven for purposes of national retribution. God never raised up such men as Garrison, and

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1 "SAINTS, SINNERS AND BEECHERS," by Lyman Beecher Stowe, p. 60.
2 "TRUMPETS OF JUBILEE," by Constance Mayfield Rourke, p. 57.
3 Ibid., pp. 57-58.
others like him, as the ministers of his mercy for purposes of peaceful reform, but only as the fit and fearful ministers of his vengeance upon a people incorrigibly wicked."

In Cincinnati, Beecher was situated on the border territory where the extremes of slavery sentiments on both sides met in fierce collision. As the administrator of Lane Seminary, established to serve the Presbyterian Church in the United States, he refused to surrender the control of the institution to either party. Besieged on all sides, an imbroglio developed within its walls in 1854, as the result of a clash between the trustees of the Seminary and certain members of the student body, while Dr. Beecher was in the East engaged in soliciting endowment funds.

When the Abolition movement swept over the land, the students, under the influence of Theodore Weld, an instructor at Lane, and a fiery iconoclast, became zealously engaged in the promotion of antislavery agitation. Moved by the ideals and principles of the Abolitionists, they conducted a nine day debate against Colonization and for immediate Emancipation. Moreover, the students entered into the negro homes of Cincinnati and conducted study classes. When public sentiment rose to a critical point, the students engaged as deputy sheriffs to help protect the homes of the coloured population against violence.

The trustees, alarmed lest the agitation should bring disaster upon the Seminary, without first consulting the faculty, adopted stringent measures to curb the antislavery activities of the student body. They were forbidden even to discuss the subject of slavery, either in public or in private. By the time of Beecher's return to Cincinnati, a revolt of the students was already in effect. Unless the trustees countermanded their orders, the students threatened to withdraw from the Seminary.

Beecher strove in vain to effect a reconciliation. At the same time he consulted with the students, warning them that in matters of reform
true wisdom consisted in advocating a cause only so far as it would be sustained by the community. But it was all to no avail. The action of the trustees had stigmatised the Seminary "proslavery." The paper founded by William Lloyd Garrison, "THE LIBERATOR", declared that "Lane Seminary is now to be regarded as strictly a Bastile of oppression -- a spiritual Inquisition."

Consequently, in the autumn of 1834, "four fifths of the students (thirty-five) speedily left the institution in a body, and after some negotiation proposed to go to Oberlin (Ohio) provided Rev. Charles G. Finney could be secured as a theological instructor...; and in the spring of 1835, ..... the Lane students came, and Oberlin Theological Seminary was established." Through the generosity of Mr. Arthur Tappan of New York, donor of the endowment which provided for the theological professorship at Lane Seminary and President of the National Antislavery Society, a similar chair in "Didactic, Polemic, and Pastoral Theology" was endowed at Oberlin for Charles Grandison Finney, who later became President of Oberlin College.

Although in 1833 Lyman Beecher had declared himself to be in favour of both the "Abolitionist" and "Colonizationist"movements, by 1834 it appears that his sympathies had sided wholly with the latter. In an address before a Colonization meeting, assembled in Cincinnati in 1834, he spoke as follows:

"We oppose not the emanipation or elevation of the colored race. We desire it sooner than it can come, we fear, by the means relied on by many. We have only to say to our brethren

1 From "SAINTS, SINNERS AND BEECHERS," by Lyman Beecher Stowe, p. 59
3 "THE AFRICAN REPOSITORY," March, 1863, p. 95.
(the Abolitionists), hinder us not. Commend your cause to public confidence in your own way, and we will do the same with ours, and let the people judge; but let there be no controversy between us. But if, after all, the abandonment of colonization is demanded, as the only condition of peace, then we have made our election. If it be possible, as much as in us lieth, we will live peaceably, but we cannot abandon the one hundred millions of Africa."

In conclusion, a fair estimate of the services rendered to the cause of antislavery by Lyman Beecher would reiterate the most important fact, namely that Lyman Beecher was "the father of all the Beechers," — and all the Beechers were ardent antislavery advocates!

There was undoubtedly a good deal of truth in his reply to Garrison: "I have too many irons in the fire already." Throughout his lifetime he had encountered all the major movements — religious, political, and social. Said the author of "TRUMPETS OF JUBILEE," with respect to those major movements of his period, he had a singular gift for crashing into them, glancing past them, or riding them as a skilled swimmer rides a wave."

The slavery issue, however, did not reach its height until after he had reached his latter years. He had deemed it his duty to remain in the existing organisations, and through their instrumentality endeavour to bring about emancipation by peaceful methods. He had now reached the time of life when he could no longer grapple with the colossal social evils which were besetting the peace and happiness of the rising generation. His armour must fall on other shoulders, and his sword must be grasped by other hands.

It must be borne in mind that Henry Ward Beecher, the celebrated antislavery preacher, from the pulpit of whose church in Brooklyn, New York, thundered forth his invective against slavery, and was "Minister Plenipotentiary" to England during the Civil War in America, was the son of

1 "FOREWORD," by Constance Hayfield Rourke, p. viii.
Lyman Beecher. When the younger Beecher published his "SEVEN LECTURES TO YOUNG MEN, ON VARIOUS IMPORTANT SUBJECTS," he dedicated the volume:

To
Lyman Beecher, D.D.

"To you I owe more than to any other living being. In childhood, you were my parent; in later life, my teacher; in manhood, my companion. To your affectionate vigilance I owe my principles, my knowledge, and that I am a minister of the Gospel of Christ. For whatever profit they derive from this little Book, the young will be indebted to you."

Nor should it be forgotten that Harriet Beecher Stowe was Lyman Beecher's daughter. Because she was virtually in sympathy with her father on the subject of slavery, in whose judgment she had limitless confidence, she was never an Abolitionist of the Garrisonian type, but she was an abolitionist after the fervent spirit of her more conservative father. In a letter dated 9th July, 1851, directed to Frederick Douglass, the renowned negro orator, the conscious influence of her father was openly acknowledged in these stirring passages:

"I am a minister's daughter, and a minister's wife, and I have had six brothers in the ministry (one is in heaven); I certainly ought to know something of the feelings of ministers on this subject. I was a child in 1820, when the Missouri question was agitated, and one of the strongest and deepest impressions on my mind was that made by my father's sermons and prayers, and the anguish of his soul for the poor slave at that time. I remember his preaching drawing tears down the hardest faces of the old farmers in his congregation.

"I well remember his prayers, morning and evening in the family, for 'poor, oppressed, and bleeding Africa,' that the time of her deliverance might come; prayers offered with strong crying and tears, and which indelibly impressed my heart and made me what I am from my very soul, the enemy of all slavery."

1 From "LIFE OF HARRIET BEECHER STOWE," by Charles E. Stowe, p. 152.
Thus it was that Lyman Beecher made his contributions in preparation for the Millennial Age -- through his revival preaching, his theological instruction, his social reforms, and lastly, through his children. Together they had sojourned in a land of promise; together they lifted human society towards the estate of the Millennium; together they looked for a social order which hath foundations, whose builder and maker is God.
AN APPRECIATION
After almost two years of practically uninterrupted investigation, the writer brings this study to a close with a sense of elevation and gratitude such as one is conscious of after being in the presence of a rich and dynamic personality. So completely absorbed was he in this undertaking and so thoroughly arrested by the spirit of its subject, that the writer early realised that he was holding fellowship with a truly great soul. During the months of exhaustive toil and devoted contemplation, his waking thoughts each day and his last conscious ones at night centered in the person of Lyman Beecher -- the author's constant companion and inspiration.

As a creative thinker, the name of Beecher does not loom large among the lists of celebrated scholars in theology, philosophy, or metaphysics. His theology was characteristically apologetic; not because he lacked originality, but because the unpropitious circumstances of an age of controversy placed him on the defensive. In that respect, Beecher's career resembled that of Paul; but who could not honestly ascribe originality to the apostle's name and influence?

Though Lyman Beecher could hardly be rated in the class with Athanasius, Calvin, or Edwards, yet in his own generation there was hardly another name which was more frequently heard throughout the land; nor was there a periodical publication of any consequence, secular or religious, which did not frequently bear the name of Lyman Beecher in its columns. While it is true that his doctrines were fundamentally and essentially Calvinistic, Beecher's treatment of the tenets of the traditional ortho-
doxy was original and ingenious to such a degree that he was acknowledged to be the founder of "American Calvinism." So then, if greatness is measured by the breadth and power of personal influence, Lyman Beecher must be numbered among the truly great men. And were it not for the fact that he had to beat his wings against the bars of controversy, who is there to say that his flight into the realm of creative metaphysics might not have been that of the eagle!

As it was, Beecher's influence as a theologian has been likened unto that of Elisha, casting salt into corrupted waters. "The salt was lost to sight, but the fountains were 'healed.' He left to others the not less useful work of laying the enduring curb-stones about the fountains' rims." In any case, the precious truths of genuine Calvinism conserved in his masterpiece, "THE FAITH ONCE DELIVERED TO THE SAINTS," place Beecher's theology above and beyond the planes of "Pelagianism," and "Arminianism," and "Socinianism." Only those who are possessed of "rabies theologorum," can bring themselves to attach heretical epithets to his doctrinal expositions.

If Beecher may be likened unto Paul as an apologist and unto Elisha as a purifier of theological truth, then he may be likened also to Isaiah, as a herald of the Millennium in matters of social reform:

"Prepare ye in the wilderness the way of the Lord, Make straight in the desert a highway for our God. Every valley shall be exalted, And every mountain and hill shall be made low: And the crooked shall be made straight, And the rough places plain: And the glory of the Lord shall be revealed, And all flesh shall see it together: For the mouth of the Lord hath spoken it."

3 ENGLISH REVISED VERSION, from the "Modern Reader's Bible," Edited by Richard G. Moulton.
Beecher's greatness as a reformer lay in his conception of the relation between religion and ethics. In his judgment, religion is applicable to all the forms of human society; and social reforms are accomplished, in the final analysis, only by the motivating power of religion. "The ills of society may be traced neither to the constitution of society nor to the providence of God, but directly to the hearts of men."

They must be made right first. Meanwhile, for the protection of society and for the conservation of moral and religious institutions, laws and governments are instituted. The ultimate remedy for sin, however, be it social or individual, must be in the nature of religion. The statesmen of America, or of any other nation, exhibit great folly if they attempt to make their people great without first of all making them good.

The writer, therefore, feels that he must respectfully demur in the conclusion of Mr. Stowe, which asserts that "Lyman Beecher was a reformer not because of his theology but in spite of it." If there is one thing more than another made certain as a result of this study, it is the fact that there was not only no incompatibility between the theology and social reforms of Lyman Beecher, but that there was the closest connexion between the two. His theology was designed not only to produce revivals of religion, but it was designed also to produce social action! If what Mr. Stowe means is that whereas prior to the time of Beecher the Puritan theology was impotent in the presence of existing social evils, Beecher, on the other hand, dealt with theology in such a way as to emphasise both the natural ability of man to obey God's law and likewise their religious obligation to reform the morals of society, then the writer concurs whole-heartedly.

In the field of Christian statesmanship, the writer would place the name of Beecher beside the name of Moses. What other figure in history
was ever more concerned for the larger interests of God's kingdom? Who was ever more loyal to the Moral Government of God, or more concerned for the universal observance of His laws and commandments? And who was ever more faithful in his ceaseless efforts to bring about the reconciliation of rebellious subjects of that kingdom?

Moreover, who was ever more zealous in his purpose to know and understand the will and purpose of God for his people? Who has ever been more diligent in the study of the Scriptures and more alert in watching the signs of the times? What other country parish minister was ever more busily engaged in the laying out of extensive plans and the devising of ways and means for the evangelisation of the whole world?

A careful study of the bibliography appended to this thesis will show the amazing variety of interests which claimed the attention and active participation of Beecher, as is evident from the wide variety of subjects with which he dealt in his sermons, addresses, and lectures. There was not a phase of human activity in which he was not vitally interested -- and always with the attitude of the statesman, seeking to read and interpret the signs of the times with reference to the well-being of the kingdom of the Redeemer.

Throughout the years of his public life, his method in dealing with men was to move them rather than to mould them. He was convinced that once they saw the right and acted according to their best knowledge, they would be moulded after God's own plan and purpose. Nobody was ever more insistent upon the necessity of thinking and acting as individuals on all public issues demanding moral decision. Oh, how our statesmen, and the young men and women of this generation, need just the solid, substantial counsel which Beecher gave to a son of his, while a student at Yale Col-

Said he, "My son, there is no living in this world, and doing right, if you can not meet public opinion and resist it, when arrayed on the side of evil."

Finally, considered as a Christian disciple, Lyman Beecher may be likened unto Peter. Both of these friends of Jesus were impulsive, zealous, firey, explosive, head-strong, inconsistent, warm-hearted, affectionate, -- and above all, faithful to the end. Whereas the Master stood on the shores of the Sea of Galilee and called Peter to follow him, the same Lord confronted Lyman Beecher on the hill-sides of Connecticut and bade him leave his plow and follow after him. Verily, both Simon, son of Jonas, and Lyman Beecher became mighty fishers of men!

Neither of these disciples laid our great plans for their own lives; both were satisfied to follow in the Master's fellowship. For a majority of his years in the Gospel ministry, Beecher received less than a thousand dollars a year; and when he finally laid down the burden at Lane Seminary, the trustees were indebted to him to the extent of three thousand dollars. This sum, however, was subsequently paid in full to him during his years of retirement.

If ever a man lived with a single-hearted purpose, it was Lyman Beecher. That all-consuming purpose was to win souls for Jesus Christ! Nothing else mattered. Everything else faded into comparative insignificance.

into the Gospel ministry, who can number the unseen multitudes who rise up to bless the memory of Lyman Beecher because he led them to Jesus Christ!

"For all the saints who from their labours rest,
Who Thee by faith before the world confessed,
Thy Name, O Jesus, be forever blest:
Alleluia! Alleluia!

FINIS
APPENDIX
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DIALOGUE,

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Some of the Principles and Practical
Consequences of

MODERN INFIDELITY.

By Courtesy of the
PENNYPACKER LONG ISLAND COLLECTION
East Hampton, Long Island
New York
The public are now presented with the Dialogue that was prepared for the Exhibition in Clinton Academy, on the second day of April. My object in selecting it was solely to expose the folly and immoral tendency of modern Infidelity. It has, by some, been supposed to implicate the character of Mr. Jefferson— I can only observe, that I myself had no such apprehension; and whether it does or not, I leave to the decision of a candid public.

R. S. Storrs
(Teacher)
A DIALOGUE, 
EXHIBITING
Some of the Principles and Practical
Consequences of
MODERN INFIDELITY

Christianus
Philemon
Theoret
Toperus
Absalom
Servant
Officer, etc.

Characters

Scene opens—Christianus and Philemon enter.

Christianus. Alas, Philemon! what shall we do? Theoret, my nephew, whom you know with a father's care, and a father's love, I have educated, is undone. Absalom my son, my only son, is also by his example and influence destroy'd. I have but one daughter, and even for her my soul is in constant alarm. Can aught be done to reclaim these dear children and to bind up the wounds of my bleeding heart?

Philemon. O, Christianus, it is not for thy daughter only that thou hast cause of alarm, nor is it the fate of these thy children that will alone agonize thy heart; the mischief is of wider extent. The youth of the whole village are in danger. Theoret, subtle and insinuating, has read largely the productions of modern infidels—imbibed their spirit, adopted their high-sounding epithets, and armed himself with their poisoned arrows of ridicule. Thus equipped, his grand object is conquest—he goeth about seeking whom he may devour. To facilitate his object he conceals from public view the hideous features of his philosophy—avoids discussion with those who might withstand—but youth, innocent and unsuspecting, he attacks, confounds, poisons and destroys.

Christianus. This is more than I knew. My fears are indeed awake, and my heart wrung with anguish for the children of others, as well as for my own. But, Philemon, this is not the time for weeping, but for action. Something must be done—this wide-wasting pestilence must be stay'd, or every youth in the village will fall before it. What methods can be taken?

Philemon. We cannot hesitate. He profits by his concealment; he shoots his poison'd shafts from behind the covert: he
talks of philosophy, reason, nature—of priestcraft, fanaticism, superstition, and with such swelling words of vanity, dazzles, confounds and destroys the ignorant. His mask must be torn off—his place of retreat laid open—his horrid purposes disclosed in true colors; and when the monster stands confess'd, the danger is over. He will be despised and shunned by those whom he now beguiles.

**Christiannot.** The advice is good, but how shall it be reduced to practice? Who shall strip off his disguise and expose him?

**Philemon.** That shall be my employment. In the disguise of a youth, seeking instruction, I will ask counsel at his lips. Animated by the prospect of a proselyte, he will give it—will unbosom himself; will bring out his treasures of abomination.

**Christiannot.** Thou shalt do it; and may thy success be equal to thy wisdom, and thy zeal.

**Exeunt Christiannot and Philemon.**

**SCENE SECOND** Enter Theoret.

**Theoret.** Rejoice, rejoice, O earth, for the time of thy emancipation is at hand!—The sleep of 6000 years has ended! Reason has mounted her throne!—The march of mind is begun! Intellect hath pronounced the decree! Philosophy hath lifted up her torch, and the clouds of ignorance are flying away! The chains—the galling chains, the clanging chains of superstition, are now burst asunder. The mischiefs, the miseries, the tyranny, the dreadful, powerful, shameful, bloody tyranny of priestcraft is ended. Bigotry and superstition stand aghast! Science hath broken the bars and the bolts of her dungeon; the temples of imposture are falling, and the temples of reason rising on their ruins. Priest and fanatics may rave, but our victory is complete—human nature wills to be free!!! Behold, O reason, philosophy, nature, your votary. I denounce the Bible—I declare war against priests, fanatics, and bigots.—My life, my fortune, my labor, my influence are yours!!!

**Enter Philemon in disguise.**

**Philemon.** Pardon this intrusion sir, my name is Jonathan—I have come to enquire for the great Theoret.

(Toperus, partly intoxicated, is not attended to by Theoret and Philemon.)

**Toperus.** Well, that's he—that's master Theoret.
Theoret. My name is Theoret; and if to dare to think for one's self, to rise above vulgar prejudices, to cast off the trammels of education, to detest error and extract the quintessence of truth—if this be great, then I am indeed the great Theoret.

Toperus. So you be master, so you be. (Patting him, goes to the bottle and drinks.)

Philemon. I rejoice, sir, to meet you; from this time I am to devote myself to study. I am young and inexperienced; I need counsel and am determined to be a scholar; I wish to be a gentleman, and could I hope the attainment, a philosopher.

Theoret. Most readily will I assist you; and if by a few bold efforts you can throw off the prejudice of domestic education, will insure you success.

Toperus. That he will you; made me a philosopher and gentleman, in less than three days.

Philemon. I wait, impatient to receive your counsels. Pray begin.

Theoret. To begin then, you must know that by science and philosophy, we do not mean the same things once intended by those terms—by science we mean a knowledge of those ever memorable discoveries, which modern sages have pushed into the very bowels of superstition; and by philosophy we mean enmity to priestcraft, bigotry, fanaticism.

Toperus. So we do master, don't we?

Philemon. Whatever philosophy may mean, whatever study it may require, I am determined to be a philosopher.

Theoret. Talk not, my friend, of hard study; that would lead to superstition. Profound knowledge and accurate science is not to be your object. Great men are not made by turning over musty folios, but by studying nature. There is an energy in intellect untramelled by superstition, by which it can mount up, and seize at one comprehensive grasp the whole system of truth.

Philemon. O sir, that I could thus mount up.

Theoret. You can; you shall thus mount up. I perceive in your soul the energies of nature—the embryo of future greatness.

Toperus. Don't you see in my soul too—energies of nature?

Philemon. But sir, may I dispense with all study?
Theoret. Not entirely. You must be able to read, or your mind could never be illuminated by the immortal works, of the immortal philosophers.

Toperus. Yes, so you must Jon, for I've heard about Tom. Paine and Mr. Godwin, and all them.

Philemon. And will this suffice? I can read already.

Theoret. You must possess some knowledge of geography, and natural history, or how could you decipher from strata's of lava, and beds of oyster-shells the era of creation, to prove that Moses was a liar. You must know also that some men are black, and some white, or how would you ridicule the scriptures for pretending that all men descended from one pair. And if you knew nothing of the Andes, and their height, how could you prove that the Almighty could not get water enough to cover them, at the time of the flood? #

History also, you must read, or converse with those who have read it; for it is here that you behold the horrid wars, plots, conspiracies and massacres which the christian religion hath commanded, and which Christians have executed. And you must know something of oratory—something, did I say? You must be an orator, or how could you bring out these stores of your knowledge? Your soul must be on fire—your eye must lighten; your voice thunder. Torrents of eloquence must pour forth to the astonishment of the vulgar, and the confusion of priests.

Toperus. Confusion of priests— that's the best word in the whole on'

Philemon. Pray, sir, why may I not, when my mind mounteth up, pounce all at once upon this knowledge like an eagle on his prey? This I understood you to say, was the best method of becoming learned and great.

Toperus. So you may, Jon; 'twas the way I got all my knowledge. (Returns to the bottle and drinks.)

Theoret. Perhaps I did say so, but before we proceed any further, I must tell you never to compare what a philosopher has said,

# The paragraph in italics is the only passage objected to, as implicating Mr. Jefferson. The sentiments alluded to are contained in the writings of Lord Kames, Voltaire, and many other infidel writers. If they are contained also in Mr. Jefferson's Notes on Virginia, as some have supposed, I can still see no reason why they should be shielded from animadversion. It is not MEN, but SENTIMENTS that are here exposed. The paragraph objected to, is printed verbatim as it was to have been exhibited.
APPENDIX

with what he now says. We say too much, and our march of mind
is too rapid to render it practicable to explain all we have
left behind. Our hearers must march with us, and must live
every day upon the balmy truth, which distills from our lips.

Toperus. Little rum with it, master Theoret. (Steals up
and drinks.)

Philemon. All this, sir, relates to philosophy.—The char­
acter of a gentleman is what I greatly desire to possess.

Theoret. To this many things are requisite; and first of all
you must put off that sheepish look, and mincing walk, and look
big and walk important.—You must manifest contempt for your for­
er companions, who work at their trades, or follow the plow——
poor clumsy fellows.

Toperus. Poor -- clumsy -- fellows.

Philemon. All this I can do already; for there is not one
in ten of them that ever saw the inside of an academy, as I do.

Theoret. Old men, you must consider as ignorant old fellows;
especially your father, whom you should sometimes astonish with
your learning.

Philemon. Thank heaven, I've got none of that to learn; I
understood it all long ago.

Theoret. Priests, above all men, you must despise and ridi­
cule in all companies. The words knave, fool, priestcraft, super­
stition must be at your tongue's end, and season and embellish all
that you say.—There is something amazingly witty in the very
essence of these words, so that you may safely use them, and often,
whether you understand them or not.

Toperus. So you may Mr. Jonathan.

Philemon. This is all easy, I can soon learn it—but will
this make me a gentleman?

Theoret. To become a gentleman, a scholar, and a philosopher
at once, you must lay aside the prejudices of education, respecting
religion. You must believe, and if you do not you must profess to
believe, that the Bible is all a pack of nonsense—a cunningly de­
vised fable, the work of fools and knaves.

Toperus. Fools and knaves—Mr. Jonathan found that out long
ago —go—did—

Philemon. Why this, it appears to me, is the most difficult
rule you have given. I would not hesitate to declare my belief that the Bible is a pack of nonsense, but how I could add that it was cunningly devised, I do not see. I could call the writers knaves, but how I could turn about and call them fools, I don't perceive.

Theoret. This is all extremely easy. Before the vulgar you must hide the contradiction, by the fire and smoke of your eloquence; and before the learned, you must call them knaves at one time, and fools at another—they will never remember.

Toperus. That's right, master Theoret; I should have told him just so.

Philemon. Why that I can do, but I never should have thought of it. How wise philosophy makes men!! But is this all? I am greatly encouraged—It is not half so difficult as I expected.

Theoret. It is difficult to none who will see and think for themselves; but the climax of excellence is still to be sought and obtained, from the doctrines of the immortal Godwin. It is these which have broken the chains of superstition; the bands of prejudice, which have opened the eyes of men, and poured upon their souls the effulgent beams of truth. Study these, practise these, and you are perfect!

Toperus. (staggering along) Made me perfect long ago -- go -- did --

Philemon. Let me know, sir, in what these doctrines consist.

Theoret. Why, sir, this illustrious philosopher, this friend of the whole world, has discovered that all civil government, all laws, all penalties, all restraints, are only engines of tyranny—the means of making men ignorant and wicked; the clogs and cramps of genius. That the whole business of separate families, and the relations of husband and wife, parent and child, brother and sister, and all the particular duties and affections growing out of these, are only relics of that abominable superstition—(Toperus. 'Bominable superstition)—which has so long tormented the earth; and that, like so many tigers, they should be hunted from society.

Toperus. Did you ever hear the like, Mr. Jonathan?

Philemon. Sir, these are great discoveries.

Theoret. Yes, but they are not all. He has discovered that mankind are by nature as free, and as virtuous as the wild beasts of the wilderness; and that if it were not for religion, and human laws, they would, like the beasts, roam promiscuous, and feast joyfully upon the bounties of Nature.
Toperus. O Nature—don't you think nature is part rum, Mr. Theoret? (goes to the bottle.)

Philemon. Then, sir, I think there could be no priestcraft; no superstition; no fanaticism; all men would be free.

Toperus. All men would be free -- free -- free (nodding.)

Theoret. This is precisely the opinion of that great man. Therefore, to cultivate filial affection, chastity, gratitude, family government and civil government, is only to perpetrate the thraldom of man, put off to a distant day the blissful period when every man, woman and child, shall do just as they please.

Toperus. Devil take priestcraft, superstition, and all that--do as I please now.

Philemon. O, sir, I must stop here. If all this be necessary to become a philosopher, I can never become one. My attachments are too strong. My father—I cannot but love him. My mother, my sisters--how could I live without such friendships?

Theoret. There, my friend, are the struggles, not of nature, but of superstition. O superstition, how hateful is thy form! how deadly is thy influence!

Toperus. I say just so, Master.

Theoret. But thy power is broken--thy end draweth nigh. O nature, how potent is thy energy! kings and priests, thrones and altars, tremble and fall down before thee!

Toperus. So they do, master.

Theoret. This same energy shall help thee, friend Jonathan, eradicate thy prejudices, open thy blind eyes, and pour upon thy soul floods of light.

Philemon. But pray, sir, who must I love?

Theoret. Nobody in particular, but the world, the whole world; yea, the whole universe in general. Note my words, you ought never to think of loving less than a world full at a time.

Toperus. "World full at a time," that's it, Mr. Jonathan.

Theoret. O, benevolence, how sweet thy sensation! how delightful on thy wing to rove among the spheres—to waft from Mercury to Venus, from Venus to Earth, from Earth to Mars, from Mars to Jupiter and from Jupiter to stretch thro' the boundless expanse—to
visit and rejoice with myriads of happy worlds, scattered thro' the wide domain of nature!!

Toperus. Master, Master, don't go—you never'll get back again.

Philemon. Sir, there are two difficulties which strike my mind forcibly—first, I don't see how it is possible to love a world full of people, and yet not love one of the individuals that make up this world full; and in the next place, I do not see how it is possible to promote the happiness of a world full, let us wish them ever so well, without attending to the minute necessities of individuals. I cannot, for my life, see a way to make a world full happy at a dash. But, sir, what in this great experiment could I do with my conscience?

Theoret. Your conscience?—let it alone!

Toperus. Easiest thing in the world.

Philemon. But what if that will not let me alone?

Theoret. Why still, I say, you must let it alone.—Conscience was made by habit, and habitual resistance will unmake it. This I know by actual experience.

Toperus. So do I, master.

Philemon. I am still embarrassed with difficulties.—Pray, how is mortality to be preserved on the plan of your philosophy. You would advocate morality, I conclude?

Theoret. Morality? indeed I would; when we have pulled down and removed civil and religious institutions, dispelled the clouds of error, and let in upon the mind the light of truth, we shall have laid a proper foundation for morality.

Philemon. For my life I cannot perceive how.

Toperus. Can't see how? Master Theoret can tell you.

Theoret. Why you must know, that men are naturally good, very good indeed; they are made wicked only by constraint, by the rod of tyrants and priests; and when they are driven from the right way, they long to come back again!

Toperus. So they do.

Theoret. All the whips and scorpions, the racks and tortures, and chains, and bolts, and bars of superstition and priestcraft,
are necessary to keep them back, and make them wicked. Civil and ecclesiastical laws are a part of this nefarious system. Now sweep these away and the sighing captive will spring with joy, and run back to virtue.

Toperus. (staggering) Know that by experience, Mr. Jona-

Philemon. This, I confess, is new; I never thought of it before.

Theoret. It is new, but it is a most glorious discovery; for in this case we not only render it possible for men to be moral but we render it impossible for them to be otherwise. Immorality is a breach of law, human or divine; but remove these laws and men cannot break them.

Philemon. Sir, I believe I understand your sentiments, and I cannot express to you how much I abhor them. They appear to me none other than the doctrine of devils. They would banish from society every vestige of enjoyment, and spread over the whole earth the miseries of hell. Yes, Theoret, when you and your crew succeed, farewell happy fields, where joy and virtue reigns—hail horrors, hail infernal world! With hasty step I came to seek wisdom from your lips, but with equal haste I fly from you. Your breath is the pestilence, the poison of asps is under your tongue.

Theoret. Deceiver I perceive what thou art. A fanatic—a bigot. Yes, spite of your disguise I behold Philemon, the friend of Christianus.

Philemon. Theoret, I am justified in this concealment of my character. Your sentiments, like the Bohon Upas, were poisoning the atmosphere and scattering death. From the wise, who could detect their fallacy, you concealed them; but, like the lion for the lamb; you lay in wait to deceive and destroy unguarded youth—but you are detected. Monster, your mask is off.—My end is accomplished—I have you.

Exit Philemon.

Theoret Solus. Where now is Absalom—he was this moment to meet me. His mind is no longer shaded by ignorance, nor agitated by scruples; the friend of reason, philosophy and man, he is prepared for daring exploits.

Enter Absalom.

Theoret. Absalom, what course shall we take to replenish our purse? Can you get no more from the old bigot, your father?
Absalom. No more—he says he has given us our last farthing.

Theoret. Can we borrow of any friend politely, and never pay him?

Absalom. Our credit is as low as our purse, we cannot borrow.

Theoret. Shall we then give up our pleasures, lay aside our philosophy, and tamely creep thro' life with vulgar minds?

Absalom. No, I'll die first.

Theoret. Shall we rise up then, assert the dignity of our nature, and by some bold stroke replenish our exhausted treasury?

Absalom. Point out the means; you know my mind.

Theoret. Then hear me—does not our philosophy teach that all property, more than what the individual needs, is an unjust monopoly, and may of right be taken from him, by any one who needs it more?

Absalom. It does.

Theoret. Can you then hesitate; are not our highways full of these monopolisers, whose pockets also are full of money?

Absalom. They are.

Theoret. Would it be amiss to ask some one to divide his treasure with us?

Absalom. Perhaps he will refuse.

Theoret. Be careful to ask him in a convenient place, and then, if he refuses, apply such forcible arguments as he shall not be able to resist.

Absalom. I understand you—but will you not accompany me?

Theoret. At present I have upon my hand an adventure. The next sally shall be mine.

Exit Absalom.

Theoret. Where now can be that blockhead Toperus? Drunk, I dare say; but I must find him—even philosophy cannot work without tools.

Exit Theoret.

Enter Toperus, staggering. Rejoice --rejoice, (falls; then partly rises.) O, what good days there be! much rum as a body can drink--
no work—no hell; capital fellow, master Theoret, yes—just so as
he told me. Reason got on her throne, yes—superstition, priest-
craft broke the chain—chain—chain—can't think of the rest. (lies
down and goes to sleep.)

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SCENE THIRD   Enter Philemon. (perceives Toperus, and says--)

What beast is this?—0, it's Toperus; a practical philosopher,
the disciple of Theoret. Reason, it seems, has tumbled from her
throne. If I thought he had slept off the fames of his philosophy,
I would awake him. Hallof friend, has the sun of reason set?

(Toperus wakes, rubbing his eyes.) Set, man? No, it's just
rising. If you'll just help me up a little, I'll tell you all
about it. (Philemon gives him his hand and he rises.) You must
know then, Mr. Wat's—your-name, I'm a philosopher!

Philemon. So it seems.

Toperus. An enemy to priestcraft, superstition, and all that.

Philemon. I should think so; pray how long since you got your
eyes open?

Toperus. Ever since, I can't tell when—for you must know
from a child I was no common genius. I could beat my mother long
ago as I can remember, and she always said I should make a great
man.

Philemon. Well, did you answer her expectations?

Toperus. That I did. When I wan't more than twelve or four-
teen and so, I could drink, and swear, and bawl thro' the streets,
and peek into windows, and turn over carts, and horse-blocks, and
harrows, and small-houses, and all them things. There wan't no-
body like me—I wan't afraid of nobody, 'thout 'twas the devil
and some such—Well, I can't tell half—but you must know I got
me a wife; and now, says I to myself, says I, I must be more steady;
for I lov'd Susan, as my life. So I reform'd, and we liv'd very
well. We work'd hard, had children fast, and laid up a little still
against a wet day; and when a friend come to see me, I always had
a bit to give him. We were very clever—read our Bible, and went
to meeting, and all that; and I don't know but should have kept in
that foolish way yet, if it hadn't been for neighbor Joe.

Philemon. What did neighbor Joe do?

Toperus. Why he persuaded me to go to the tavern, and when
I went once he was amind I should go again, and so I went 'till I
begun to go of my own accord. But I lov'd Susan and my children, and I tho't 'twas wicked to get drunk, and that there was a day of judgment, and a devil, and a hell, and all that—so I didn't dare to go much—but neighbor Joe told me as how John told him—that Peter told him—that somebody told Tom Paine, that there wasn't any hell and devil and such, and you can't think how it helped me. But I scorn'd to pin my faith upon any body's sleeve, and so I sot reason to work, and it look'd so unreasonable that God should punish us poor creatures, for just playing a little, that I most b'lieved he wouldn't. But I was always afraid to go in the dark alone, till, I see Mr. Theoret; but he told me, you can't think how plain, all about it—as how it was all priestcraft and as how Mr. Godwin had prov'd we ought not to love our wives, and children, and all that. So I thought I would do as near right as I could, and so I tho't if Susan belong'd to every body, as Mr. Godwin said she did, then every body might help to take care on her; and so I should have more money to buy rum—and so now I've got clear of all shackles—I don't b'lieve nothing—I ain't afraid of nothing--Mr. Theoret finds me rum, and I help him, and so we go.

Philemon. Well, Toperus, I have but little to say to you, and there is little reason to expect that what I shall say will do you any good. The man who has abandon'd the blessings of domestic life for the pleasures of the cup, is past feeling. His God is his belly—his end is destruction. Farewell; I shall not probably see you again 'till I behold you on the day of judgment, trembling at the left hand of your judge.

Exit Philemon.

Toperus. Confound it all! how that he said makes me feel. I wish Master Theoret was here.

Enter Theoret.

Toperus. Glad—glad to see you Master; can't think how I feel all over.

Theoret. What's the matter?

Toperus. Why Mr. Jonathan said such words to me, and looked so at me, that I trembled all over like a leaf, and felt weak as water, and I tho't as how I wanted to ask you, again, if you knew certain there wasn't any devil and all that.

Theoret. Know? to be sure I do; why how can you be such a fool—I tho't you had become a man of courage?

Toperus. So I have Master, but I had just been asleep, and hadn't drunk'd a drop since I wak'd up, and a man can't have courage without rum, you know.

Theoret. Well, Toperus, I have got a piece of work for you.
Will you engage?

Toperus. Let me hear—I'll try.

Theoret. Well, you know that the old codger of an uncle who bro't me up, has got a daughter?

Toperus. Yes.

Theoret. Well, you know with what superstitious notions he has fill'd her head?

Toperus. Yes.

Theoret. Well, you know she is beautiful as an angel to look upon?—

Toperus. That I do, if there be any, angels—but if there be handsome ones, I'm plaguy 'fraid there are homely ones too—the devil, and his angels, and all them.

Theoret. Pshaw—adown with your nonsense. Now you know one cannot persuade, one loves to have it in his power to argue a little more forcibly. Your business therefore is to be with my carriage in the road near the grove, where she takes her evening walk, precisely at eight o'clock. Will you be punctual?

Toperus. Never fear that—(going out, stops and looks back.) but you know certain there an't no devil?

Theoret. Yes, go along.

Exit Toperus.

Theoret. Now Christianus, talk of duty, conscience, gratitude—too long have I been degraded by such notions, and I'll prove to thee that my soul mounts above them. Thou hast but one daughter—Yes, and that daughter shall be mine.

Exit—The Scene Closes.

SCENE FOURTH. Enter Christianus and Philemon.

Christianus. O, my God! did I not trust in thee, how would these waves of sorrow overwhelm my soul.

Philemon. My dear Christianus, what means this grief?

Christianus. Philemon, my sorrows are unutterable—my son, my dear and only son, has forfeited his life.—He has robbed on
the highway, and it is supposed has committed murder. He is ar-
rested in his flight, and 'ere this is plunged into the dreary
dungeon. On this day, as if my cup were not full, has my daughter,
my only daughter, been torn from my bosom. She is hurried I know
not where; no pursuit has overtaken her—no search discovered the
place of her concealment. Even now, perhaps, struggling with her
destroyer, she calls upon her father—she faints. O, my daughter,
I am distracted.

**Philemon.** Tell me Christianus, who has perpetrated this horrid
deed?—

**Christianus.** Ah! thou hast racked my soul with new torture.
If an enemy had done it, I could have borne it, but it is Theoret,
my nephew, the dear image of my brother, now no more. His last
words to me when dying, were, Christianus, remember my son. He was
then an infant—his mother just gave him an existence; beheld him,
and expired. I took him to my bosom, O, Theoret, what did I embrace!
First didst thou rob me of thyself; and while my heart was still
bleeding for thee, again didst thou cause it to bleed for my son.
Yes, Theoret, thou hast destroyed my son; and lest I should survive
the stroke, my daughter, my last consolation hast thou torn from me—
and now my God I come to thee. Life hath no charms—heaven alone
can end my sorrows. Nature, my friend, is exhausted; my days are
extinct, the graves are ready for me. (Overcome with grief, he
sits down.)

**Absalom from behind the scene, coming in, speaks.** Wretch, that
I am! where is my father? Where is my father?—(Enters.)—(Chris-
tianus, rising, falls upon his neck and exclaims—) O Absalom, my
son, my son, would to God I might die for thee. O Absalom, my son,
my son!

**Absalom.** (after a short pause.) Father, I have sinned against
heaven and in thy sight, and am no more worthy to be called thy son.
I have forfeited my life. I fled from the hand of justice—I might
have escaped but all at once ten thousand terrors burst in upon my
guilty soul. I stood aghast—the scales fell from my eyes. In
hideous forms my sins beset me—in dreadful thunders the law of God
denounced my doom, and I expected instant death. In this awful mo-
ment it pleased the God of all mercy to reveal to my astonished soul
the glories of his son!

**Christianus.** My Savior, it is enough—my prayers are answered,
my tears are dried up—praise the Lord, O my soul, and all that is
within me, praise his holy name! Now my son, I can give thee up—
I have no more to ask, let the will of God be done.

**(Enter servant.)**

**Servant.** Sir, Lucinda is rescued—she awaits to embrace you.

**Absalom.** My sister, how! what! who!
Christianus. The wicked Theoret, my son.

Absalom. Horrid!

Servant. Yes, sir, horrid—but he has paid for it. He is dead.

Christianus. Dead, didst thou say?

Servant. Yes, sir, dead.—We overtook him in his flight—he fought desperately, but the prey was rescued, himself was wounded. We sprang upon him—in a moment we secured him. But it was too late; he had plunged the fatal dagger into his own bosom.

Christianus. Did he die instantly—did he say nothing?

Servant. Sir, his language was awfully profane.—Torrents of curses poured from his lips—a half uttered oath died on his murmuring tongue.

Christianus. Dear deluded youth! Thy life hath tortured my soul, but thy death hath filled it with double agony. Still did I hope—still did I plead for thee at the throne of God. But thou art dead—the scene is closed—I follow thee no further.

Enter Toperus.

Toperus. O, Sir, Mr. Theoret is dead! Mr. Theoret is dead. I see him die. O dreadful! dreadful! how it made me feel. O, I'm a wicked man—a wicked man.—There is a hell—I know there is; and Mr. Theoret has gone there—I'm 'fraid he has, and I', a-going there too. O, sir, I'm very wicked. I left my wife—I left my children. O, sir, there is no mercy for me.

Christianus. Say not so—your sins are indeed great, but Christ is a great Savior. Behold his power! this is Absalom, my lost and ruined son. Christ has had mercy upon him, and whosoever confesseth and forsaketh his sins, will find mercy.

Toperus. O, sir, I do confess.—I will—I will forsake.

Christianus. My friends, we have passed thro' interesting scenes of joy and woe—full of wonder, and full of instruction. We behold in living colours, the destructive influence of modern infidelity; and how much good one sinner, inspired with such principles, may destroy. Look at my family—all is order, peace, and love. Look at it again—all is confusion and distress. My son in a dungeon, my daughter torn from my embrace, my nephew dead, my son about to die. Whence this sad reverse?—Why Theoret, my nephew became acquainted with infidel companions. They gave him infidel books—he read—he was poisoned. The poison spreads, my son is
infected; my prayers are unavailing, my counsels are despised, my heart is wrung with anguish, and my grey hairs brought with sorrow to the verge of the grave. Look at the family of that poor man—he loves his wife, loves his children, is sober, industrious and happy. Return and behold the change! The husband and the father has become a sot, the wife is broken-hearted, the children are dispersed, and the town burdened with their support. But mark—he could not go to the tavern with comfort till he found Theoret, and was made to disbelieve the Bible. These too are paintings but in miniature. God, by a miraculous providence, hath arrested the evil—but where it has prevailed, like the conflagration, it has laid all waste before it.—Human nature, my friends, is prone, strongly prone to evil. The habits of education, the influence of human laws, the restraints of religion, the ties of blood are all of them needful, and often insufficient to keep back these strong propensities. In spite of them men become vicious; but remove them, and they become monsters.

Officer. (to Christianus.) Our time is expired; we must conduct your son to his prison.

Absalom. O, my father, I weep for thee!

Christianus. Weep not for me, my son, my soul is tranquil—is joyful.

Absalom. Then can I die in peace—farewell my father.

Christianus. Farewell—farewell my son.

(Servant, calling out behind the scenes)—Stop, stop the officer. (Enters) Sir, a letter from Leander.

(Officer stops—Christianus opens and reads:)

"It was Leander, my friend, whom thy son attempted to rob. It was my servant whom he wounded, but his wound is not mortal. It was my servants who arrested, and confined him. His life is in my hand; but I have witnessed his compunction; I have felt thy sorrows. Fear not, thy son is safe. By the hand of my faithful servant I restore him to thee."

(Absalom and Christianus, both lifting up their hands exclaim) Merciful God!—(they fall on each other's neck, and weep.)

Christianus. O, my friends, rejoice—rejoice with me—for this my son was dead and is alive again—he was lost and is found. (Exeunt Omnes)
APPENDIX

EPILOGUE

"Dear folks, how could you sit and hear such trash?
Such nonsense, blackguard, impudent and rash?
Why don't you see, and see it plainer yet,
That none but us philosophers have wit?
And don't you see too, (why then pray believe)
'Tis our's to use it by prerogative?
'Tis true, by argument we did assail,
And hop'd to storm the christian citadel;
But all our reasons, arguments and stuff,
Fell harmless from the battlements on us.
Since which, we've learnt by better weapons far,
T'annoy the enemy and keep up the war.
With poison'd darts we strike—with sneers and fun,
And our whole stock of wit is spouted in a pun.
Of reason still we talk—of science and philosophy,
And call them each our own exclusively.
But this is only art, and mere finesse,
To give our deadly arrows more success.
Now shall these shafts, which our own hands have sped,
Drawn from their wounds be turn'd upon our head?
What can be more unjust, more mean, beside
It is a second-handed suicide.
For tho' at first the dart may kill the foe,
Its sure return will kill the archer too,
And he who, sends it back does murder in a sense;
He knew 'twas poisoned, by experience.
APPENDIX

Does any bigot ask, with angry mein,
Why we may shoot and not be shot again?
My reasons I will give—and give in course—
Reasons of weight to all who feel their force.
The Bible and Christianity's a fable,
But our philosophy is true and stable.--
The Bible draws all mischief in its train,
Our doctrines pure will drive it back again.
The Bible fills the world with blood and strife,
Philosophy with peace, and fruits of life.--
To ridicule the Bible is benevolence;
To strike philosophy, malevolence.
To smite the Christian is philanthropy;
To touch the infidel is blasphemy,
Or persecution. Ask you how we know?
Why! Godwin, Paine, and Palmer tell us so.

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