

Theology on the Web.org.uk

Making Biblical Scholarship Accessible

This document was supplied for free educational purposes. Unless it is in the public domain, it may not be sold for profit or hosted on a webserver without the permission of the copyright holder.

If you find it of help to you and would like to support the ministry of Theology on the Web, please consider using the links below:



Buy me a coffee

<https://www.buymeacoffee.com/theology>



PATREON

<https://patreon.com/theologyontheweb>

[PayPal](#)

<https://paypal.me/robbradshaw>

A table of contents for *Bibliotheca Sacra* can be found here:

https://biblicalstudies.org.uk/articles_bib-sacra_01.php

THE TRAGIC FATE OF A FAMOUS SEMINARY

BY JOHN ALFRED FAULKNER,

DREW THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY, MADISON, N. J.

I ONCE heard my friend, Bishop Hurst, deliver his interesting lecture, *Ironies of History*. Since then one could add to his instances: England joining with her age long enemy France to defeat the country which helped her at Waterloo to save the world from French militarism; a Christian country, Germany, joining with the Moslem Turk almost to annihilate (at least that was the result) a Christian Church and people, the Armenians; France, an infidel state, asking to take over the protectorate again of Catholic interests in Syria; the smallest of the parties in Russia grasping the government there, and though supposed to be founded on fraternity and communistic brotherhood raising itself up and keeping its power by a ruthlessness of brute force and a series of unnecessary murders and massacres unparalleled in modern history; the passing of the Free State bill for Ireland in 1922 by the same party and parties who in 1886 repudiated with indignation and scorn the much more modest Home Rule bill of Gladstone. But in Church History at any rate the grimmest piece of irony ever known is the ensconcing of Andover Theological Seminary in 1908 under the eaves of Harvard University, and in 1922 its affiliation with the Harvard Divinity School to form "The Theological School in Harvard University." The steps which led to that form one of the most interesting chapters in Christian history.

In 1723 Hollis, an English Baptist Calvinist, founded in Harvard College the Hollis professorship of theology, and one of his conditions was that the incumbent should be of "sound and orthodox belief." Its endowment had been increased by other legacies from American Calvinists, one of these referring to the blue enough creed drawn up in the famous synod in Boston in 1680. Good Calvinists accordingly held the chair from 1723 to 1805. But liberal views had been spreading. In Sprague's *Annals of the American Pulpit*: Unitarian (1865), I count thirty

divines whose ministry began before Ware's in 1787. The great eruption took place in Channing's famous Jared Sparks ordination sermon in 1819, but there was a considerable development before that. The death of Dr. Tappan left the Hollis chair vacant in 1805, and the Board of Overseers elected the excellent pastor at Hingham, Mass., Henry Ware, a noble and conscientious spirit, well known, however, as a liberal, or Unitarian. The election inflamed the Puritan mind. Pamphlets came out against it as a perversion of trust. It was felt that no longer could Harvard be trusted to educate preachers for Congregational pulpits. One of the professors, Dr. Pearson, was so disgusted that he resigned, saying that the "University was subject to such radical maladies as to exclude the hope of rendering any essential service to the interests of religion by continuing my relation to it." From that day to this the theological teacher in Harvard has been a Unitarian, first in the University from 1805 and then from 1819 in the Harvard Divinity School.

This left the Puritan churches of the regular faith without representation in their old University. Where would their young men receive proper training for the ministry? For it was axiomatic with them that only educated men could be ministers. Their motto was: No ministers at all rather than ignorant ones. Therefore they all took college courses, and after graduation or in their vacations they studied the usual theological subjects residing in the parsonage of some able minister. In the eighteenth century learned divines like pastors Bellamy at Bethlehem, Conn., Smalley at Berlin, Emmons at Franklin, Mass., Burton at Thetford, Vermont, Lathrop at West Springfield, Mass., Hooker at Goshen, Conn., took young collegians into their homes for instruction in Hebrew, Greek, theology, preaching, etc. In the first chapter of his *History of Andover Theological Seminary* (1884) Dr. Leonard Woods (died 1854, his History remaining in manuscript for thirty years) gives an interesting account of these parsonage theological seminaries. But they could not take the place of a school. Therefore when the Hollis trust funds had been perverted to liberalism, the ques-

tion arose in eastern Massachusetts, Where can we get our young clergy?

In 1806 that question set in motion two independent movements. As far back as 1778 two worthy sons of a worthy sire, the Rev. Samuel Phillips, of the south Congregational church of Andover, Essex County, Mass., founded Phillips Academy in their father's parish. These were the Hon. Samuel Phillips of Andover and the Hon. John Phillips of Exeter, New Hampshire, who also founded the famous Academy in that town. These men, especially as stimulated by the son of the former, later Lieutenant Governor of the state, knowing that the Academy would naturally be the home of boys who would inevitably enter the ministry, made provision for their theological instruction: to "instruct and establish them in the truths of Christianity; early and diligently to inculcate in them the great and important Scripture doctrines of the existence of the one true God, the Father, Son and Holy Ghost, of the fall of man, depravity of human nature, necessity of atonement, of our being renewed in the spirit of our minds, repentance toward God and faith in the Lord Jesus Christ, of sanctification by the Holy Spirit, of justification by the free grace of God through the redemption that is in Jesus Christ, . . . together with the other important doctrines and duties of our holy Christian religion." This was a pretty elaborate course for Academy boys. The Exeter Phillips also gave a charity fund to his Andover school to assist students designed for the "Gospel ministry" that they "may be assisted in the study of divinity (at the Academy) under the direction of some eminent Calvinistic minister of the Gospel, until an able, pious, and orthodox instructor be employed in one of the Academies as Professor of Divinity, by whom they may be taught the important principles and distinguishing tenets of our holy Christian Religion."

To this fund another Phillips, the Honorable William of Boston, father of Lieutenant Governor William Phillips, added \$4,000. On this foundation twelve future ministers studied from 1797 to 1808 under the teaching of an able

Andover pastor, the Rev. Jonathan French. Phillips Academy, Andover, was from the start, therefore, a kind of theological seminary, and was intended as such. How natural to attach to it a new anti-Harvard professorship, and make it a real theological institution. And this is how it was done.

The first principal of Phillips Academy was Eliphalet Pearson, LL.D. In 1785 he was called to Harvard as Hancock professor of Hebrew and also teacher of English grammar and composition. He was wise, learned, and brilliant, and made a deep impression in Harvard. But he was a staunch Puritan of the historical faith, and when he saw Ware elected as Hollis professor in 1805 and Webber president in 1806, both Unitarians, he resigned his professorship and trusteeship to be free to work for the faith in whatever way God might show. The Academy at Andover immediately invited him back to that town and gave him the use of a house the trustees had just built free of charge for one year. Almost immediately the thought of a theological school came into his mind. But not into his mind alone; for by some kind of divine telepathy others were exercised. A learned minister at Charlestown, Dr. Jedidiah Morse, the geographer, also a Harvard Overseer, editor of the orthodox *Panoplist*; Samuel Farrar, an able and pious lawyer of Andover; pastor French of the same town; the Rev. Dr. Chaplin of Groton; Mark Newman, principal of Phillips Academy; and Samuel Abbot, a wealthy retired merchant of Boston, living in Andover his native place;—all these were awake to the logical sequence of the Hollis election, and—apparently at the suggestion of Pearson—met at the house of Madame Phillips in Andover, July 10, 1806, and started a movement for a theological institution. Fortunately merchant Abbot had already provided in his will for certain theological foundations; in December, 1806, he added to it provisions for a theological institution in which the professor should be a “man of solid learning and of sound and orthodox principles of Divinity according to my sense of the terms, *i. e.*, according to that form of sound words or system of evangelical doctrines, drawn from the Scrip-

tures by the Westminster Assembly of Divines, denominated The Westminster Assembly's Shorter Catechism, which has been generally received and taught in our New England churches, and by Protestant Christians among us deemed sound and orthodox"; and in a short time was led to execute his own will and actually found the institution. The widow of Samuel Phillips, 2nd, and her son John, of Andover, joined their funds with his, the trustees of Phillips Academy accepted them for a theological institution attached to their foundation, and on June 20, 1807, the legislature of Massachusetts legalized the action "for the purpose of a theological institution" under the "trustees of Phillips Academy in Andover." This was the first movement, and it ended in a Theological Seminary legally attached to Phillips Academy, but having its own buildings and instructors, each of which latter was to "make and subscribe a solemn declaration of his faith in divine revelation, and in the fundamental and distinguishing doctrines of the Gospel of Christ as summarily expressed in the Westminster Assembly's Shorter Catechism" (see their long Constitution, signed by the three donors, Phoebe Phillips, John Phillips, Jr., and Samuel Abbot, in Dr. Wood's *History*, pp. 236-46).

But there was a second movement. A few miles over the hills from Andover lay the prosperous town of Newburyport, which had the good fortune to have as pastor one of the ablest men in the history of the American Church, Samuel Spring, father of the celebrated Gardner Spring of the Brick Church, New York, and of the Rev. Samuel Spring, Jr., of Hartford, and to have as laymen two such large minded business men as William Bartlett and Moses Brown. These two were not at that time professing Christians, but, like the rich man in the Gospels, not far from the Kingdom. A little farther south along the coast at Salem lived another noble and rich layman, John Norris. Besides Spring, his neighboring pastor at West Newbury, the theologian Leonard Woods took also a deep interest in doing something to counteract the Harvard defection. Both had their minds on a theological school, both were profoundly respected by the laymen

I have mentioned, and when they approached the latter they found a cordial response. In the pulpit and in private conversations Spring had frequently spoken of the necessity of a school for training ministers. Thus prepared the two Newburyport laymen met Woods and their pastor Spring in the latter's parsonage one evening in November or December, 1806. In his *History* (p. 74) Woods has preserved the actual conversation on that immortal night. "Gentlemen, are you ready to proceed?" asked Spring, who was a man of despatch. "Yes." "What object of charity will be most agreeable to you?" "I can think of nothing more important than a Theological Academy," said Moses Brown. "I coincide with that," added William Bartlett. "How much will it cost?" asked Bartlett of his pastor. Spring then went into a calculation for buildings, instructors, and students, and said, "I suppose forty or fifty thousand dollars would be sufficient to begin with." "You trump up high," said Bartlett, with a smile. Then Brown turned to his brother man of business, "How much will you give?" Bartlett answered, "You are the oldest, and you must say first." Brown went into the state of his property, saying that he had too much real estate. The other showed how he could raise money. "Well, I will give 10,000 dollars to begin with," said Brown, "and more afterwards." "Why didn't you say \$20,000," said Bartlett, "then I would." Soon after Brown arose and said, "You know, gentlemen, I don't like to be from home in the evening, and you must excuse me. I give my money freely, but I must leave the business with you." Bartlett remained longer and talked earnestly about the proposed institution, about its creed and constitution, etc., and as he was leaving he said, "Go on, gentlemen, and do the business, and money shan't be wanting." After he went out, Spring said to Woods, "That pledge of Mr. Bartlett is as good as a check on the bank for a hundred thousand dollars" (I suppose money then was worth four or five times as much as it is today). At this meeting it was suggested that the institution be at West Newbury on Woods' charge, with himself as pro-

fessor of theology and with another as assistant in the church and in the Seminary.

The next day Spring drove to Salem to interview his third rich friend, Norris. The latter held back, saying, "You know the cause of missions has been my object." But his wife—wise wife—persuaded him that both causes were the same, and Norris gave to Spring his pledge for ten thousand dollars. Thus within thirty-six hours through the influence of pastor Spring thirty thousand dollars were formally subscribed with the virtual pledge of as much more as should be necessary. All this, understand, without any knowledge of what the Andover men had done and were doing. In a day or two Woods went down to Charlestown to see pastor Morse, editor of the *Panoplist*, to which he was a contributor, on business connected with that magazine. He told him of what Spring had done for a theological seminary, and Morse told him what Abbot had done, and what others at Andover were contemplating, and *suggested whether the gentlemen at Andover and Newburyport might not unite in the same institution.*

I cannot go into the details of how that union actually took place. Suffice it to say that the Andover founders and Phillips Academy trustees were just plain Calvinists, and the Newburyport and Salem men—called the Associate Founders—were Hopkinsian Calvinists (so-called from the Rev. Dr. Samuel Hopkins, pastor and theologian of Newport, Rhode Island, one of the heroes of Harriet Beecher Stowe's second greatest novel, *The Minister's Wooing*). To this wing belonged the eminent theologian Emmons of Franklin, Mass., and very moderately so Woods). What was the difference? The Hopkinsians held that in order to be saved the sinner should be—to speak bluntly—willing to be damned for the glory of God, that God is the efficient cause of sinful acts as well as holy ones, that the sinner has full natural ability to obey God, though, of course, without moral ability, that there is no transfer or imputation of Adam's sin or guilt to us, and that original sin or the innate corruption of man is guilty not because it is corruption or bad tendency,

as regular Calvinists said, but because it is sin as act. Both parties were Calvinists, but the regular or Edwardean school was the larger, though not the most insistent and aggressive. The wiser heads in both were for union; and after many negotiations, in which the mediating theologian Woods—nominated as professor by both parties—took active part, the original Andover Founders or trustees and the Associate Founders amalgamated in one set of charters, statutes, etc., May 10, 1808. The school was called the Theological Institution in Phillips Academy or the Theological Institution or Seminary in Connection with Phillips Academy, and was opened for work, September 28, 1808.

The Harvard perversion of the Hollis trust had made such an impression on the Andover Founders that they provided against anything similar in the strong way I have shown above. But the Associate Founders were more deeply disgusted, if such could be, and wanted to make assurance doubly sure. So they insisted on two further guarantees against any possible future perversion of their institution: (1) Over against a general subscription to the "fundamental and distinguishing doctrines of the Gospel of Christ as summarily expressed in the Westminster Assembly's Shorter Catechism" (which no Arminian could assent to [see qq. 7, 32], nor Unitarian [qq. 6, 21], nor Universalist [q. 19], nor liberal [qq. 25, 31, 84, 85] they demanded subscription to a specific creed of their own—the famous so-called Associate Creed of Andover Theological Seminary, a good sound Calvinistic confession which I have not space to quote (see Woods, pp. 248-50). (2) Over against possible liberality of Phillips Academy trustees in the far future in letting in some semi-Unitarian or semi-Arminian whose elastic conscience might sign the creed, they provided—taking cue from English custom as to trusts—for a Board of Visitors who must themselves sign the creed and solemnly declare that they will guard the trusts to their original use, keep every professor faithful to them, and see that the latter re-subscribes the creed every five years. The Visitors had full supervision over all doings of trustees and professors

to the intent that the original design of both sets of Founders to keep Andover forever a sound orthodox Calvinist school might not be frustrated. If the Visitors should ever fail in this an aggrieved party "may have recourse by appeal to the justices of the Supreme Judicial Court of this Commonwealth." The demands of the Associate Founders were assented to by the Andover brethren and incorporated in the fundamental laws of the school. The echo of the Hollis professorship Unitarian triumph sounds through the words of founder Abbot's will of December, 1806: "To prevent all misunderstanding of the true and only design of this Institution and even the least prostitution or perversion of this bequest, it is hereby expressly declared," etc. (Woods, p. 376). The orthodoxy of no school in the history of the world was ever more sacredly and carefully guarded by human ingenuity than was done in this case by the high-minded, generous and far-seeing founders of Andover Theological Seminary. But, ah,

The best laid schemes o' mice an' men
Gang aft agley,
And leave us nought but grief and pain
For promised joy.

The *Zeitgeist* proved too strong for the founders. If the triply guarded Andover trust has been perverted to virtual Unitarianism, what guarantee is there for the safety of any other institution? Happy for us that the founders of Concord (later Boston), Garrett and Drew, could not foresee the history of Andover, 1882-1922! Like the disintegrating effect of our Western climate on Egyptian Obelisk, liberalism slowly destroyed Calvinism.

But not at once. For seventy-five years (1807-1882) no school of the kind had a nobler history or lent more glory to its benefactors. It was among the first experiments of a regular theological seminary apart from College or University, perhaps, with the exception of Xenia Theological Seminary established at Service, Pennsylvania, 1794, the first of its kind in America, ever made. Students flocked to Andover from all lands and all Pro-

testant Churches. Her professors for nearly a century shed immortal honor on her, on theological science, and on the whole Church of Christ. Her light went out into all the world. In 1831 she established the quarterly review, the *American Biblical Repository*, in 1844 the BIBLIOTHECA SACRA, by which she taught the best English-speaking clergy of all lands, and which transferred to Oberlin in 1884 when Andover became too liberal. And when Oberlin became too liberal it was taken over by Prof. Dr. George Frederick Wright, and transferred to Xenia Theological Seminary, St. Louis, in 1921 on the death of Dr. Wright. It is now edited by the Faculty of Xenia Seminary, President Melvin Grove Kyle, editor-in-chief. Andover's publishing house of Draper sent the best theological books into the study of every ambitious minister. Her missionary spirit was vigorous. Her graduates from the very beginning went forth into heathen lands, christianized and civilized whole races, and later went also into our own West and planted academies, colleges and theological schools, built churches, and evangelized large portions of our land. She became the model of every theological school in America. Yes, she had a glorious history. And it was the outgrowth of the theological and religious spirit of the founders, of that vital and vitalizing faith (not of its specific Calvinistic elements) which came to them from Christ, Paul, the Reformation, Puritanism, the tremendous energy of that evangelicalism which founded modern missions and modern reform. The American Education Society, the American Tract Society, the American Temperance Society, the plan of the oldest religious newspaper in America, and really, though indirectly, both the Congregational and Baptist Missionary Societies, all had their origin on that dear and famous Hill. After nearly a century and a quarter the pulsations of her heart are still felt in the energies of a thousand churches.

But a change came over the spirit of her dreams. As the nineteenth century wore on new influences played on the old theology. The warm currents of Methodism tempered the frigidities of Calvinism. It was seen that a

Church could magnify divine grace and yet preach human freedom, be evangelical and yet Arminian. In the '60s and '70s evolution was coming in and the BIBLIOTHECA SACRA opened her pages to George Frederick Wright (see above), pastor of the Free Congregational Church in Andover (called Free because organized independently of the old parish laws), to vindicate it as, when properly defined, not necessarily antagonistic to religion. The Unitarian movement, the New England poets, the literary revival in which Andover's daughters (that is, the wife of one of her professors, Harriet Beecher Stowe, and the daughter of another, Elizabeth Stuart Phelps) had taken such distinguished and active part, the liberalizing influence which went out from Tennyson and Browning, all these things had to do with loosening the bonds of the historic Andover theology. But more than all else German theology had its part. Andover professors popularized German criticism and theology, they translated German books, the Andover publisher put them forth, the BIBLIOTHECA SACRA kept in quarterly touch with German intelligence and spread German results before American readers. When I went to Andover to study Church History in the new Fourth Year course one of the first things Professor Smyth asked me was if I could read German. He told his pupils that the greatest books the nineteenth century saw in theology were Neander's *Church History*, Rothe's *Theological Ethics* (which has never been translated), and Dorner's *System of Christian Doctrine* (this was, of course, before Ritschl's *Justification and Reconciliation*, and Harnack's and Seeberg's *Histories of Christian Doctrine*, though if he had known them he would still have felt that they did not surpass the first three). Every Andover student in my day studied Professor Hackett's (himself a graduate) edition of Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible* in four volumes, Neander's *Church History* in five, and Dorner's *Christian Doctrine* in four. Is it any wonder that by 1882 the Calvinism of the Catechism and Creed was becoming dissolved into a more modern orthodoxy, and the liberal Trustees of Phillips Academy in putting in new professors and taking

the every-five-year pledges to the Creed were allowing them to assent to the latter for substance of doctrine?

One of the most distinguished theological teachers in the world, Professor Edwards A. Park, laid down his duties in 1881 after an incumbency of forty-five years. The trustees elected to his Abbot chair of Christian Theology the brother of the Church History Professor Egbert C. Smyth, viz., pastor Newman Smyth, of New Haven. This was a direct challenge to the Creed, as he was known by his books, *The Religious Feeling* (1877), *Old Faiths in New Light* (1879), and *The Orthodox Theology of Today* (1881), to be quite out of accord with New England theology, as the veteran editor of the *Congregationalist*, the historian Dr. Henry M. Dexter, had no difficulty in showing. Thus challenged, the Board of Visitors examined the candidate and refused to confirm him. In 1881-82 the chair was filled temporarily by pastor D. T. Fiske, an able man, who in 1882 came out with a strong and interesting pamphlet, *The Creed of Andover Theological Seminary*, in which he tried to show that that creed was a compromise, that it differed from the Shorter Catechism, that it expressed a phase of Calvinistic thinking that had partly at least passed, that liberty had been allowed for some time in subscribing to it, and that only by such liberty could able and worthy men be induced to take professorships. By another year, however, the Board of Visitors had broadened somewhat or become convinced that the creed could no longer be taken strictly, and in 1883 confirmed the Rev. Dr. George Harris to succeed Park,—certainly a candidate not less liberal than Smyth. In that year Dr. Park published a powerful pamphlet, *The Associate Creed of Andover Theological Seminary* (100 pages), in which he gives the history of the creed and Seminary, explains his own alleged departures from it as really not such, replies to the points of Dr. Fiske, claims that the churches are yet loyal to it, and that it is perfectly feasible to get Calvinists who would sign the Creed. Other professors of the same liberal tenor with Harris were installed in 1883 and the following years. In 1884 the *Andover Review* was started to represent the

new Andover, the BIBLIOTHECA SACRA being taken with the cordial assent of its veteran editor Park to Oberlin, Ohio, to be there edited by the former Andover pastor Wright, now professor of New Testament exegesis in Oberlin Theological Seminary, soon to be professor of Science and Religion there. The *Andover Review* ran till the end of 1893, a vigorous and interesting magazine. The professors republished as their manifesto their articles in it, *Progressive Orthodoxy* (1886), following it in 1893 with a valuable little book to counteract charges of Unitarianism, *The Divinity of Jesus Christ*. The part of their theology which made the most noise at the time, Probation After Death, was simply a corollary of Dorner's principle of the absoluteness of Christianity; that is, since Christ is the only Saviour, since he does not save by magic but by rational processes, and since multitudes have either never heard of him or never adequately heard, he will be revealed to them in the intermediate state. This was held as a principle or as an hypothesis, and though an important conclusion, was only a part of a fundamental change of view which did not so much contradict the creed as make it obsolete. The latter was a beggarly element which had waxed old and was ready to vanish away. That was the beginning of a sea-change in Congregationalism.

It could not be expected that the orthodox would sit quietly and see their ancient inheritance on the Hill slip out of their hands. In 1885 they made formal complaint to the Board of Visitors against the published views of the professors. The latter were tried in 1886-87 in Boston before the Board, with the verdict in June, 1887, against the president of the faculty, Professor Egbert C. Smyth, who was the chief author and in a sense represented the rest, removing him from his chair. From this an appeal was taken to the Massachusetts Supreme Court, which with the usual slowness of courts did not bring in a decision till October, 1891, when they set aside the finding of the Visitors on technical grounds alone, without touching on the real points at issue: vast expense and trouble, and nothing gained. Another effort was made for a fresh

trial before the Visitors, who, however, dismissed the complaint, September 6, 1892, without in their turn "expressing any opinion on the merits of the case." The historic party had lost. This was the second tragedy in the history of Congregationalism,—the first, the loss in the early part of the nineteenth century of about a third of their churches in Massachusetts to the Unitarians; and the second, the loss in the last part of that century of the oldest and, in some respects, greatest theological seminary in the world to a liberalism which, though not definitely Unitarian, was looking cordially with open heart in that direction. For, as a recent president of Andover Theological Seminary has said, there is no longer any contest with Unitarianism. "By all the laws of inheritance, intellectual temper and common ends, the future ought to see the healing of this schism and the joining of the Trinitarian and Unitarian branches of the Congregational body" (Rev. Dr. Albert Parker Fitch, in *Christian Century*, June 22, 1922, p. 779).

About the year 1900 the Board of Visitors ruled that subscription to the Creed was under the control of the governing boards of the Seminary and could even be entirely dispensed with. The judicial appropriateness of this decision is open to suspicion, as the Visitors themselves must subscribe to the Creed and are therefore an interested party. Acting on this ruling the Creed was therefore set aside by these boards. Before the school went to Cambridge in 1908 the trustees also ruled that the Seminary did not have to be governed by the historic relation to Phillips Academy, and therefore made over the Seminary to a new Board of Trustees. But all this was by way of interpretation, for no changes have been made in the constitution and laws of the Seminary! But the interpretations have actually destroyed the constitution and laws. If anyone had had interest and money enough to contest these rulings in the Massachusetts Courts, we can readily imagine what the result would have been.

In the meantime, the New Departure, the controversies and legal trials, the uncertainties, practically destroyed

the Seminary. The orthodox would not go, and the liberals did not have enough religious vitality to raise up students for the ministry except in meagre numbers. So the roll of students fell from a hundred to ten (speaking roughly). The professors still took the Creed (that is, until about 1900), but they took it as a horse "takes" a fence. It became a serious question, therefore, what to do with the Seminary. Should it disband and return its endowments to the heirs or to the state? Should it remove to Cambridge or to Boston under the shadow of a great university and perhaps gain new life from its overflow? Should it rather go to Trustees and Visitors and say: "Gentlemen, we have as good as wrecked your ship. It is time for you to get other masters. If you know of any orthodox, for God's sake get them. We quit." Or, should Trustees go to the legislature of the state and ask for a revised charter throwing the Seminary on Congregational churches of Massachusetts, after the example of their theological school in Chicago? Everybody knows what was done. That historic row of buildings on Andover Hill, that fine campus with its beautiful lines of elms, that magnificent Brechin Hall Library building, the Gymnasium,—all were taken over by Phillips Academy for its own uses, and the Seminary in 1908 went to Cambridge. It became a kind of protégé of the Unitarian college which had cast it out (so to speak) in 1805. It was the grimmest piece of irony in history, as one of its graduates said. The inevitable happened. While it fraternized with Harvard Divinity School in exchange of professors and students, it still lived at the poor dying rate of its late Andover days. Therefore, in June, 1922, to save itself from extinction, it merged itself with that School to become the Theological School in Harvard University. Such is the tragic end of a glorious history, an end full of instruction and of warning so plain that he who runs may read.

It is easy to be wise after the event. In no spirit of criticism, however, I venture to suggest some mistakes of the founders and orthodox administrators of Andover.

- (1) It was a mistake to attach the Seminary to Phillips

Academy. They must have known that in the nature of things the trustees of a boys' Academy could not be quite so keen on theological scent as those of a preachers' school. The Newburyport Founders were right in their first insistence on an independent foundation. (2) These Founders on their part were unwise in not being content with the Shorter Catechism. Outside of its mild, though not indistinct Calvinism, that Catechism was such an admirable general statement of evangelicalism that when administered with not undue strictness but reasonably and fairly it would have carried the Seminary through its first two centuries. But the aggressive spirit and careful definitions of the Associate Creed would inevitably excite opposition in time even on the part of moderate Calvinists to the embarrassment of the Board of Visitors. (3) The latter in their turn made the mistake of allowing too loose a subscription in the '70s and '80s. When Dr. Dexter and other sympathizers with historic Congregationalism called the attention of the Visitors to a too flagrant violation of the constitution of the Seminary and loud outcries were heard, the Visitors at first disowned the election of Dr. Newman Smyth, then in a year or two confirmed the election of three or four others equally liberal; while in the meantime some of the most eminent of the professors "fled for cover," that is, resigned (1882), such as Dr. J. Henry Thayer, who went to Harvard Divinity School, and Dr. Charles M. Mead, who went to Germany. If the Visitors had administered pledges to the creed faithfully, yet with enlightenment, explaining exactly what subscription must imply, they would have kept the Seminary in historic continuity, and forestalled the crises of the '80s and '90s which led to the catastrophe of 1908 and the finishing stroke of 1922. For a theological school, too narrow interpretation of credal obligations means obscurantism, too broad inevitably leads to Unitarianism, and either interpretation betrays the truth and destroys the school.