manuscripts have been carefully examined by four, and only four, men now living, and neither of the four has ever seen the reported manuscript, or ever seen any reason to believe that there is, or ever was, one in which Edwards "leans towards Sabellianism," or "approaches Pelagianism." The larger part of all his remarks which New England clergymen would regard as deviations from the Trinitarian creed, are contained in pp. 157-177, 333-362 of the Bibliotheca Sacra for 1881. There is no unpublished manuscript of Edwards which contains a discussion of theological doctrines, and is more than one twentieth part "as long as his Treatise on the Will." Next to his Treatise on Original Sin, the last and most important work which he "prepared for the press" was that on the "Nature of True Virtue."¹ None of his writings develops his persistent orthodoxy more than this.

ARTICLE X.

THEOLOGICAL EDUCATION.

NO. VII.—PRIVATE INSTRUCTION FOR THE MINISTRY.

The beginnings of civilized life in New England were very peculiar. Among the early ship-loads of passengers landing in the Massachusetts Bay, two hundred and fifty years ago, there were a large number of highly educated men from the English universities. They were clergymen of the church of England fleeing from their native land because fines and imprisonments were behind them. They were such men as John Wilson, John Eliot, John Cotton, Thomas Hooker, John Norton, John Davenport, Thomas Shepard, Samuel Stone, Charles Chauncey, Richard Mather, and many others of the same general stamp. They were men of such literary culture that they were able to organize a college and transfer the ripe learning of England to these wild shores. This they did; and only nine years after the organization of

¹ See Bib. Sac., Vol. x. pp. 411, 312.
the first church in the Bay, Harvard College opened its doors to students for a liberal education. Thus, in the year 1638, began the work, here in New England, of educating men for the Christian ministry. We desire, in a rapid and general way, to trace the course of events connected with our systems of ministerial education from that day down to the establishment of theological seminaries in the early years of the present century.

The college at Cambridge, at the outset, was itself a semitheological seminary. The whole arrangement of the course of study had a primary reference to the production of ministers. Not that young men looking forward to civil and secular life were to be excluded. On the other hand they were to be cordially invited and freely admitted to the benefits of the institution. In the first class of nine, that was graduated in 1642, five of the young men were on their way to the ministry, and four were destined to other callings.

When a young man had finished his course at the college he had received, in a general way, his education for the Christian ministry. Beyond that, in the early New England generations, there seems to have been no fixed system or plan of study. And yet young men did not often pass directly from the college to the active labors of the ministry. In very many cases they were too young. Some years must naturally intervene before they could properly be ordained and set over the churches. Even in case of older students, there was commonly an interval of one or two years from the end of the college course to the settlement in the ministry, and this period was supposed to be filled with studies of some kind, though what they should be was not distinctly prescribed.

The founders of the New England College, bringing with them the associations and habits of the English universities, encouraged the student, after his graduation, to linger about the college as his intellectual home, to pursue his studies there, making use of the library, and availing himself of the suggestions of the President and his associates. As soon as
the college at Cambridge was fairly under way the custom began of appointing fellows, who should serve as tutors, and assist the head of the college in the various branches of instruction. Out of the second class, which was graduated in 1643, two students, Samuel Mather and Samuel Danforth, were chosen fellows, and as the years passed on such appointments were frequently made. There was, therefore, at the college a society of select scholars, representatives of the best culture. What more natural than that the candidate for the ministry, after taking his first degree, should go back to dwell in this literary atmosphere, and in the society of these men of good learning. The early records of Harvard show that this was a common custom. The young man thus returning to his alma mater was not merely an outside dweller,—a resident at Cambridge somewhere in the vicinity of the college,—he was within the fold; he boarded at the college commons; he roomed in the college buildings. From Sibley's "Harvard Graduates," covering the early years of the college history, numerous passages might be cited illustrating this custom. Joshua and Jeremiah Hobart, for example, were sons of Peter Hobart, minister of Hingham. They were classmates as well as brothers, and were graduated at Harvard in 1650. On page 212 of Mr. Sibley's volume we read: "The two brothers Joshua and Jeremiah probably continued at the college till December 1651, when the steward's accounts with the 'Sirs hubbarts' terminated." Samuel Phillips, son of Governor Phillips, minister of Watertown, was of the same class. Mr. Sibley says of him (p. 222), "He graduated at the age of twenty-five years, after which he continued at the college nearly a year. In June 1651, the year after his graduation, he was settled ... as teacher of the church at Rowley." Samuel Eaton was son of Theophilus Eaton, Governor of the New Haven Colony, and was graduated in 1646. "His father maintained him at the college until he proceeded Master of Arts" (p. 172). Uriah Oakes was of the same class, and afterward was made fourth President of the college. "After graduating he continued to reside at the
college and board in commons till 1653” (p. 173). These are illustrations of what was a common custom for many years after the founding of the college.

The same was true at Yale College in the early years of the last century. The celebrated Jonathan Edwards was graduated at Yale in 1720 at the age of sixteen. "He continued," says Dr. Sprague, "his connection with the college as a resident graduate for about two years, during which time he was chiefly occupied in his preparation for the ministry."

During this long period, from 1688 until toward the middle of the last century, it does not seem to have become a custom that the candidates for the ministry should reside in the families of ministers and study under their special care. Doubtless there were many scattered instances of this kind, but not until the last century was well on its way did this practice become general.

Dr. Joseph Bellamy of Bethlem, Ct., seems to have been the first to establish something like a "school of the prophets" in his own house. He was graduated at Yale College in 1735, at the age of sixteen. Two years later he was licensed to preach. In 1740 he was ordained at Bethlem, and remained there through a ministry of fifty years, till his death in 1790. Some of the more notable men who resorted to him for theological instruction were Dr. Samuel Spring, Dr. Joseph Eckley of the Old South Church, Boston, Dr. John Smalley, Dr. Ephraim Judson of Sheffield, Dr. Jonathan Edwards (the younger Edwards), and Dr. Levi Hart.

Dr. Sprague, in his Annals, has the following estimate of Dr. Bellamy and his system of instruction: "From the time that Dr. Bellamy resumed the stated charge of his flock, at the close of his labors as an itinerant [he had served during the Whitefield revival], he commenced assisting young men in their theological studies preparatory to the ministry. And in this department of labor he soon became highly distinguished. Many of the most eminent ministers in New England, of the last generation, were trained, in a great measure, under his instructions. It was his custom to fur-
nish his pupils with a set of questions covering the whole field of theology, and then to give them a list of books corresponding to the general subjects which they were to investigate; and, in the progress of their inquiries, he was accustomed almost daily to examine them, to meet whatsoever difficulties they might have found, and to put himself in the attitude of an objector, with a view at once to extend their knowledge and increase their intellectual acumen. When they had gone through the prescribed course of reading, he required them to write dissertations upon the several subjects which had occupied their attention; and, afterward, sermons on those points of doctrine which he deemed most important; and, finally, sermons on such experimental and practical topics as they might choose to select. He was particularly earnest in inculcating the importance of a high tone of spiritual feeling as an element of ministerial character and success. His students are said to have formed the very highest idea of his talents and character, and, in some instances, to have regarded him with a veneration bordering well-nigh upon idolatry.

Dr. Samuel Hopkins of Newport, R. I., was at that period one of the great theological thinkers of New England. But he was rather a system-maker than a teacher. The same was true in a still higher sense of Jonathan Edwards, senior.

As years passed on, quite a number of the pupils of Dr. Bellamy, in their turn, became heads of these private schools of theology in various parts of New England, e.g. Dr. Levi Hart of Preston (now Griswold), Ct.; Dr. John Smalley of New Britain, Ct.; Dr. Samuel Spring of Newburyport, Mass.; Dr. Jonathan Edwards of New Haven, Ct.; Dr. Ephraim Judson of Sheffield, Mass.

If we were to attempt to enumerate in full the pupils studying at these several schools we should swell our article unduly with lists of names. Of the five men above-named, Dr. Hart and Dr. Smalley were perhaps foremost, regarded as theological teachers; but goodly numbers of students resorted also to Drs. Edwards, Judson, and Spring.
A few of the more prominent pupils from these schools may be mentioned.

Dr. Jonathan Edwards of New Haven received into his family, from time to time, a considerable number of students, among whom were Dr. Samuel Austin of Worcester, Mass., afterward President of Vermont University; Dr. Edward Dorr Griffin of Andover Theological Seminary and Park Street Church, Boston, and afterward President of Williams College; Dr. Jedediah Morse of Charlestown, Mass.; and Dr. Samuel Nott of Franklin, Ct.

Dr. Ephraim Judson of Sheffield, Mass., instructed not a few, among whom were Dr. Jonathan Strong of Randolph, Mass., and Dr. Elijah Parish of Byfield, Mass.

Dr. Smalley's school at New Britain was quite numerously attended. From twenty-five to thirty studied with him. His most distinguished pupils, perhaps, were Dr. Nathanael Emmons of Franklin, Mass., and Dr. Ebenezer Porter, settled in Washington, Ct., and called thence to bear a very prominent part in the early history of Andover Seminary, and to take a large share in all the great religious enterprises of his time.

Among the pupils of Dr. Samuel Spring of Newburyport were Dr. Eliphalet Gillett of Hallowell, Me., and Dr. Caleb J. Tenney of Newport, R. I., and afterward of Wethersfield, Ct.

Dr. Levi Hart of Preston superintended the theological education of Dr. Asa Burton of Thetford, Vt., and Dr. Charles Backus of Somers, Ct., and a large number of others.

It must be borne in mind that while these private theological schools were busy at their work here and there, it was still the custom, as in the early days, with many young men to linger about the colleges where they had graduated, and pursue their theological studies there, mostly by themselves, but with helps and suggestions from the presidents and professors.

In the class of 1769 at Yale College were graduated two
young men of special note, the two leading scholars of the class, Dr. Nathan Strong, the distinguished minister of the First Church at Hartford; and Dr. Timothy Dwight, afterward President of the College. Two years earlier, in 1767, was graduated Dr. Joseph Lyman, the well-known minister of Hatfield, Mass.; and one year later, in 1770, Dr. Joseph Buckminster of Portsmouth, N. H., finished his college course. These four young men all became tutors in the college, and meanwhile pursued their theological studies, helping each other probably, and receiving hints and suggestions from Dr. Daggett, then the acting president. The same habits of theological study still went on about Harvard College. So, when Dartmouth College was formed in 1769, some of the early graduates went back and studied under President Wheelock. The same was true at Williams and Bowdoin Colleges, and at Brown University.

Coming down now to the closing years of the last century and the early years of the present, we shall find that the opportunities for theological study in these private schools had been greatly multiplied. Dr. Bellamy, who, more than any other man, perhaps, originated the system, had now passed away.

In the following enumeration of the several private schools in theology, additional to those already mentioned, we will range them, as nearly as may be, according to the whole number of students instructed in each. Dr. Nathanael Emmons of Franklin, Mass., is believed to have had under his charge a larger number than any one else. His ministry was long and he was a favorite teacher. The number resorting to him for instruction is reckoned to have been not far from one hundred. Dr. Park, in his extended Memoir of Dr. Emmons, published in 1861, has given a complete view of his methods of instruction, with brief notices of many of his pupils. We need not therefore enlarge upon this part of our subject.

Next in the order of the number of students was the school of Dr. Asa Burton of Thetford, Vt. Dr. Burton was or-
dained at Thetford, Jan. 19, 1779, and remained until his death, May 1, 1836,—a ministry of fifty-seven years. From the sketch of his life in the tenth volume of the American Quarterly Register by Rev. Thomas Adams, we learn the following facts connected with his school of instruction. “In 1786 he commenced taking students in divinity, from which time until 1816, when he declined taking any more, he had from two to four students constantly under his care. Besides the instruction conveyed by his daily intercourse, he was accustomed to spend about three hours at a time, twice in each week, lecturing to them upon the various points of his system. About sixty were prepared for the ministry, either wholly or in part, under his instruction. And when we look over a list of his students, we feel constrained to inquire what theological seminary, however richly endowed, or ably sustained, has furnished a larger proportion of able and successful ministers of the New Testament?” Rev. David Thurston, formerly of Maine, one of Dr. Burton’s pupils, said of him: “As an instructor in systematic theology, I give him a higher place than any other man whom I have ever known. His great excellency as a teacher of systematic divinity consisted in his talent to present divine truth in a manner unusually lucid, rational, comprehensive, convincing. His pupils never had occasion to inquire what he meant in any instruction which he communicated.”

Had Dr. Charles Backus, of Somers, Ct., been blessed with length of days, like Dr. Emmons and Dr. Burton, it is not unlikely that he might have educated an equal, or even greater, number of theological students. His ministry was comparatively short, beginning in 1773 and ending in 1803. A young minister, just entering upon his professional life, would not be likely to attract students at once. Some years must pass away. His name must have gone abroad and his reputation be in good measure established before he would be sought for in this capacity. The work of Dr. Backus as a theological teacher must have been mainly done in a period
of fifteen years, between 1785 and 1800. The latest years of his life were passed in the weakness and burden of disease. Yet he had under his charge not far from fifty students; and among them were many that afterward filled very high and important positions. Among his pupils were Dr. Leonard Woods of Andover, Dr. John H. Church of Pelham, Dr. Alvan Hyde of Lee, Dr. Timothy Mather Cooley of Granville, Dr. Thomas Snell of North Brookfield, Dr. Zephaniah Swift Moore, President of Williams and Amherst College, and Dr. Henry Davis, President of Middlebury and Hamilton Colleges.

Rev. Asahel Hooker, minister of Goshen, Ct., was, for a time, an exceedingly honored and successful teacher of theology. He himself, after graduating at Yale in 1789, studied divinity under Rev. William Robinson of Southington, Ct., father of our great biblical scholar, Dr. Edward Robinson. Mr. Hooker was settled in Goshen in 1791, and remained until ill health compelled him to resign in 1810. He afterward had a brief settlement in Chelsea parish, Norwich. During his ministry he had charge of the education of thirty-one students in theology; and among them were such names as Dr. Bennet Tyler, Rev. Joshua Huntington, Dr. Heman Humphrey, and Dr. John Woodbridge. Dr. Humphrey, who became one of our foremost educators, said of Mr. Hooker, "He was uncommonly skilful as well as successful as a theological teacher; and I am not aware that any of his students have ever dishonored their teacher or their profession. He had a list of questions, as was common at that day, embracing all the essential points in a theological course, on which we were required to write. . . . We read our theses before him at stated hours, and he proved himself a good critic and an able teacher. It was not his fault, but the fault of his pupils, if they did not enjoy as good advantages under his instruction as were then attainable. But, after all, living in his family, observing how he went out and came in, how he walked before his flock — leading them into green pastures, enjoying his daily conversation, and getting insensibly, as it were, initiated into the duties of the pastoral office, by the
light of his example, were among the most important benefits enjoyed in his school."

Dr. Theophilus Packard was ordained minister of Shelburne, Mass., Feb. 20, 1799. For quite a number of years, until the time came that most of our theological students pursued their studies at the seminary, Dr. Packard had students of divinity constantly under his care. The whole number taught by him seems to have been the same as with Mr. Hooker, thirty-one.

Rev. Thomas Shepard, D.D., late of Bristol, R. I., was ordained at Ashfield, Mass., and was therefore a neighbor of Dr. Packard. He says, "I found him to be a man of great vigor of intellect, and distinguished for his knowledge of theological doctrine and ecclesiastical polity. . . . . He was . . . . a theological pupil of the celebrated Dr. Burton. He adopted, throughout, 'the Taste Scheme,' as it was then called, of which his honored teacher was the champion, if not the father. I well remember the first discussion I had with him in his own study. It was during a winter evening, and before we were aware of the lateness of the hour the clock struck one."

Dr. Stephen West of Stockbridge was earlier in beginning his work, having been ordained June, 15, 1759; and his ministry was long, continuing until his dismission in 1818. He died in 1819. It is difficult to ascertain how many men he instructed. Dr. Chester Dewey, formerly of Rochester, N.Y., who was one of his pupils, in his letter contributed to Sprague's Annals, makes the following statement: "Dr. West instructed many young men for the ministry. I was among the last, and I think the very last, of his theological students [Dr. Dewey joined his family in 1807]. His method of teaching in previous years I do not know. But to me he gave subjects in a short, regular system,—as on the being and attributes of God, on the authenticity of the Scriptures, etc.,—and books to read on the several subjects, and required a dissertation upon each, which I read to him. He heard the dissertation, and made such remarks as were called for, pointed out the relation of the doctrines, and explained pas-
sages of Scripture. The books to be read were few. Among them were Hopkins’s System of Divinity.”

While this work of private ministerial education was going forward in different parts of New England, there were certain ministers who, in a similar way, made a specialty of fitting boys for college. Good schools were not so numerous as now, nor was it so convenient as at present to travel long distances to reach such schools as did then exist. Consequently the houses of some ministers became like little academies, where, from year to year, companies of boys might be found fitting for college. There were two men at least in New England who largely combined in their instructions theological and classical students. Dr. Nathan Perkins of West Hartford, Ct., had a ministry of extraordinary length, sixty-six years, from 1772 to 1838. Dr. Sprague says of him: “In the course of his ministry Dr. Perkins preached ten thousand sermons, attended more than a hundred ecclesiastical councils, assisted more than a hundred and fifty young men in their preparation for college, and had under his care, at different times, more than thirty theological students.”

Dr. Samuel Wood of Boscawen, N. H., did the same thing. In his long ministry, reaching from 1781 to 1836, he fitted not far from a hundred boys for college, among whom were Ezekiel and Daniel Webster, and superintended the education of some twenty theological students.

Another private theological school, well known and quite popular at the beginning of the present century, was that of Dr. Alvan Hyde of Lee. He was, as we have seen, a pupil of Dr. Charles Backus, as also of Dr. Stephen West, and was settled in Lee in 1792, where he continued until his death in 1833. Candidates for the ministry, especially from Williams College, in the early years of the present century made the house of Dr. Hyde their home for theological study. Dr. Heman Humphrey said of him, “As a pastor Dr. Hyde was second to no minister with whom I have ever been acquainted.” Dr. Mark Hopkins testified, “He was indeed, in his
whole appearance and demeanor in the pulpit, such a man as we love to see there, and to welcome as a messenger from God."

Upon the Connecticut river, in Massachusetts, were two men distinguished in their generation, Dr. Joseph Lathrop of West Springfield and Dr. Joseph Lyman of Hatfield. Both of their ministries were long; that of Dr. Lathrop, sixty-four years, from 1750 to 1828; that of Dr. Lyman, fifty-seven years, from 1771 to 1828. Both of these were accustomed to receive students in divinity into their families and superintend their education. Of Dr. Lathrop, Prof. Bela B. Edwards said, "He assisted about twenty young gentlemen in preparing for the ministry, among whom was President Appleton."

We find no definite statement showing how many young men were educated for the ministry by Dr. Lyman; but from those who are known to have studied with him, we infer that he instructed about the same number as Dr. Lathrop.

Dr. Walter Harris of Dumbarton, N. H., had a ministry reaching from 1789 to 1843. He, like Dr. Perkins and Dr. Wood, combined in himself the double work of fitting boys for college and instructing candidates for the ministry. Dr. Sprague says of him, "In the early part of his ministry he fitted many young men for college, a service for which his very thorough scholarship abundantly fitted him. The young men who pursued their studies, especially the study of theology, under him not only regarded him with veneration as a man, but formed the highest estimate of his qualifications as an instructor."

Dr. Samuel Austin, during the twenty-five years (1790–1815) in which he was settled over the First Church in Worcester, Mass., was recognized as an excellent theological teacher. Dr. Sprague says of him, "He directed the theological studies of a considerable number of young men in their preparation for the ministry; and among them was the late Dr. Samuel Worcester, who, especially from his connection with the missionary enterprise, has left an imperishable name."
Dr. Elijah Parish, minister of Byfield, Mass., from 1787 to 1825, was an uncommonly able man. He received theological students into his family, and was known as a wise and able and, at the same time, an enthusiastic teacher.

Dr. Jacob Catlin was the minister at New Marlborough, Mass., from 1786 to 1826. "In the course of his ministry, he fitted a considerable number of young men for college, being an excellent Latin and Greek scholar, and always making advances in classical studies. Several also prosecuted their theological studies under him who have since been well known as faithful and wise ministers."

Dr. Ebenezer Porter was settled in the ministry in the quiet town of Washington, Ct., in the year 1796. From this place he was called, in the year 1811, to the Bartlet professorship at Andover. From this time onward to his death, in 1834, few men filled larger or more important offices connected with the Christian church. In his earlier life, while pastor at Washington, he was a successful theological teacher. Dr. Sprague says, "In addition to his other duties, he assisted a number of theological students in their preparation for the ministry; a service which, without his knowledge, was preparing him for his ultimate field of labor."

We have, perhaps, gone far enough in the way of designating these private schools of theology; and yet we have by no means exhausted the subject. Passing from the point where we now are it would be easy to go on and name a large number of prominent ministers, in different sections of New England, who, without aspiring to be known as public theological teachers, yet received into their families and gave instruction to a greater or smaller number of students. Among such men were Dr. Eden Burroughs of Hanover, N. H., Rev. Elisha Fisk of Upton, Mass., Dr. Bennet Tyler of Middlebury, Ct., Rev. John Murray of Newburyport, Mass., Dr. Solomon Williams of Lebanon, Ct., Dr. Andrew Yates of East Hartford, Ct., Rev. Abijah Wines of Newport, N. H., Dr. John H. Church of Pelham, N. H., Dr. Perez Fobes of Raynham, Mass., Rev. Bezaleel Pinneo of Milford, Ct., Dr. Seth

Indeed, while this custom of private theological education continued, almost any minister of average standing might naturally be asked, at least once in his life, to take charge of some student in divinity. Dr. Joseph McKee, Professor of Rhetoric in Harvard College, studied theology with Dr. Joseph Dana of Ipswich. Another Dr. Joseph McKeen, of a different family, first President of Bowdoin College, studied theology with Rev. Simon Williams of Windham, N. H. Dr. Samuel Hopkins lived four months in the family of Jonathan Edwards of Northampton. Dr. Elias Cornelius studied under Dr. Lyman Beecher of Litchfield, Ct. Dr. Emerson Davis studied with Dr. Edward D. Griffin. Dr. Richard Salter Storrs of Braintree pursued his theological studies with Dr. Aaron Woolworth of Bridgehampton, L. I.

But while these schools and these individual teachers were thus busy at their work it is needful to recur once again to what was still going on about the colleges. Dr. Timothy Dwight, during the twenty-two years that he was President of Yale College (1795-1815), probably instructed more students in theology than were taught in any one of these private schools, unless it may be that of Dr. Emmons. Professor Kingsley, in his History of Yale College, says of Dr. Dwight, in this connection, "There was always a number, greater or less, of theological students, residing at the college as graduates, who looked to him for instruction. These students met occasionally, sometimes once a week and sometimes oftener, when dissertations were read on subjects previously assigned; after which the president added his remarks on the opinions advanced and the course of arguments adopted." Around the other colleges existing at that time in New England the same process went on, in a less degree, either under the superintendence of the presidents or some of the older professors.
Looking back now over these long periods of our New England history, in which these simpler methods of theological education prevailed, and comparing their results with the work now done by our Theological Seminaries, we are prompted to make various suggestions, but must defer them until the July Number of the Bibliotheca Sacra.

ARTICLE XI.

RECENT GERMAN WORKS, AND UNIVERSITY INTELLIGENCE.

THEOLOGICAL WORKS.


The hymns discussed are, of course, Latin or German, but the book will tell us the origin and history of many hymns which dwell happily among us as translations. "In his choice of hymns for treatment," says the Leipzig Centralblatt, "the author has followed mainly the hymn-books used in the Prussian province of Saxony, from the earliest editions down to the present, but excluding the books dating from the rationalistic period." (!) "To supplement these he has used the Portz hymn-book more especially as a representation of the pietistic hymnology, and Weihe's hymn-book for Minden and Ravensberg, also the Berlin Treasury of hymns, more especially as representing later hymnology. He has included also a number of Latin hymns which have influenced German hymnology, or are to be found in German hymn-books.


The Leipzig Centralblatt reviewer says: "Who could read unmoved a passage like the following, written in a letter just after an unjust persecution? p. 92: 'My spirit is restful and submissive to God. Righteous indignation at the treatment which I experience from my enemies is overcome by the workings of a universal divine love, which has awakened within me a new spring-time.' To all who take pleasure in striving towards an ideal, and who have not yet yielded to the material selfishness of our day we cannot too strongly recommend this warm, yet impartial, story of a life."