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THE VALUE OF HUMANISTIC, PARTICULARLY
CLASSICAL, STUDIES AS A PREPARATION
FOR THE STUDY OF THEOLOGY, FROM
THE POINT OF VIEW OF THE PROFESSION

A SYMPOSIUM

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A SYMPOSIUM

ON THE VALUE OF HUMANISTIC, PARTICULARLY CLASSICAL,
STUDIES AS A PREPARATION FOR THE STUDY OF THEOLOGY,
FROM THE POINT OF VIEW OF THE PROFESSION¹

I. THE PLACE OF LATIN AND GREEK IN THE PREPARATION FOR THE MINISTRY

WILLIAM DOUGLAS MACKENZIE, D.D., LL.D.,
President of Hartford Theological Seminary

I count it a matter of great importance that this Conference has been invited to discuss the question how the study of Greek and Latin is related to preparation for the Christian ministry. It is true that indeed the classical department in our schools and colleges deeply affects the whole character and level, the tone and quality of the general education of our people; for it is still held by a very large number of men whose opinion we cannot afford to ignore, that ultimately the best culture of any modern nation must rest upon the basis of Greek and Latin history

¹Through the kind assistance of the Board of Regents of the University of Michigan and the courtesy of the publishers of the *School Review*, it has been possible to secure some reprints of this symposium for distribution. Those desiring a copy may address (inclosing a two-cent stamp for postage) Mr. Louis P. JOCELYN, Secretary Michigan Schoolmaster's Club, South Division St., Ann Arbor, Mich. The symposium upon "The Value of Humanistic, particularly Classical Studies as a Preparation for the Study of Medicine and Engineering," at the Conference of 1906, was published in the *School Review*, Vol. XIV (1906), pp. 389-414; and that upon "The Value of Humanistic Studies as a Preparation for the Study of Law," at the Conference of 1907, in the same journal, Vol. XV (1907), pp. 409-35. The symposium of 1906 was translated into German by Professor Von Arnim, of the University of Vienna, and was published, with an interesting introduction by Dr. S. Frankfurter, under the title "Der Wert des Humanismus, insbesondere der klassischen Studien als Vorbereitung für das Studium der Medizin und der Ingenieurkunde vom Standpunkt der Berufe" (4. Heft, Mitteilungen des Vereins der Freunde des humanistischen Gymnasiums, Vienna and Leipzig, 1907).

At the Classical Conference of 1909 there will be a symposium on "The Value of the Study of Latin and Greek as a Training for Men of Affairs."

and literature. Apart from that wide topic, it must be confessed that the study of these things has a direct relation to the leading professions which is of the utmost importance to the dignity and power of those professions. But, above all, as we shall see, the relation of Greek and Latin to the Christian ministry is so intimate and so organic that it is no exaggeration to assert that the way in which it is measured and handled by the colleges and seminaries will practically settle the future intellectual influence of the Christian pulpit.

It is scarcely possible, then, to discuss our subject without asking ourselves, first of all, what is the function of the ministry? There are those who maintain that it is possible to carry on the ministry of the gospel without a classical training, and in proof of this position it is possible to name many persons who have occupied and occupy prominent positions as Christian preachers, and who have brought many souls into the Christian experience, who are entirely innocent of Latin and Greek. It must be admitted quite frankly that for the specific work of evangelism such a training cannot be proved to be essential. We must also recognize that many very useful pastorates have been carried on by men without that kind and level of education. But we must be all the more careful, when these facts have been admitted, to realize what relation the ministry sustains to the life of the church as a whole, and, through that, to the general life and culture of the entire nation. For religion is no mere secluded section of human life. It arises and it lives, it fights its battles and wins or loses them in close contact and struggle with all the other forces and institutions of a civilized life. It does not continue its existence and influence by mere spontaneity. It requires and demands the exercise of the highest functions of human nature, of imagination as well as faith, of the disciplined mind as well as the purified heart. As truly as it demands the secret agonies of repentance, it demands also the outward glories of public worship and the concrete burdens of human service. Religion never will come to its own unless it leads all the other interests and forces of civilized man. It is all or nothing, it is supreme or least among the complex conditions of human experi-

ence. It carries in its life and heart absolute authority, or its voice is a mockery and its claims a superstition.

The Christian religion maintains its life through the continual assertion of its nature as the supreme self-revelation of God, and as carrying in itself a supreme authority over the conscience and the will of all human beings. It seeks—by its very nature it must die or seek—to make its spirit effective in the midst of all human interests. It must meet every strain which is brought to bear upon its fundamental claims. This the Christian religion cannot do in the face of the modern world except through men who are trained for a task sublime as this task. Whoever these are, they must stand to the community as the chief representatives of the Christian faith, its spokesmen, its advocates, its intelligent teachers, its confident promulgators. They must be men who are able to face the deepest things which Christianity may fear, and the deepest things which Christianity may do, among the wayward minds and the wayworn hearts of men. Moreover, such men as these must stand in every community. For it is not at a distance, by mere printing of elaborate arguments and dealing with scholarly situations that this supremacy of the Christian gospel is to be maintained. This work can only be done through the lives of men in contact with the lives of men. This religion cannot be content with mere formal acquiescence, with mere outward conformity to its routine practices. It must seek by its very nature to penetrate every section of the country with all its influence, that it may bring every individual to all his perfection. And in every section of a civilized land the same battle must be engaged in as in every other section. The educated are everywhere, the disputers of this world are in every hamlet and side street of all this vast country. There is no place where it is safe to say that Christianity can be successfully maintained unless it is fully represented by those who know its nature and manifest its power both in their word and in their life.

If these things are true, then they may be summed up in the blunt statement that the Christian religion cannot possibly retain moral and social leadership if its ministers lack an intellectual equipment which is equal to that required by any calling in the

most highly civilized regions of the world. The idea that Christianity can conquer by means of men who do not know what mental discipline is, who hope to maintain their influence by a piety that is divorced from intelligence, or a message that is delivered by intellectual incompetents, is one of the most disastrous which any generation could inherit or cherish. The ministry must have its schools in which work must be as severe as in any other professional school in the land. The pulpits must be occupied by men who have given themselves to specific and technical preparation with as deep self-sacrifice, with as real diligence, as those who hope to occupy the front places in medicine or in law or in education.

It is in the light of this whole view of the ministry and of its preparation that I must approach the specific task which your committee has assigned to me. What place, then, shall the study of Greek and Latin occupy in the preparation for the ministry?

First as to Greek. The Christian religion not merely arose out of the Hebrew religion (and therefore every theological student ought to *wish* to know a *little* Hebrew), but in a world whose intellectual life was deeply saturated with the influences of the Greek language and literature. Greek, in fact, was the *lingua franca* of the world at that time, and hence we find that the writings of the New Testament are all preserved to us in that language. Traditions that one or more originally existed in Aramaic are probably true, but the originals are entirely lost, so necessary was it that if they were to gain permanent place and influence they should be promptly translated and circulated as Greek documents. Even those apostolic letters which were addressed to the church in Rome itself and to that other church in the Roman colony of Philippi were in the Greek language. It is further to be noted that early Christian literature emanating from the city of Rome was not in Latin, but in Greek—as witness the Epistle of the Roman Clement. It has on apparently good grounds been concluded that down to the latter half of the second century the language used in the life and worship of the Christian church at Rome was not Latin, but Greek.

Many problems have always been felt to exist regarding the

kind of Greek which we find in the New Testament literature. It is not until very recent days that material has been found for an approximate answer to that question; but it is becoming clearer every year, through a closer study of inscriptions and from writings disinterred in Egypt, that the Greek which is used in this New Testament is not merely Attic Greek modified or degraded, but is the vernacular Greek of that period. The first preachers of the gospel of Christ, by the divine instinct which has lived ever since in the church, especially in its great periods of missionary activity, addressed themselves directly to the people in the language which the people knew and used. The clearing-up of some of these facts has added new zest to the scholarly investigation of this aspect of the Greek language, and may throw new light upon various aspects of New Testament study.

In all this the older apologists used to see the work of a divine providence. In the fulness of time, it was said, God sent his Son into the world, and that fulness, that fitness of all the circumstances, included this fashioning and perfecting of a language better adapted to record and express the Christian facts and truths than any other which the world had known. If many of us cannot today, with the same conscientious confidence, insist upon that argument as a piece of apologetics, we can yet recognize the actual and living importance for the Christian religion of the fact that, through its origin and permanent connection with the Greek language, it was brought into a living connection with the whole marvelous literature of the Greeks. It is one of the most significant of all facts that when this religion began to take its place in the larger life of the Graeco-Roman world, and when its theologians were compelled to face the fundamental intellectual problems which it presented, then, as at the present day, they found in that most highly developed philosophical language of antiquity keen weapons ready to their hand.

It follows from all these facts that the thorough investigation of the New Testament in its history and meanings must forever rest on a knowledge of the Greek language. He who knows it not is shut off from a personal consideration of the deepest problems concerning the origins of the faith which he professes.

To turn now to the Latin language, we must observe that toward the end of the second century, in Northern Africa there arose that fierce Christian spirit, Tertullian of Carthage. He it was who really began the history of Latin Christian literature, and in his rugged paragraphs and sometimes tumultuous vocabulary we seem to feel the burden of the task laid upon the beginners of that history. It is no easy thing to adapt a language to a view of human nature and its eternal relations, which is so vast, so subtle, so complex as the Christian view. It requires time, even as the missionaries of today discover, to refashion the great words of any language that they may move, as it were, at home in the universe which is opened by the Christian faith for the human spirit. From that time forth, Latin gradually and rapidly became the official language of the church, and the great theologies came to be written in that tongue. As the Roman Empire, now with the church at its heart, spread over Europe, it carried, for all the purposes of church and of state, the Latin language with it. It is true that in Southern Europe—nay, even in Italy itself—the real Latin disappeared and was replaced by the various vernacular tongues, which, in their turn and at a much later period, had to be reconquered for the purposes both of literature and of religion. But down to the time of the Reformation, Latin continued to be the prevailing language in the higher life of all civilized peoples in Europe. In that tongue they wrote their science and their philosophy, they carried on the amenities and the burdens of diplomacy and government, they recorded their biographies and histories. In that tongue they taught all the peoples to say their prayers and to build their theologies. This language it was which became the instrument for the keen dialectics of scholasticism and much of the deep-souled music of mysticism.

When the Renaissance arose, there was a rediscovery of the ancient literature of Greece, and over Europe it spread its flowers and its song, breaking in upon the monotony of the heavier tongue of the Latins with its lissome grace, its keen discriminations, and its close-knit vigor. But the Renaissance was accompanied by the Reformation. The Reformation brought about a

still greater change in the uses of language, for the effort was made to give the Scriptures to the peoples of Europe in their own tongues—the language of the home and the street and the marketplace. In spite of this strenuous missionary effort, which, of course, began soon to produce its appointed results in the great literatures of those modern tongues, the discussions of the theologians continued to be conducted in the Latin language. Hence it is that so large a part of the theology of the Reformation period is inaccessible to those who are unable to use this language, while many of the most important aspects of ecclesiastical as of secular history in all the Christian centuries lie beyond their reach.

In view of all these facts, it seems almost needless to assert that no one can move easily in the region of theological discussion nor read very far into the history of the Christian church to whom the simplest Latin is utterly unknown. I know that there are those who feel persuaded that, through translations of the Scriptures and through reading of modern theological books, they can obtain all that is necessary for the conduct of their ministry. That depends entirely upon what their ideal is. There are deep and curious psychological results produced by ignorance as well as knowledge, and many paltry and viewless paths are trod because a man has to avoid certain topics and cannot enter upon certain courses of reading which he would naturally have entered upon if he had possessed even a little better equipment. The tendency, as I believe, of those who do not possess these weapons of a full Christian culture must ever be to read what is easier, to avoid those greater works which confront one on so many of their pages with words printed in Greek or with quotations from Latin, with references to phases of history which only they are likely to know who have studied Greek and Greek history, Latin and the history of Rome. Thus, as I believe, the lack of Greek and Latin does of itself tend to lower the general authority of that portion of the ministry which is without them. Many a question the young college men in their churches could ask which must bring the blush to their faces because they know not these two things. Many an address must be made which

shall be poorer because they cannot speak with confidence on points which a very little Latin or Greek would enable them to determine with somewhat of authority.

I am aware of the possible argument that we cannot expect the average minister to be a thorough classical scholar. And I admit at once that the average ability may not be high enough for such excellence, the average diligence may be unequal to its maintenance, and the average tasks may interfere much with its constant cultivation. But, on the other hand, I may urge a view of the matter which I think affords basis for a complete answer to that difficulty. It is ever idle to discuss a concrete situation in terms of an impossible ideal, and I wish today above all to be practical.

If anyone will look calmly and without prejudice over the field of work which is being carried on by those churches in this or other lands which insist that every minister shall have learned some Greek and Latin, he will find that as a result there are various grades of attainment in these languages and that each of these has its real value and function. First, there are those whose acquaintance with and taste for classical learning is such that they are fitted to become specialists in this region. For them it is possible to do original work in the investigation of sources, in the discussion of minute linguistic problems, in the discrimination of one Greek usage from another, in the power to date a Latin document by the quality of the Latin. The church needs this kind of work for its large and varied life, and hence it must continue to call upon the preparatory schools and colleges to prepare such men for its service. I fear that we in this country hardly realize how much opportunity there is in this direction, and how great a leeway American scholarship needs to make up. One is glad to be able to say that in recent years much work of the best kind has been done at some American institutions by our younger scholars in this field. It is a mistake to suppose that there is no fresh ground to break either in biblical study or in the general field of church history. The discovery of ancient manuscripts of all kinds, the closer co-ordination of various fields of investigation, in economics as well as politics, in the minutiae

of literary scrutiny as well as in the measuring of large movements of thought, is adding fresh light to our understanding both of the institutional history of the church and of the significance of its great doctrinal discussions. Much of this work can only be done by those who are trained philologists and who bring to the investigation of history the expert linguist's tastes as well as the grasp of the philosopher and the insight of the religious man.

In the second place, we must, however, remember that there is a place for that much larger number of men whose tastes are somewhat different, who are able and glad to acquire a reading knowledge of the classical languages without concentrating attention upon the grammarian's interests. Here there is a wide range of possibility—from the man who reads any Latin and Greek with ease, and prefers to do all his work in the original, down to the man who reads them faithfully but with difficulty, who, therefore, depends largely upon translations, but who, when he comes to critical decisions, is careful always to compare the translations with the original. There are great varieties of power between these two extremes, and a very large amount of the best work in several theological departments, biblical, historical, and theological, is today being done by those who have this equipment in some one of its varying degrees. And one must recognize that this is necessary, for there are various departments of theological investigation which require the use of quite other languages, which take men into the study of other periods than those covered by Greek and Latin writings. In cases like these, expert use of the classical tongues is not easily maintained. They grow rusty, translate laboriously, and feel that they are losing time if they depend merely upon their own slow progress through the pages of their authors. For such men the use of translations is not only allowable but necessary, and some of the most important books in many fields have come from such scholars. I believe that a far larger number of our ministers ought to belong to some grade in this class. If they have had the foundations well laid in school and college, if they have been inspired in the seminary to cultivate the use of Latin and Greek in preparation

for their classroom work, if they have formed a habit of frequently reading even a little in those languages, of never depending merely upon translations but, where possible, of exercising themselves in direct and personal translation and, at important points, checking the best translators by comparison with the original, they will not only maintain through life a reasonable knowledge of the classical tongues but will thereby be able to go to the fountain-heads of philosophical and theological history for themselves. They need not merely depend upon interpretations and reports of other scholars, but may have that noble joy of comparing these directly and personally with those ancient writers who are under discussion.

But there is a third class, consisting of those who have never gained a power of reading the classics easily; but who, being faithful and diligent men, gained their degree in both languages. They realize the great advantage of the measure of knowledge they have won. They rejoice that quotations from Latin, and Greek references to classical literature and history, are not all "blind" to them. Such men will rejoice to have on their shelves the best modern commentaries on both the Old and the New Testaments. They will ever keep up the study of the New Testament by the use of commentaries which treat the Greek text. They will rejoice to get as close to the originals as they can, and will be stimulated to buy books that deal directly with the sources. This measure of scholarship and ideal of practice is within the easy reach of practically every minister in the land. It is by no means to be despised. It is a measure of power which sets a man far beyond all his brethren who, however naturally able or pious, are without the knowledge which he possesses of these languages. The least in the kingdom of God is greater than all those without, and he who is able to use Greek and Latin in the degree I have described occupies always, in discussion, and in the consultation of books, and in the judgment of controversies, a position such as even abler men cannot hold, whose minds are dead to these languages. I cannot strongly enough insist upon this point because, while it is the lowest part of the ideal I am setting before you, it is one which brings within every minister's

reach whole ranges of theological work which otherwise he would never think of reading. It is safe to say that there is hardly one, for instance, of the excellent series of International Commentaries which does not imply some knowledge of Greek and Latin. Even translated commentaries on the New Testament, like that of Meyer, imply the power to turn the pages of the Greek Testament. No man can fruitfully read the translation of Harnack's *History of Dogma* who does not know these languages. He cannot follow the discussions on the authorship of the New Testament books, the history of New Testament times, without feeling at every step his deficiencies if he is unable to refer to the quotations or to follow even sparse references to Greek and Latin words. The tendency for such a man must always be to purchase and read books which belong to the more ephemeral class—those which are avowedly popular, whether in exposition or in theological discussion. His mind moves, therefore, always on smooth waters, and goes surely and easily to sleep. His imagination is unenkindled by the rugged struggle with big problems. His faith is unbraced by conscious facing of the strongest winds of criticism. A large number of weaklings in the pulpit are men who might have become strong and vigorous in their intellectual and spiritual life, if their equipment had been sufficient to make them appreciate the important works, to buy one first-class commentary rather than three or four commonplace productions of respectable piety. Men like these are the victims of every wind of doctrine that blows in any direction. Some of them take refuge in the arid regions of narrowness, of a conservatism that is bitter because uninstructed. Or else they yield themselves to the flatulent food of the latest fad, if only the writer of a book or a series of books is possessed of a smooth style and great self-confidence, if only he uses the word "new" for his philosophy or his psychology or his theology, if only he insists often enough and subtly enough that he who does not see these things does not see anything at all. What we need today in our ministry is a great body of men who know enough of the past to understand the real problems of the present. And we cannot have such a body of men unless they are willing to

make the sacrifices of toil and patient study to acquire those languages which will open the most important discussions of the past and the present to their eyes.

I feel, of course, with you all, not only that this ideal is necessary, but that it is difficult to attain. I have heard, not so long ago, of ministers, in conversation with theological students, who sneered at the amount of attention which was demanded by their teachers to the languages of Scripture and Christian history, saying that *they* had been in the ministry for so many years and had not found these things at all necessary. The down-drag of a low ideal, when it exists throughout a vast body of men, is a very powerful force and one which it is extremely difficult to counteract. It will take long to spread through the churches of America—nay, even throughout the ministry of America—the ideals of ministerial scholarship which I have so briefly and slightly sketched above. For the better day that is coming we must depend very largely upon the spirit which emanates from the classical teachers in our schools and colleges, and the methods which are employed in our theological seminaries. I believe that one of the greatest forces which can be employed by teachers in public schools to induce boys to begin the study of classics and to carry it on enthusiastically, is continually, freshly, interestingly, to argue and to prove and to illustrate the position that the study of classics is necessary, not merely for a noble general culture, but for definite and professional power in the great careers of life. Among these careers not only statesmanship and law and medicine and education, but the ministry of the church of Christ must be named. It ought not to be hard for any teacher of Latin or Greek in any high school in the country to get sufficient grasp of the relation of his language to these professions to enable him thus to influence his scholars, to make them feel that these are not dead but ever-living languages, not useless lumber but the living fountain of fresh inspirations, and that no nation can, in its culture, in its statesmanship, in its professional careers, stand in the front rank which does not, through these languages, relate itself to the greatest achievements of the past.

What is said here of the school must apply all the more

powerfully to the college. I believe that the sources of supply for the ministry can be opened by the spirit of the college professors of America. It is absolutely certain that in college many men lose an earlier desire to enter the ministry, and this through the mere fact that the ministry as an ideal form of human service and as an obligation of the higher life does not seem to have the respect of their teachers. I think that colleges and universities where the truly broad spirit reigns may, without any loss of self-respect, without any taint of sectarian spirit, so arrange its courses, so make suggestions to those who are looking forward to the ministry, as to encourage such men to undertake fields of study that will fit them for their future work in the seminary and in the church. By this I do not mean that any seminary work should be done at college. Attempts to do it have, as a rule, proved a failure. And in any case the man who looks forward to the ministry ought to take the broadest and strongest college course which is possible. But undoubtedly there are departments of study which those looking forward to the ministry ought to pursue, when we take the broad view of the ministry which I have suggested today. I believe that Latin and Greek ought to be studied by such men through the whole four years of their college course, so that, having had eight years in these languages, they can go to the seminary able to use them with some degree of comfort, and able to appreciate their value as soon as they enter upon biblical study and the investigations of church history. And in the seminary these languages ought to be used. No year should pass in which the men are not encouraged to read in the Greek Testament and the Greek Fathers, as well as in Latin theology. Thus eleven years of work ought to send the average man out into the ministry of America with an equipment which shall give him a position in every community he enters, as a man of sound education, of real and thorough preparation for his great career.

I trust that, as a teacher of theology, I am not deaf to the clamant voices which appeal to us for men who are trained to meet a living situation and to deal with the often crushing burdens of our modern world. It is in the very name of those

voices, with their pathos in my heart, that I yearn for a ministry in our land which stands high enough to measure, and is strong enough to grapple with their task. Ultimately a nation is made by its ideals, and social wrongs are permanently corrected, not by superficial rearrangement of outer things, but by deep regenerations of spirit and desire. What we need is the leadership of men upon whom the Christian view of God and the world has shed its light. It is no child's play, it is no idler's listless and perfunctory work, it is a trained man's life-work to make that Christian view and the experience which lies behind it prevail in his own character that it may prevail over the character of his flock and over the history of a nation. The minister of the Christian religion is, alike by the nature of that religion and the nature of his own relation to it, committed to the position of leadership in the community. Woe to the man who undertakes it with mind untrained and will unbraced for a life of intellectual and spiritual labor! But blessed is the nation and secure is its future whose ministry is composed of men who, to the zeal of the evangelist, and the sacrifice of the pulpit, and the practical wisdom of the leader, add the wisdom and the sacrifice and the zeal of the trained teacher. Today the church of Christ needs men possessed of all these gifts and acquirements, possessed even of that culture "to make reason and the will of God prevail" amid the free and tumultuous life of our modern world.

II. THE VALUE TO THE CLERGYMAN OF TRAINING IN THE CLASSICS

REV. A. J. NOCK
St. Joseph's Church, Detroit

The other night, in company with an eminent expert in social problems, I had the privilege of hearing Mr. Post lecture on the witch's work that the railroads are making with our political institutions. As we left the building, the first unmistakable breath of spring in the air brought with it a sudden, disquieting flood of recollections of my home in the Virginia mountains, and

there occurred to me at once the pensive and graceful lines from Virgil's *Georgics*: "O for the fields, and the streams of Spercheios, and the hills animated by the romping of the Lacaenian girls, the hills of Taygetus!" The social practitioner, who regards my favorite pursuits with an eye of gentle toleration—thinking them a harmless means of keeping inefficient and sentimental persons from meddling underfoot of those like himself who are bearing the burden and heat of the day—took my arm and said, "I suppose now, your way out of all these troubles with the railroads would be to put Mr. Harriman and Mr. Pierpont Morgan to reading Virgil's *Georgics*." I had considerable satisfaction in telling him that he was not much more than half wrong.

The reply was not dictated solely by my own prepossessions. The function of the Christian minister is to recommend religion as the principal means of making the will of God prevail in all the relations of human society. He promotes the practice of the discipline of Jesus as the highest mode of spiritual exercise looking toward human perfection. But religion is an inward motion, a distinct form of purely spiritual activity; not an intellectual process, an external behavior, or a series of formal observances. The final truth of religion is poetic truth, not scientific truth; in fact, with sheer scientific truth religion has very little vital concern. The Christian minister, then, has his chief interest in recommending a special mode of spiritual activity, in interpreting a special mode of poetic truth. But his experience bears witness that the general must precede the special. Before one may hope to do much with a special mode of spiritual activity like religion, at least some notion of spiritual activity in general must have made its way. Before one may hope to do much with a special mode of poetic truth like the truth of religion, at least some sense of the validity and worth of poetic truth in general must be set up. Here it may be seen how distinctly progress in religion is related to progress in culture—I do not say progress in education, for the recent changes in educational aims and ideals make of education a very different thing from culture; the recent revolution in educational processes compels us to differentiate these very sharply from the works and ways of culture. Educa-

tion, at present, is chiefly a process of acquiring and using instrumental knowledge. Its highest concern is with scientific truth, and its ends are the ends of scientific truth. Culture, on the other hand, is chiefly a process of acquiring and using formative knowledge; and while culture is, of course, concerned with scientific truth, its highest concern is with poetic truth. Culture prizes scientific truth, it respects instrumental knowledge; it seeks to promote these, where necessary, as indispensable and appointed means to a great end; but culture resolutely puts aside every temptation to rest upon these as ends in themselves. Culture looks steadily onward from instrumental knowledge to formative knowledge, from scientific truth to poetic truth. The end of culture is the establishment of right views of life and right demands on life, or in a word, *civilization*, by which we mean the humane life, lived to the highest power by as many persons as possible.

Because material well-being is the indispensable basis of civilization, the more thoughtless among us are apt to use the word civilization only in a very restricted and artificial sense. Our newspapers especially appear to think that the quality of civilization is determined by being very rich, having plenty of physical luxuries, comforts, and conveniences, doing a very great volume of business, maintaining ample facilities for education, and having everyone able to read and write. The civilization of a community, however, is determined by no such things as these, but rather by the power and volume of the humane life existing there—the humane life, having its roots struck deep in material well-being, indeed, but proceeding as largely and as faithfully as possible under the guidance of poetic truth, and increasingly characterized by profound and disinterested spiritual activity. Thus it is possible for a community to enjoy ample well-being, and yet precisely the right criticism upon its pretensions to be that it is really not half civilized—that not half its people are leading a kind of life that in any reason or conscience can be called humane. Let us imagine, say, a community whose educational institutions deal in nothing but instrumental knowledge and recognize no truth that is not scientific truth; with all its

people able to read and write indeed, yet with a very small proportion of what they read worth reading and of what they write worth writing; with its social life heavily overspread with the blight of hardness and hideousness; with those who have had most experience of the beneficence of material well-being displaying no mark of quickened spiritual activity, but rather everywhere the outward and visible sign of an inward and spiritual dulness, enervation, and vulgarity; to apply the term civilization to anything as alien to the humane life, as remote from the ideal of human perfection, as this, seems to us unnatural and shocking. In such a community, no doubt, all manner of philanthropic and humanitarian enterprise may abound; what we nowadays call social Christianity, practical Christianity, may abound there. We do not underestimate these; their value is great, their rewards are great; but the assumption so regularly made, that these in themselves are sufficient indication of a chaste and vigorous spiritual activity on the part of those who originate and promote them is, in the view of culture, manifestly unsound. There is much room just now, we believe, for a searching exposition of Article XIII, "Of Good Works Done before Justification." We of the ministry, therefore, must keep insisting that as our concern is purely with the processes and activities of the spirit, only so far forth as these things represent the fruit of the spirit can we give them our interest.

The Christian minister, then, is interested in civilization, in the humane life; because the special form of spiritual activity which he recommends is related to the humane life much as the humane life is related to material well-being. He is interested in the humane life for himself, because he must live this life if he hopes to prepossess others in its favor. And here comes in the ground of our plea that Greek and Latin literature may be restored and popularized. One makes progress in the humane life by the only way that one can make progress in anything—by attending to it, by thinking about it, by having continually before one the most notable models of the humane life. And of these available models, we find so large a proportion furnished to us in the literature of Greece and Rome as to force upon us the con-

viction that in our efforts to exemplify and promote the humane life we simply cannot do without this literature. The friends of education as it now is keep insisting that citizens should be trained to be useful men of their time, men who do things, men who can develop our natural and commercial resources, carry our material well-being on to a yet higher degree of abundance and security, and play a winning game at politics. For these purposes, they tell us, instrumental knowledge and scientific truth are the only things worth knowing. We content ourselves with remarking simply, It may be so; but with all this we, at any rate, can do nothing. The worst of such justifications is that, like Mr. Roosevelt's specious and fantastic plea for the strenuous life, they are addressed to a public that needs them least. There is small danger that interest in anything making for material well-being, for the development of our commerce and industrial pursuits, will fail for a long time to come. As for politics, statesmen trained on instrumental knowledge may well be instrumental statesmen, such as ours are; and these, too, appear to be for ever and ever. Our interest is in knowing whether education as it now is will give us citizens who can accomplish anything worth talking about in the practice of the humane life. The friends of education tell us that men trained as they would and do train them will turn out shrewd, resourceful business men, competent investigators, analysts, and reporters in the professions, clever, practical men in public life. Again we reply, It may be so; but will they turn out business men of the type, say, of Mr. Stedman, professional men of the type of Dr. Weir Mitchell (if we may venture to bring forward these gentlemen by name), public men and politicians of the type of Mr. Hay or Governor Long? When these questions are satisfactorily answered, we will cheerfully reconsider what we say in behalf of Greek and Latin literature; but unless and until they are so answered, we must continue to point out as in our view the cardinal defect in education, that it does next to nothing for the humane life, next to nothing for poetic truth, next to nothing for spiritual activity; and its failure in these directions being what it is, that our civilization is retarded and vulgarized to correspond.

For the sake of civilization, therefore, we of the ministry venture our plea in behalf of culture. We beg that some of the stress now laid upon purely instrumental knowledge be relieved. How can we even be understood when, for the sake of the great end of our calling, we praise and recommend culture and all the elements and processes that enter into culture, if the whole bent of secular training is against these, and serves but to confirm the current belief that the only real knowledge is instrumental knowledge, the only real truth is scientific truth, the only real life is a life far short of what life might be and what it ought to be? We ask that Greek and Latin literature be restored. We do not pretend to argue for the disciplinary worth of Greek and Latin studies, their value as a memory-exercise, as furnishing a *corpus vile* for our practice in analysis, or as a basis for the acquisition of modern languages. We argue solely for their moral value; we ask that they be restored, understood, and taught as an indispensable and powerful factor in the work of humanizing society. As these subjects are now taught (if an unprofessional opinion may be offered without offense) their grammatical, philological, and textual interests predominate. Mr. Weir Smyth's excellent anthology, for instance, is probably an example of the very best textbook writing of its kind, and a glance at this—comparing it, if one likes, with the editorial work of Professor Tyrrell, in the same series—shows at once that Mr. Weir Smyth's purposes, admirable as they are, are not our purposes. We would be the very last to disparage Mr. Weir Smyth's labors or to fail in unfeigned praise of the brilliant, accurate, and painstaking scholarship which he brings to bear on all matters that he sees fit to include within the scope of his work. But *sat patriae Priamoque datum*; again we say it is not likely that instrumental knowledge, even in our dealings with the classics, will ever be neglected. Let us now have these subjects presented to us in such a way as to keep their literary and historical interests consistently foremost. Let the study of Greek and Latin literature be recommended to us as Mr. Arnold, for example, recommends it; let the Greek and Latin authors be introduced to us as Mr. Mackail introduces them; let them be edited for us as Professor

Tyrrell edits them; let them be interpreted to us as Professor Jebb or Professor Jowett interprets them. Or, if the current superstition demands that we continue to receive the Greek and Latin authors at the hands of the Germans, or at second-hand from the Germans, we make no objection; we stipulate only that our editorial work be done for us not by the German philologists, textual critics, grammarians, or by American students trained in their schools, but by Germans of the type of Lessing, Herder, and Goethe—men who are themselves docile under the guidance of poetic truth, who are themselves eminent in the understanding and practice of the humane life; men, therefore, who can happily interpret this truth and freely communicate this life to us.

The consideration of Greek and Latin studies in view of the active pastorate usually, we believe, takes shape in the question whether or not it is worth while for a minister to be able to read the New Testament and the Fathers in the original. Into this controversy we have never seen our way to enter; nor have we been able to attach to it the importance that it probably deserves. What interests us in Greek and Latin studies is the unique and profitable part these play in the promotion of the humane life. Nor do we argue with the friends of education as to the possibility of generating and serving the humane life by means of the discipline of science; we affirm simply that the humane life is most largely generated and most efficiently served by keeping before one the models of those in whom the humane life most abounds; and that of these models, the best and largest part is presented to us in the literature of Greece and Rome. The men in undergraduate work with us, back in the times of ignorance before natural science had come fully into its own, knew little of the wonders of the new chemistry. Little enough did they know of such principles of botany, physics, geology, astronomy, zoölogy, and so on, as one of our children in the high school will now pretend to rattle you off without notice. But they knew their Homer, their Plato, their Sophocles, by heart; they knew what these great spirits asked of life, they knew their views of life. And with that knowledge there also insensibly grew the conviction that their own views and askings had best conform, as Aristotle

finely says, "to the determination of the judicious." This was the best, perhaps the only, fruit of their training; they became steadied, less superficial, capricious, and fantastic. Living more and more under the empire of reality, they saw things as they are, and experienced a profound and enthusiastic inward motion toward the humane life, the life for which the idea is once and forever the fact. This life is the material upon which religion may have its finished work. Chateaubriand gives Joubert the highest praise that can be bestowed upon a human character, when, speaking of Joubert's death as defeating his purpose of making a visit to Rome, he says, "It pleased God, however, to open to M. Joubert a heavenly Rome, better fitted still to his Platonist and Christian soul." It is in behalf of the humane life, therefore, that we of the active pastorate place our present valuation upon the literature of Greece and Rome: for the first step in Christianity is the humanization of life, and the finished product of Christianity is but the humane life irradiated and transfigured by the practice of the discipline of Jesus.

III. SHORT CUTS TO THE MINISTRY, WITH ESPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE ELIMINATION OF LATIN AND GREEK FROM THEOLOGICAL EDUCATION

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I am not responsible for the title given me, and I suppose we are all agreed that there is no royal road to learning, no short cuts to anything worth having. I imagine that the title was chosen in condemnation of any attempts to lower the standard for entrance into any profession. All responsible for education have at least ideals which would impose an irreducible minimum and would seek to stiffen requirements as soon as it became practicable. The denial of short cuts is perhaps not a very palatable doctrine to a generation that wants quick results, and, in any case, it is natural to assume that something less than the long and stately preparation once demanded for the old-time ministry

could be made to do for the practical needs of our day. In some quarters, also, the shortage in the candidates is met by cutting down the ancient scholastic standards and by shortening the time required for study. It is the object of this convention to protest against this and to show cause why such a policy must fail of its purpose.

It ought to be said that it is not by the will of the churches that short cuts should have become necessary or possible. A completely educated ministry has always been the ideal of the churches of Protestantism. One only needs to know something of the history of education in America to know that this is so. All the older schools of learning had their origin in this ideal. Every college was started for the express purpose of supplying educated men for the ministry. So when we make a definite pronouncement against the short cuts which would eliminate subjects we think indispensable, we ought in justice to remember that often the church is compelled to do what it can and not what it would. Circumstances are often too strong for us, and sometimes a situation arises in the church when it must use what material it has. In a country like this, where a great tract gets filled up in a few years, the church seeks to follow the movement of population and must do the best it can under the circumstances. It has to cover the ground, and, if need be, do without some of its own scholastic requirements. Then, there are different kinds of work needed in different situations, and it is fair to keep in mind the distinction between the qualities needed for a regular and long pastorate of the usual type and the qualities needed for what may be called the work of an evangelist. Indiscriminate condemnation of churches and seminaries that have to some extent departed from the old rigid standard is foolish. From what I know of some seminaries in America I am convinced that nowhere, certainly not in Great Britain, is there such a thorough and scientific training insisted on. In no seminary in the English-speaking world is there such equipment and such high class of scholarly and practical work done as in Union Theological Seminary—to mention the one I naturally know most about. But again, I say, we must consider the facts which

make this standard impossible throughout the whole country. For instance, I have now in mind a seminary, which takes men otherwise qualified who have had no college training. Personally I am at one with you in thinking it a matter of regret that this should be necessary, but it *is* necessary, and in that seminary they are doing according to their opportunities magnificent work for the outlying parts of a great state which otherwise would not be supplied with men at all. They take the best men they can get, and give the best training they can provide, a training, I may mention, which includes Greek.

But the subject given me suggests a different and more difficult question than this one of practical means. It is the heresy that the old subjects thought at one time necessary for the best education have no longer their place of pre-eminence. It is frankly held by some that the time could be better spent than on the old classical subjects. It is held that even for the training of divinity students Greek is no longer needed, that modern views of the Bible have altered the relative value of subjects, and that the New Testament has been well enough translated to give all that a minister needs even for preaching about it. Scientific subjects, political economy, sociology, are of more practical use for the up-to-date minister than the old discipline. It was to be expected that this view should be taken, since it is in line with a change in the whole world of learning generally. Professor Kelsey said that in this matter of the value of Greek we must educate the people. That would perhaps not be so hard as the other task in which we must educate the educators. We must fight out this question and settle it among ourselves as to the contents of a scheme of education designed for certain classes. We give up the old claim which called nothing education which was not built on the classics, but we are in danger of being swamped and denied even a place for the older discipline.

We suffer from a false democracy in learning which seems to hold that one subject is as good as another, and so we find an elective system run riot. I believe in an elective system and I believe that the general American ideal of a university is a great and magnificent one, but I do think that this ideal

ought to be separated from an Academic course where the authorities settle, out of their wisdom and the wisdom of the ages, what is the best general training along certain lines. A university ought to be hospitable and should, if it have the means, be willing to teach any subject; and from this wide point of view it is true that one subject is as good as another. What is wrong is that this theory, which has its right place in a university with its varied professional schools, has been brought down to the ordinary college course, and even to some extent down to the high school. There is a sense in which it is unspeakably false to say that one subject is as good as another, if by that we mean that for the purposes of education and general culture of the mind any sort of instrument will do as well as another. A university, for example, puts Spanish on the same level as Greek for entrance and for graduation; but anybody who knows anything knows that for discipline of mind alone, to say nothing of the literatures, the two languages are not on the same level. We ought to decide on relative values in education. Human nature being what it is, we cannot expect the ordinary student to choose Greek when Spanish would be so much easier to him, and when the whole current is against him.

The same thing is true about other things of equal importance in the ministerial education. The colleges send graduates to the seminaries who have never studied philosophy in the old sense of the word and who have never had Greek. They are supposed to have had their equivalents. In the philosophical department they have had psychology and sociology, and other courses to make up the required amount: and all this is of course on the principle that one subject is as good as another. It is perfect nonsense to say that these subjects, again for purposes of education, are of equal value with philosophy, which is the history of thought itself. It is to miss the strategic points; for just as a man trained in Latin and Greek will learn French and Spanish in half the time, so the student of philosophy is already half way to know all about the newer "ologies" sometimes substituted in its place. The colleges should look toward the professional needs of students, and the authorities should have their minds

made up as to what in the general experience of the world is the accredited discipline, say, for a student who means to go on to the study of theology. I do not see why a boy who goes to a university with the intention of being a minister should not be taken in hand by advisory authorities who would wisely counsel him as to the things he ought to study; and even the boy who has not his mind made up as to his future course should have his course so far prescribed that the recognized subjects for the finest culture cannot be omitted. I do not want the colleges and universities to do seminary work, but it ought not to be left to the seminaries afterward to do what is really college work.

Complaint has often been made about the short pastorates that are so common today in the ministry. There are many reasons, but one is that the intellectual demands are greater than ever before, and men find it difficult to last out. We are perhaps justified in assuming that a profounder training in these foundation subjects would enable a man to wear longer. An early training which included Latin and Greek would give some mastery not to be attained by the varied browsing of more modern methods. We would not have so many fads in religion if men knew more of the history of thought. I do not need to go back over the argument covered by President Mackenzie to prove that a minister cannot know his own subject if he is ignorant of the classical languages. Apart from the absurdity of a man dealing in any profound way with a book whose language he is ignorant of, it ought to be remembered that practically all learned commentaries are unreadable to the man who does not know Hebrew and Greek. It does not mean that we want to make men all specialists in these languages, but it is not so hard to get a working knowledge which enables one to get the good out of the work of other scholars.

I find great discouragement among teachers of the classical languages in the universities, and some of them have given as their judgment that in twenty or thirty years there will be little Latin and hardly any Greek at all taught in our universities. They say that the utilitarian subjects so called are sweeping these out ruthlessly. I might believe this if I did not believe that in the

long run it can be demonstrated that for the highest education the languages and literature and history of Greece and Rome are supremely utilitarian, and that nothing can take their place. In any case there will always be many to whom utilitarianism of the gross type is not the final test of anything, and these are the men who sooner or later become the leaders of men. I am optimistic about this as about many other things. It is a great matter that a symposium like this should be held of men who are convinced because they know. We discover in education as in other things the swing of the pendulum, and it is even now swinging back to a more reasonable position. Certainly in the question of the value of Latin and Greek for the ministry that is acknowledged, and whatever place is given to other methods of training for special work, Latin and Greek will remain as a necessary part of the equipment of the theological scholar.

IV. GREEK IN THE HIGH SCHOOL, AND THE QUESTION OF THE SUPPLY OF CANDIDATES FOR THE MINISTRY

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In 1870, according to the reports of the commissioner of education, there were enrolled in the theological schools of the United States 3,254 students. Ten years later, the number had risen to 5,242, an increase of more than 60 per cent. In 1890 the enrolment was 7,013, an increase for the preceding decade of about 34 per cent. In the twenty years from 1870 to 1890, then, the increase in the number of students of theology far outstripped the increase in the population of the country; for in the decade preceding 1880 the population increased only 30.1 per cent., while in the following decade the percentage of increase of population was even less, or 24.85 per cent.

A reaction was to be expected. Under normal conditions, in the case of any occupation which enrolls members at a rate greater than the rate of increase of the population it is only a question of time when society will fail to furnish means of support for the larger numbers and a readjustment will follow. The enrolment

of students in schools of theology continued to increase until the year 1897-98, when it reached the maximum of 8,371, the increase in eight years being nearly 20 per cent., still exceeding the rate of increase of the population. After 1898 the number declined until 1901-2, when it had shrunk to 7,343. In that year there were actually fewer students in attendance at theological seminaries than there had been ten years previously, in 1891-92.

Since 1902 there has been an increase, small the first two years, then larger. In 1904-5 the enrolment in theological schools was 7,580, and in 1905-6, 7,968, a gain of 388 students in a single year, the number of men enrolled being greater by 305 than in the previous year. In contrasting these statistics with those of earlier years it must not be forgotten that at the present time there is a considerable number of women in schools of theology; the enrolment of women reported for 1905-6 was 252. Statistics later than 1906 are not available.

At the time when the last general census was taken, in 1900, the decline in the number of candidates for the ministry had not yet made itself numerically apparent in the profession. In 1870 there were in the United States 43,874 clergymen; in 1880, 64,698; in 1890, 88,203; and in 1900, 111,638. In the three decades the number of clergymen had increased more rapidly than the population. In the decade from 1870 to 1880, while the population of the country increased 30.1 per cent., the number of clergymen increased 47.46 per cent. In the next ten years the population increased 24.85 per cent., the number of clergymen 36.33 per cent.; finally in the decade ending in 1900 the number of clergymen increased 26.56 per cent., while the increase of population was only 20.68 per cent. But again we must notice that of the 111,638 clergymen enumerated in the census of 1900 3,373, or 3 per cent., were women, of whom probably only a small minority were occupying pulpits. In 1870 there was a clergyman to every 878 persons—men, women, and children—in the United States; in 1880, one to every 775; in 1890, one to every 714, and in 1900 (women included), one to every 681.

In judging of the significance of these figures, account should be taken of differences in race; for negro clergymen in the decade preceding 1900 increased more rapidly in number than white. In the supplementary analysis of the Twelfth Census¹ the statistics covering this point are summarized as follows (p. 234):

The number of negro clergymen in continental United States in 1900 was 15,528, as compared with 12,159 in 1890, the increase being 3,369, or 27.7 per cent. White clergymen increased somewhat less rapidly, from 75,972 in 1890 to 94,437 in 1900, or 24.3 per cent. With both races the number of clergymen increased more rapidly than the population. In the South the number of non-Caucasian clergymen rose from 10,159 in 1890 to 12,841 in 1900, the increase being 2,682, or 26.4 per cent. The increase in white clergymen was from 17,688 in 1890, to 21,387 in 1900, or 20.9 per cent. Of the total clergymen in the south in 1890, 36.5 per cent. were non-Caucasian, and in 1900, 37.5, a gain of 1. Clergymen of all races increased somewhat more rapidly in the North and West than in the South. In continental United States the number of clergymen of each race to each 100,000 persons of the same race was:

Negro, Indian, and Mongolian clergymen, 160 in 1890, 171 in 1900.

White clergymen, 138 in 1890, 141 in 1900.

That the statistics showing this steady increase in the number of clergymen should not coincide with the statistics indicating increase and decrease in enrolment of ministerial candidates in theological schools is not strange. It would be some years before even a marked decline in the number of students of theology would perceptibly lessen the number of clergymen in the country. But there are other reasons which are in part manifestly phases of the operation of the law of supply and demand, in part the result of conditions peculiar to the ministry as a profession.

With the vast throngs of emigrants that have entered the country since 1870 have come pastors and priests of many tongues; and on account of the increasing scarcity of theologians and preachers of the first class trained in American schools, stronger churches and theological chairs have increasingly sought out and brought to the United States clergymen educated in other English-speaking countries. Of the 108,265 male clergymen listed in the census of 1900, 84,760, or 78.3 per cent.,

¹ Bureau of Census, Special Reports: *Supplementary Analysis and Derivative Tables*, Twelfth Census. Washington, 1906.

were recorded as "native born;" 23,505, or 21.7 per cent., were reported as born outside the United States; the percentage of clergymen of foreign birth in 1890 (21.1 per cent.) was not much smaller than that in 1900. In 1900, 11.2 per cent. of our physicians and surgeons, 6.3 per cent. of our lawyers, and 8.4 per cent. of our teachers, were of foreign birth, a fact which may be interpreted as indicating that 5 to 7 per cent. of our doctors, lawyers, and teachers were born in foreign countries but educated in the United States, the rest of those reported as foreign born being also educated in foreign countries. We are probably safe in assuming that one-half or two-thirds of the 23,505 clergymen of foreign birth recorded in 1900 were educated outside the United States, coming to this country after the completion of their professional study.

Again, it is understood that in some parts of the country, particularly the South, many have been licensed to preach without having pursued a course in a theological school. It is, however, difficult to secure statistics in regard to this practice, or to judge in what degree the total is affected by accessions to the ranks of the clergy from this source.

Finally, the census enrolment of clergymen differs in an important particular from that of members of other professions. When graduates of law or medical schools turn aside from their profession to enter other fields of work they ordinarily drop their titles and are afterward not enumerated as lawyers and doctors. If, however, men have once taken orders, they generally keep up their ecclesiastical relations and continue their life long to be recorded as ministers; though for a period of years they may have been engaged in secular teaching, in life insurance, or other occupations having no direct connection with the sacred office, they retain the right to vote along with the active ministry in ecclesiastical assemblies, in which they form a strongly conservative element. A comparison with the statistics of enrolment in the medical profession is in this respect instructive. In 1880 there were 11,929 students of medicine, enrolled in 90 schools; in 1890, 15,484 students in 129 schools; in 1900 the number had risen to 25,213, enrolled in 151 schools. In the

twenty years the number of students of medicine more than doubled, but the increase in the number of men set down as physicians and surgeons in the first period was below the increase of population, in the second period only slightly in advance of it. The census records the number of physicians and surgeons in 1880 as 85,671, and in 1890 as 104,805, an increase of 22.3 per cent., while the increase of population was 24.85 per cent.; in 1900 the number was 132,002, an increase of 25.9 per cent. in the decade, the increase of population being 20.68 per cent. In 1880 there was a physician or surgeon to every 585 persons in the country; in 1900 the ratio was somewhat higher, one to every 576. How many are enumerated in the census as clergymen who cannot properly be considered of the ministry, either active or retired, it is not possible to estimate; but it is plain that all errors of classification on the part of census enumerators reckoning those as clergymen who once were clergymen but were such no longer except in name, would go to swell the total enrolment in the profession and would so far vitiate the correctness of the figures.

If the death rate computed in the *Twelfth Census* for "the professional class" (15.3 per 1,000) held true in the case of clergymen, the loss by death in 1900 among the 111,638 clergymen should have been about 1,700, and this loss should have been offset by the influx, into the profession, of the 1,773 graduates from theological schools recorded in that year—not to speak of other sources of supply. But the death rate among clergymen in the "registration states" in 1900 reached the surprising ratio of 23.5 per 1,000, a rate of mortality higher even than that among physicians and surgeons (19.9 per 1,000).² It is not certain that this high death rate would hold true of the clergymen of the United States as a whole; but if it could be proved to be valid for the larger area,³ the fact would imply that the average age among clergymen had increased considerably above

² *Twelfth Census of the United States*, 1900, Vol. III, pp. cclxiii-cclxv.

³ At the rate of 23.5 per 1,000 the loss of clergymen by death in the United States in 1900 would have exceeded 2,600. The death rate computed for clergymen in 1890 was much lower, only 18.2 per 1,000.

normal because not enough young men had of late been entering the profession to keep the average age and death rate down; and under such conditions, again, a dearth of clergymen trained for their work in the United States might be anticipated, so soon as the number of graduates in theology in any year should fail to exceed somewhat ⁴ the number of clergymen removed in that year by death. Though our data, for reasons already obvious, warrant no sweeping conclusions, it seems probable that this situation, in which the Protestant churches may expect to find themselves confronted by a dearth of young ministers of domestic training, is already near at hand. Of the clergymen in "registration states" regarding whom data were collected in 1900 (23,485, about one-fifth of the clergymen in the country), more than 45 per cent. were above the age of 45 years; but of the lawyers less than 40 per cent., and of the physicians and surgeons less than 37 per cent., were more than 45 years old. The number of graduates from all the theological schools of the United States in 1906 was only 1,551.

We see, then, that the determination of the significance of the figures which have been cited is no simple matter. Statistics in any case are only a partial or approximate expression of conditions; and the relation of the rate of increase in the census of the professions to the enrolment of students in professional schools involves the weighing of many considerations which cannot be taken into account at this time. No interpretation of such data is trustworthy, however, which does not view them in relation to the general educational movement of our country in the past thirty years, a movement which, in point of numbers affected, is without a parallel in the history of education. In 1889-90 the number of students enrolled in the universities and colleges of the country, including the separate colleges for women that were such in fact as well as in name, and in schools of technology, was reported as 55,687; in 1905-6, only seventeen years later, it was 135,834 (97,738 men, 38,096 women), an increase of nearly 144 per cent. In the same period the enrol-

⁴ There must be a surplus to recruit the ranks of missionaries, who, expatriated, are not reckoned in the census of the United States.

ment in secondary schools, public and private, ran from 297,894 to the almost incredible figure 824,447, an increase of 177 per cent. If to this we add the enrolment of secondary students in public and private normal schools, universities and colleges, colleges for women, and manual training schools, we have the total of 924,399 students receiving secondary instruction in 1906.

In this enormous increase of students in institutions of secondary and higher education schools of dentistry, pharmacy, and engineering have fared relatively as well as schools of law and medicine, or even better. The students of dentistry registered in dental colleges in 1880 numbered 730; in 1890, 2,696; in 1900, 7,928. Of students of pharmacy 1,347 were reported in 1880, 2,871 in 1890, and 4,042 in 1900. In the thirty years from 1875 to 1905 the increase in attendance at schools of theology was 44.8 per cent. (5,234 in 1875, 7,580 in 1905); at schools of law, 450 per cent. (2,677 in 1875, 14,714 in 1905); at schools of medicine, 201 per cent. (8,580 in 1875, 25,835 in 1905); at schools of dentistry, 1,424 per cent. (469 in 1875, 7,149 in 1905, the number in 1905 being somewhat smaller than in 1900); and at schools of pharmacy, 436 per cent. (922 in 1875, 4,944 in 1905). The enrolment of students in schools of technology increased from 7,577 in 1889-90 to 16,110 in 1905-6, or 112 per cent. in seventeen years.

It would be natural to assume that this increase in the enrolment of students of applied science and of law was due in large measure to the multiplication of technical schools since 1875, and to the raising of professional standards which drove out of fashion the time-honored method of preparing for a professional career by office study. Schools of law numbered 43 in 1875, 96 in 1905; schools of medicine, 80 in 1875, 148 in 1905; schools of dentistry, 12 in 1875, 54 in 1905; and schools of pharmacy, 14 in 1875, 67 in 1905. The increase in the number of schools of theology has been less marked; the number was 123 in 1875, 156 in 1905. But the schools of theology, nevertheless, in 1905 outnumbered the schools of law by 60, the schools of medicine by 8, and were 35 more than the combined number of schools of dentistry and of pharmacy. The multipli-

cation and wide distribution of professional schools has undoubtedly had a stimulating effect upon the enrolment of students; yet they were called into existence in response to a social need, and they would not have had so many students if the time had not been ripe for their establishment. Such influence as they have exerted in stimulating the enrolment of students has been in part offset by the increasing difficulty and stricter enforcement of the requirements for admission and graduation. We are forced to the conclusion that though the census has up to the present time furnished no indication of a serious diminution in the supply of clergymen, the attendance at schools of theology shows a falling off out of all proportion to the increase in attendance at other professional schools.

The rush of students into institutions of secondary and higher education in recent years is a concomitant of the increasing concentration of our population in cities and towns, which in turn is consequent upon the enormous and unanticipated development of our industries and commerce. "Adopting for convenience the standard of 'urban population' employed in the last census, we note that in 1880 in the United States the persons living in places with a population of 4,000 or more represented 25.8 per cent. of the total population; in 1890, 33.1 per cent., and in 1900, 37.6⁵ per cent. This urban population was not evenly distributed, but massed in certain geographical divisions. In the north Atlantic states in 1900, 64.7 per cent. of the population were living in incorporated places and towns containing upward of 4,000 inhabitants, as against 57.9 per cent. in 1890 and 48 per cent. in 1880; in the north central states, the percentage in 1900 was 35.5 and in the western states 35.9 per cent., as against 30.1 and 33.4 per cent. respectively in 1890 and 21.1 and 27.5 per cent. in 1880. In the south central states the urban population in 1900 formed only about one-eighth of the whole (13.5 per cent.), in the south Atlantic states less than one-fifth (19.6)."⁶ The extraordinary increase in the

⁵Hawaii, the Indian reservations, and Indian Territory are excluded from consideration in this comparative view, because they were not reckoned in the percentage of 1880.

⁶*Educational Review*, Vol. XXXII (1906), p. 468.

number and size of cities and towns has caused the rapid multiplication of public high schools, which in 1889-90 numbered 2,526, with 9,120 teachers and 202,963 pupils; in 1905-6 there were 8,031 public high schools, with 30,844 teachers and 722,692 students.⁷

Urban life in general is more stimulating to the desire of advanced education and the choice of a professional career than rural life; and the growth of public high schools has established a line of least resistance leading to higher institutions. There are some indications that we are on the eve of a reaction, not for sentimental but for economic reasons, toward farm life, and that in the next few decades the concentration of population in cities and towns will proceed less rapidly, in proportion to the increase of our rural population, than in the past quarter-century. Be that as it may, a survey of present conditions reveals no obvious reason why the ministry should not rank, if not with engineering, at least with law and medicine in the preference of students choosing a profession, especially since the changes in the distribution of population have not been accompanied by a decline in the activity or influence of the religious denominations as a whole.

But the ministry is not the only calling which at the present time is confronted with a shortage of men, imminent or actual. The number of men and women engaged in the work of teaching is vastly greater, greater in fact than the combined number of clergymen, physicians and surgeons, lawyers, dentists, and engineers.⁸ The increase in the number of teachers has not only kept pace with the growth of population, but has far surpassed it. In 1870 there were 73 teachers to each 10,000 persons of school age (5 to 24 years); in 1880, 102; in 1890, 127; and in 1900, 140. But the proportion of male teachers has steadily declined. It was a trifle more than one-third of the

⁷ The enrolment in the public high schools in 1905-6 in the north Atlantic states was 236,500; in the north central states, 335,538; in the western states, 57,738; in the south central states, 54,925; in the south Atlantic states, 37,991.

⁸ These were 431,004, in 1900, made up as follows; clergymen, 111,638; physicians and surgeons, 132,002; lawyers, 114,460; dentists, 29,665; engineers, 43,239. The number of teachers in 1900 was 446,133.

whole number (33.7 per cent.) in 1870; in 1900 it was just above one-fourth (26.6) in the continental United States, if teachers of all races are reckoned together. The percentage of male teachers was somewhat higher among the negroes and Indians; of the 424,422 white teachers recorded in that year, only 26.1 per cent. were men. In 1905-6, according to the report of the commissioner of education, less than 24 per cent. (23.6) of the 466,063 teachers in common schools were men, the percentage being higher in country than in city schools and in the southern than in the northern states; in the north Atlantic states male teachers were only one in seven (14.2 per cent.). In the 661 cities of the United States containing over 8,000 inhabitants, the ratio in 1906 was very nearly one male to twelve female teachers. In these same cities in the public high schools there were 4,912 male teachers to 7,491 female teachers; in the other public high schools of the country the division according to sex was more nearly equal, the number of male teachers being given as 9,424, of female teachers, 9,017.

In the decade from 1890 to 1900, while the number of teachers in the country increased nearly 28.5 per cent. and the population increased 20.68 per cent., the increase in the number of male teachers, in all classes of schools and colleges, was only 17.02 per cent. (from 101,278 to 118,519), a relative decline so great as to produce a marked effect upon the profession. That the loss of men to the profession of teaching has not been more keenly felt is due to the fact that the large increase in the number of women graduating from secondary and higher institutions in recent years has furnished substitutes or recruits for almost all classes of positions. It would take us too far from the subject in hand to present considerations showing how detrimental to the interests of sound education has been the preponderance of female teachers in many high schools; one serious result is the instability of the staff of instruction due to the fact that many women engage in teaching without a true professional interest, not as a life-work but as a makeshift till they can become settled in a home or find other means of support. Had the increase in the number of male teachers kept

pace with the increase in the number of teachers, the census enrolment of men engaged in teaching in 1900 should have been about 130,000 instead of 118,519; had the rate of increase been only as great as that of the population, the enrolment would nevertheless have been above 122,000.

But the United States does not stand alone in the decline either in the number of its students of theology or in the proportion of men among its teachers. In the following table the enrolment of professional students in the German Empire is shown for the university faculties of theology (Protestant and Catholic), law, and medicine, at different periods since 1875:

ENROLMENT OF STUDENTS IN CERTAIN PROFESSIONAL DEPARTMENTS IN GERMANY

YEAR	THEOLOGY			LAW	MEDICINE
	Protestant	Catholic	Total		
1875-76.....	1,519	710	2,229	4,537	3,333
1880-81.....	2,384	648	3,032	5,260	4,179
1885-86.....	4,403	1,068	5,471	4,825	7,680
1890-91.....	4,190	1,232	5,422	6,670	8,381
1895-96.....	2,860	1,409	4,329	7,655	7,664
1900-01.....	2,437	1,584	4,021	10,292	7,815
1905-06*.....	2,166	1,680	3,846	12,456	6,142

*Winter semester. The writer is indebted to the commissioner of education for data kindly furnished.

The conditions in Germany are so unlike those of the United States that a detailed comparison with our conditions would be fruitless. It is, however, important to notice that the enrolment of students of theology, as with us, has not kept pace with the enrolment of students of law and medicine; and also that, as with us, the relative decline has been less marked in the case of Catholic than of Protestant students.⁹

⁹ The situation is discussed in an article in *Chronik der christlichen Welt* for September 12, 1907, summarized by Professor H. M. Scott in the *Chicago Seminary Quarterly* as follows: "Thirty years ago there were 17,500 students in German universities, ten years ago there were 30,000, and last year there were 45,000, of whom 41,000 were native Germans. The total number of students has grown nearly twice as fast as the population, and in face of this the number of Protestant students of theology has steadily declined. It went, between 1886 and 1905, in Prussia from 2,042 to 719, and the end is not yet. There are

The proportion of male to female teachers varies greatly in different countries; yet in all the countries for which recent statistics are available for comparison,¹⁰ there has been a relative decrease in the number of male teachers. This decrease was from 29.6 to 26.8 per cent. in Great Britain and Ireland in twenty years (1881 to 1901); 72.6 to 68.5 per cent. in Germany in thirteen years (1882 to 1895); 54.4 to 42.4 per cent. in France in ten years (1886 to 1896); and 41.2 to 35.4 per cent. in Italy in twenty years (1881 to 1901). Here again a detailed comparison would be devoid of value; but the statistics indicate an unmistakable tendency which seems to be common to the foremost nations and which is apparently a phase of a larger readjustment of modern life to new economic and social conditions.

In the United States at the present time complaints of the lack of trained men for Protestant pulpits are heard not more frequently than of the lack of men properly equipped for certain kinds of educational work, particularly in the secondary schools. Yet for any vacancy in either calling which assured a bare living there has been, up to the present time, no lack of applicants. The difficulty has been to find candidates of the right quality. Rash statements should be avoided; but we may well believe that while the relative number of first rate physicians and lawyers is greater than it was twenty years ago, the relative number of first rate teachers, outside of the universities, and of first rate ministers, is smaller. This must continue to be the case, in the ministry, so long as the graduates in medicine and law are relatively so much more numerous than graduates in theology;¹¹

only 250 ministers available for 425 places. In 1889 there were in Berlin 570 divinity students; in 1895 there were 292; and in 1906 only 178. Between 1870 and 1903 students of theology made no increase; the numbers were 2,155 and 2,150! And in that period students of philology increased from 2,753 to 5,501, and in 1906 to 8,464! The lack of candidates for the ministry is now between 800 and 900."

The raising of the age of ordination for Roman Catholic clergy from 24 (or 23) to 31 years is understood to be in contemplation, a proposal which implies no lack of candidates in that denomination.

¹⁰ Conveniently summarized in *Supplementary Analysis and Derivative Tables*, Twelfth Census, p. 478.

¹¹ While the graduates in theology in 1906 numbered 1,551, graduates in medicine numbered 5,400, and in law, 3,289. Had the graduates in theology

for the larger the increase in the number of men entering a profession the greater will be the number of weaker men forced out by competition, and the stronger will be the average quality of the remainder. But there are other factors in the problem; surface indications are here no guide.

In the first place, the lack of homogeneity in our cultural conditions directly affects those two professions which are the most obvious expression of the social consciousness upon the ideal side, teaching and the ministry. In the conflict of impulses seeking expression among us there is no clear note, there is a lack of that imperative which forces men to the pulpit or the teacher's desk to become interpreters and prophets for the life around them. How different it was in Puritan New England, when babes were consecrated to the ministry in the cradle! How different is the attitude of society toward the profession of teaching, now that the control and direction of most systems of instruction, and the fate of most teachers, are in the hands of boards composed of men selected generally for other reasons than fitness to deal with educational problems!

Furthermore, in the profession of teaching outside of the colleges and universities there is uncertainty of tenure, with which is coupled insufficient remuneration. Every year men of marked success, with an equipment representing a large outlay of time, energy, and money, are forced out of the profession, and young men of promise are deterred from entering it, because they can foresee no time when the rewards of faithful and successful effort will be assured to them. This results in part from the inadequate endowment and precarious existence of most institutions of private support; but the great majority of teachers are in institutions supported by local taxation, in which, generally speaking, no number of years of efficient service and no degree of eminence in the profession will protect a teacher against a persistent public official using the influence of his temporary position to carry out an ulterior purpose or ride a hobby or vent

been as numerous in relation to the census of clergymen as the graduates in medicine were in relation to the census of physicians and surgeons, the number would have exceeded 4,500.

personal spite. We may grant that the majority of men in elective governing boards are public-spirited and have a lively interest in the schools which they control; can we expect that school administration, under present conditions, will not manifest the lack of foresight and executive continuity characteristic of the administration of all local affairs in our country? There are encouraging signs of improvement, indications that the American people will attack the problem of local administration and solve it. Meanwhile the difficulty of finding men able to fill the best positions increases every year.

From the economic point of view the ministry is on a different footing from teaching. Because the social imperative is not heard for either calling, both are generally shunned by men who have financial resources, who make other professions or occupations their first choice. Both callings are therefore in great part recruited from the ranks of those who are not financially independent. Men who purpose to teach must gain their equipment at their own expense—scholarship and fellowship aid assists but a small percentage. This means that professional preparation is in many cases a constant struggle, with an accumulation of indebtedness at the end which the earnings of an ill-paid profession must be relied upon to wipe out. Under present conditions the most farsighted students who are attracted to the work of teaching become increasingly wary of embarking heavily loaded on an uncertain sea. But so soon as a young man manifests a desire to study theology, his church reaches out to him a helping hand. Not only does he receive moral encouragement, but in most denominations a less or greater measure of financial support through college and seminary. Theological schools have been known to pay even the traveling expenses of students from their homes. This subsidizing of the study of theology has given to that profession a distinct advantage in the recruiting of men, and has had the effect of making them feel secure of their future. It has also now and then carried through an extended and costly course of training, as along the line of least resistance, students who possessed no other quality of fitness than a kind of superficial

goodness due to a lack of force; and it has pauperized many a well-meaning fellow who has gone out into the ministry with the perverted notion that the world owed him a living. But these are accidental, not necessary, results of a system that is on the whole probably as advantageous as it is, under present conditions, necessary. Nothing could be farther from the truth than the frequent assertion that men shun the ministry because the temper of our time is prevailing sordid. No one can be found who has dealt with American youth in educational institutions for a quarter of a century who believes that there ever was a time when more young men were ready to give themselves to an altruistic motive, to consecrate themselves with whole-hearted devotion to a worthy cause, than now. Are we not, at heart, a nation of idealists? How otherwise is one to account for the attitude of our whole people toward the Spanish War and the problem of Cuban independence? And among our young people there is no lack of interest in religious matters; how otherwise would it be possible to account for the extension of the work of the Christian associations for men and for women, and the rapid rise of church organizations for young people which have as their purpose the development of youth on the side of religious experience and expression?

The chief cause of the decline in the number of our students of theology lies in the lack of adjustment between religious and secular education. One phase of this estrangement, the isolation of theological schools and its unfortunate consequences both for the study of theology and for the universities, I have discussed elsewhere.¹² To how great an extent education in the stages below the college and university has become secularized, is not generally understood, on account of the rapidity with which the process of secularization has gone on. Though the choice of a career is in most cases not definitely fixed while the student is in the secondary school, his field of choice is so

¹² "The State Universities and the Churches," *Proceedings of the Conference on Religious Education*, University of Illinois Bulletin, Vol. III (1906), No. 8, Pt. 2; "The Problem of Religious Instruction in the State Universities," *Proceedings of the Religious Education Association* (1908); "The State Universities and Theology," *The Outlook*, Vol. XC (1908), pp. 27-29.

restricted by his selection of studies in this period as to confine him, in respect to facility of professional preparation, within narrow limits. This is particularly the case with theology, for the advantageous pursuit of which the student must have a previous knowledge of Greek.

The academy of the olden time, the preparatory department of the denominational college, and the college course in vogue to the late eighties and early nineties, led directly and easily to the study of theology; Greek, Latin, mathematics, and moral philosophy in some form were staples of instruction, with a certain amount of prescribed work in the modern languages, English, history, and the natural sciences. Now—how great is the change!

In 1890 nearly one-third of all our students in secondary schools still were in academies and private high schools; in 1906, only one student in eight (12.34 per cent.). Furthermore, of the 101,755 students reported in secondary institutions of private support in 1906, 45,609 were in non-sectarian schools; only 56,146 were reported in denominational schools, distributed as follows:

Denomination	Schools	Instructors	Students
Roman Catholic.....	382	2,140	19,949
Baptist.....	63	382	5,776
Methodist.....	64	431	6,353
Episcopal.....	81	738	5,391
Presbyterian.....	55	268	2,907
Methodist Episcopal South.....	23	142	2,179
Friends.....	43	280	2,737
Congregational.....	40	205	2,611
Lutheran.....	26	137	1,789
Other denominations.....	54	504	6,454
Total.....	831	5,227	56,146

Of this number about 27,000 were boys. In the same year 35,951 boys of secondary rank were reported in "private universities and colleges," of which a considerable proportion were under denominational control. While exact figures are not obtainable, it is easy to see how small a number of boys of secondary rank (50,000 would be a fair guess) in comparison with the whole number of boys pursuing secondary studies

(415,038) were in the classes of institutions in which the claims of the ministry may be presumed to have been kept before them, and in which the course is so laid out as to lead easily to the study of theology.

In 1905-6 students of Greek were reported in only 731 out of 8,031 public high schools; that is, in nine-tenths of our public high schools there was no Greek at all. The number of students of Greek among the 722,692 students in public high schools was 8,886, of whom only 4,510 were boys. In the private secondary schools at the same time 6,355 students were taking Greek, of whom 5,184 were boys; possibly nearly as many more were enrolled in Greek classes in college preparatory departments. On the most favorable showing we can hardly suppose that more than thirteen or fourteen thousand boys of secondary rank are studying Greek in the United States at the present time. In 1898-99 the students of Greek in public high schools alone numbered 14,858. The number has been so reduced because the whole trend of the high school as "the people's college" has been against subjects requested by few students, and of late in the direction of so great freedom of choice as to put a handicap on subjects known to be difficult. Had the enrolment of students of Greek in the public high schools since 1890 kept pace with the enrolment of students of Latin in the same schools the number would have exceeded 20,000 in 1898-99, and 30,000 in 1905-6; and 30,000 students divided up among 8,000 high schools would make an average of less than four to each school.

In 1905-6 more than 35 per cent. of the graduates of public high schools had so shaped their courses of study as to be able to enter college; and as we have seen, of the schools from which these were graduated less than one in ten had Greek. We may suppose that at the present time seven students out of eight in secondary schools are in public high schools. The percentage of those who make the high-school course preparatory to college increases every year.¹³ Recruits for theology should

¹³ The percentages of high-school graduates prepared for college are as follows for seven years: 30.28 in 1900, 31.27 in 1901, 31.72 in 1902, 32.70 in 1903, 34.18 in 1904, 35.55 in 1905, 35.59 in 1906.

come chiefly from the colleges and the literary departments of the universities. The best men of college rank who are attracted to the ministry and have not had Greek in the preparatory school, having looked over the course of special training leading to the profession, generally conclude that they cannot meet the requirements of preparation in a reasonable time, and turn aside to other work. The secularizing of American education has put a greater handicap on preparation for theology than upon that for any other calling. To secure recruits of the right quality and sufficient number from the ranks of college men who have not had Greek is manifestly impracticable; and this aspect of the problem is complicated still further by the enrolment of so large a proportion of the college students of the country in state institutions.

On the part of theological seminaries there has lately been manifested a tendency to meet the situation by relaxing the requirements in Greek, if not also in Hebrew, for their students. With how great danger this alternative is fraught, not alone for the future of theological study but for the influence of the ministry, has been made clear by the papers already presented in this discussion. And it is no less impracticable to think of restoring the conditions of study prevalent in the last century, and of offsetting by competition of private institutions the trend of the public high school away from the studies leading to theology. The only adequate remedy is that suggested by the situation. Greek must be restored to our secondary schools; then the number of young men having Greek will be large enough to furnish a full quota to theological study. It is not necessary that a decision to study theology be reached in the period of secondary study. Let Greek be offered in our public schools by suitable teachers under such conditions that the pursuit of it will not be a handicap in completing a course for graduation, and enough students will take it to make a college constituency from which abundant recruits for theology can be chosen.

The justification of the support of secondary as of other schools by taxation lies in the service that will be rendered to

society by those who have received the benefits which they confer. If our secularized education fails to provide society with adequate leadership on the religious side, does not the remedy lie with the taxpayers? Do we not need a ministry, educated in the best sense of the word, as much as we need trained lawyers, physicians, and engineers? Surely no one would maintain that the moral and religious interests are less to be safeguarded than the material interests of society; else why is it agreed among reasonable men that church property should be exempt from taxation?

If the situation is once understood, it will be righted. Teachers and school administrators as a class are religious men, and American communities are at heart not indifferent to the claims of religion. Let us suppose that in a given city the clergy and the teachers should unite in requesting that provision be made for Greek in the high school, even if the number pursuing the study should be below that fixed for the forming of classes in "practical" subjects; can we believe that the average board of education would resist the appeal?

The amount of Greek that candidates for theology acquire after entering college or the theological school can never be made adequate without the sacrifice of other work of fundamental importance. The service which our institutions of secondary and collegiate education are rendering in return for their support will not be complete until there is such a readjustment as shall put the study of theology on as favorable a footing as other professional study. The first step in such a readjustment must be the introduction of the study of Greek more generally into the public high schools, a step which does not lack justification also on other grounds.

V. CONCLUDING REMARKS

PRESIDENT JAMES B. ANGELL, Chairman
University of Michigan

We are under much obligation to our friends in the theological field who have favored us on this occasion with so clear and convincing statements in regard to the character of the studies which school and college should provide in preparation for the study of theology.

The collection of statistics presented by Professor Kelsey seems to me of much value. I have myself been inclined to attribute the decline in the number of candidates for the ministry primarily to the transition which our theology and our biblical criticism are now going through. Many a student who means to live a religious life is not sufficiently settled in his views of certain questions to dogmatize upon them as a preacher might be expected to do.

I think, nevertheless, that there is ground for the thesis that the lack of training in Greek in so many schools prevents some men from inclining to study theology. I wish I felt more certain that the knowledge of that fact will lead school boards and private schools to reinstate instruction in Greek where it has been dropped.

I am hoping that when our churches have passed through the period of transition and have become fairly settled on some common ground, young men will not in so many cases as now hesitate about becoming preachers and pastors. They will then demand instruction in Greek as a matter of course. Meanwhile I hope that the suggestions in the paper may bear fruit.

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