

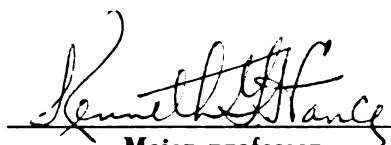
ELIJAH KELLOGG: 19TH CENTURY
NEW ENGLAND ORTHODOX PREACHER

Thesis for the Degree of Ph. D.
MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY
C. A. A. STORER
1969

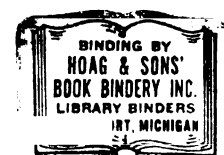
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ELIJAH KELLOGG: 19th CENTURY
NEW ENGLAND ORTHODOX PREACHER
presented by
CLEMENT ALLYN STORER

has been accepted towards fulfillment
of the requirements for

Ph. D. degree in Speech


Major professor

Date November 10, 1969



ELIJAH KELLOGG: 19TH CENTURY NEW ENGLAND
ORTHODOX PREACHER

By
C. A. A. Storer

A THESIS

Submitted to
Michigan State University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Department of Speech and Theatre

1969

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ABSTRACT

ELIJAH KELLOGG: 19TH CENTURY NEW ENGLAND
ORTHODOX PREACHER

By

C. A. A. Storer

The purpose of this study was to discover the principal lines of theological and ethical thought in the sermons of Elijah Kellogg (1813-1901); to note the influences, if any, of 19th Century religious and social movements upon the Sunday-morning religion which Kellogg preached to his various congregations during his long public career (1843-1901); and to attempt to place Kellogg in the stream of 19th Century American intellectual history.

Although Kellogg is best remembered for his twenty-nine popular books for young people and for his school declamation pieces, the most famous of which is "Sparticus to the Gladiators," during his lifetime he was best known and most popular as a preacher in and about Boston and in Southern Maine.

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Perhaps the most striking thing about Kellogg's sermons is how little evidence they show of the great intellectual and social reform movements of the 19th century; it is almost as if Kellogg were unaware of, or unconcerned with, change and controversy in the world about him. He makes no direct reference in his sermons to any contemporaneous religious leader nor to any of the liberal trends or movements in American Protestantism.

Although Kellogg is reported to have been an ardent supporter of the Federal Union and an abolitionist, neither the Civil War nor slavery is an issue with which he dealt in his sermons. And although Kellogg was much concerned with the problem of intemperance (his most frequent example of man's natural weakness and tendency toward sin), he did not support the temperance movement in his sermons.

Kellogg's theology and ethic were generally concerned with the eternal and personal rather than the historical and societal. He seems to have kept man's obligations to his immediate neighbors and to God clearly separate from man's obligations to the state and to society generally, and his sermons were primarily

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concerned with the former and only indirectly with the latter.

Kellogg's New England orthodox heritage is particularly evident in his acceptance of the following doctrines: the Bible is the true, revealed Word of God; the authority of Divine Law as set forth in the Bible is absolute; man is totally dependent upon and obligated to God; man is naturally depraved and tends toward evil; the civil state and organized religion are divinely sanctioned; Jesus is God (the Son of God and part of the Trinity), and His sacrifice was necessary for, and the cause of, atonement.

However, Kellogg also shows the unmistakable influence of 19th Century thought and attitudes. Perhaps the most important modification of traditional New England orthodoxy in Kellogg's preaching was his apparent unquestioning acceptance of the idea of atonement, which was universal in intent; and the doctrines of "predestination" and "election" are conspicuously absent from his sermons. His orthodoxy was a kind of 19th Century American democratic orthodoxy. For Kellogg, men had the power to determine their ultimate fates; salvation might

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be easier for some men to obtain, but it was seen as possible for every man. Despite Kellogg's acceptance of man's natural depravity and tendency toward evil, the general tone of his preaching was positive, and the Christian experience he called men to share was always presented as a joyful experience, capable of producing the highest of human happiness and the only true happiness.

Kellogg's sermon message does not seem to be one which would in itself account for his extraordinary popular appeal. That was probably a product of both his remarkable personality and his narrative ability. His sermons were frequently developed as narratives with much use of contemporaneous illustration and much lively good humor.

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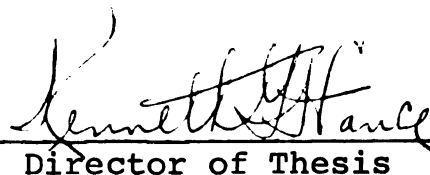
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Accepted by the faculty of the Department of
Speech and Theatre, College of Communication Arts,
Michigan State University, in partial fulfillment of
the requirements for the Doctor of Philosophy degree.



Handwritten signature of Kenneth G. Hance in cursive script, positioned above a horizontal line.

Director of Thesis

Guidance Committee:

Kenneth G. Hance, Chairman
David C. Ralph
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Harold T. Walsh

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Grateful acknowledgment is made to the Bowdoin College Library, Brunswick, Maine, for permission to use the Kellogg Papers and Sermons in its collection.

Special thanks must also be given to Professor Kenneth G. Hance, without whose guidance and encouragement this study probably would not have been completed.

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INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this study is to discover the principal lines of theological and ethical thought in the sermons of Elijah Kellogg (1813-1901), to note the influences, if any, of 19th Century religious and social movements upon the Sunday morning religion which Kellogg preached to his various congregations during his long career (1843-1901), and to attempt to place Kellogg in the stream of 19th Century American intellectual history.

The study of American intellectual history needs no justification. Certainly man's intellectual activity is important, for it not only influences his actions but may also affect the thoughts and actions of succeeding generations. And, certainly, intellectual, social, and political movements not only consist of the so-called great ideas of a celebrated and often eccentric few but must also include the thinking of a great number of ordinary people and their perhaps less celebrated and less well remembered spokesmen.

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Perhaps the best evidence of what was in the popular mind of 19th Century America (intellectual history of the people) will be found in the public speeches, lectures, and sermons of successful, though not historically celebrated, politicians, teachers, and preachers. For the politician, teacher, or preacher, as a public speaker, could not indulge himself in simple "free" expression of his personal thoughts: the politician spoke to maintain his influence in the community and to get elected; the teacher could not risk "scandalizing" the community, if he expected to keep his employment; and the preacher, too, had to consider his audience very carefully, for not only was the sermon the focal point of most Protestant church services but it also determined, in large part, church attendance, and in some churches ministers were hired and fired largely according to the acceptability of their preaching.

Moreover, the study of ideas as set forth in public speeches is well within the province of Rhetoric and Public Address; and it may even be considered as the most appropriate focus of attention in the study of the

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History of Public Address.¹ As Ernest Wrage pointed out, the student of Rhetoric and Public Address, with his special training in the study of speech communication, is particularly qualified to study the messages (the ideas) in speech texts, and that through such studies, the student of the History of Public Address may make his special contribution to intellectual history and perhaps his most valuable contribution to knowledge generally.²

At present there is a need for many more studies of "lesser-known" public speakers, studies which when placed together may make possible a more complete and accurate picture of American intellectual and social history than is possible by studying selected documents of only the most celebrated, and often most controversial, spokesmen of the past. It is hoped that this study of Elijah Kellogg will be a contribution toward a more

¹For a full explication of the relationship of study of intellectual history and the study of the History of Public Address see Ernest J. Wrage's "Public Address: A Study in Social and Intellectual History," Quarterly Journal of Speech, XXXIII (December, 1947), pp. 451-57.

²Ibid., p. 454.

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complete intellectual history of the popular mind in America.

Elijah Kellogg enjoyed popularity and acclaim as a New England Congregationalist preacher throughout his long public career; yet today little is known of either the matter or manner of his preaching. Such acknowledgment as he has depends primarily upon his twenty-nine popular books for young people¹ and his school declamation pieces.² The most famous of his declamatory works undoubtedly was "Sparticus to the Gladiators"--probably the most popular and widely recited of school declamations throughout the century following its first publication in 1846. Yet during his lifetime, Kellogg was best known and most popular as a preacher.

Although most of Kellogg's active preaching career was spent in the small sea-town of Harpswell, Maine, he was not merely a small-town preacher. For

¹For a complete list of Kellogg's books, see Appendix II-A.

²For a complete list of Kellogg's declamatory pieces, see the table of contents of Elijah Kellogg: The Man and His Work, Appendix II-B.

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almost eleven years he was pastor of the Mariners' Church and chaplain of the Sailors' Home in Boston (1854-1865). And while he lived in Boston, he preached from a number of pulpits in the greater Boston area, including the famous and fashionable Park Street Congregational Church. Moreover, while he was preaching at Harpswell, people came from as far as forty miles away, by boat and by rail, to hear him preach--this was particularly true during his later ministry (1883-1901). The church in which he preached at Harpswell was built for Kellogg when he began his public career and named for him after his death--unusual honors for a New England clergyman.

Although manuscripts of many of Kellogg's sermons are extant, Kellogg has not been studied as a preacher. He is overshadowed by more celebrated clergymen of the 19th Century. Beyond the following brief reference in The Dictionary of American Biography, virtually nothing is known about his preaching: "His virility, his devoutness, and his methods of using scythe and hoe, seine and boat, in preaching the Gospel won for him the affection of his parishioners."

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The period in which Kellogg lived and the period over which his long pulpit career extends is one of the most varied and changing in American intellectual and social history. Changes were particularly evident in the churches of America. While many American Protestants remained within the boundaries of their particular traditions, others did not. Nineteenth Century American Protestantism branched, or was catapulted, in many directions: some prominent ministers metamorphosed into social and ethical theorists and reformers, leaving the trappings of the old theology and worship behind them; others excitedly and eagerly awaited the "immanent" Second Coming of Christ; and still others invented new religions.

The primary source materials for the study are the manuscripts of Kellogg's sermons in the collection of the Bowdoin College Library, Brunswick, Maine. The Kellogg manuscripts are not individually catalogued, but are collected and arranged according to the years in which they were first delivered; the ten shelf-boxes covering the years 1843 to 1901 contain over two hundred

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sermons and sermon fragments which may safely be attributed to Elijah Kellogg.¹

The primary biographical source is the collection of articles about Kellogg written after his death by men who knew him; these were edited by Wilmot B. Mitchell and published with a selection of Kellogg's non-fiction writing by Lee and Shepard of Boston in 1903 under the title Elijah Kellogg: The Man and His Work.

General background for the study is drawn from several courses in American History and History of American Public Address together with a wide range of readings in American intellectual and religious history. A partial list of the most directly relevant works consulted will be found in the bibliography.

¹When this study began, the Kellogg manuscripts were being stored in four small cartons in the basement of the Bowdoin College Library; they have since been transferred to the shelf-boxes. They are not carefully organized, and the whole collection of Kellogg Papers includes the papers of Kellogg's father, also named Elijah Kellogg; no attempt has as yet been made by the library to distinguish between the two Kelloggs. For many years the Kellogg Papers were stored in Kellogg's abandoned house in Harpswell, where they were subject to the raids of vandals and the ravages of weather, insects, and mice. Unfortunately, many of the sermons are illegible, or nearly so; some of them have pages missing, have been gnawed through, or have rotted away.

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As already indicated, the primary concern of this study is the lines of thought (the themes) of Kellogg's sermons. An underlying assumption is that, whatever the source of Kellogg's popular appeal, his parishioners must have either accepted or, at the very least, not have been hostile to the ideas he expressed. Thus it is hoped that the study may be useful in suggesting the kind of theology and ethic that was accepted by many people, not only in a small town in Maine but also in Boston, who did not attend the churches of the "famous" preachers such as William Ellery Channing and Phillips Brooks, or the services of Theodore Parker at Boston's Music Hall.

Any consideration of a man's preaching that accepts his popularity must also look at his methods of presenting his ideas as well as the ideas themselves. For although his parishioners were not likely to have been hostile to his ideas, the possibility that his popular appeal lay primarily elsewhere cannot be overlooked. Thus, although the purpose of this study is not primarily rhetorical analysis, it will be useful to look, at least briefly, at some of Kellogg's methods and rhetorical practices; and likewise, to look at Kellogg the man.

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However, the main purpose of this study is to discover and make available a summary of the principal lines of theological and ethical thought of Elijah Kellogg and to place him on that basis.

Chapter One presents a biographical sketch of Elijah Kellogg's life and personality. Since Kellogg is not well-known, the sketch is rather more complete than might be necessary in a similar study of a more celebrated person.

Chapter Two presents the intellectual and social backgrounds from which Kellogg came and against which he lived and worked.

Chapter Three is the main focus of the study; a summary presentation of the principal lines of thought abstracted from a survey of the Kellogg sermons in an attempt to derive his theology and ethic.

Chapter Four provides a brief discussion of Kellogg's methods of sermon preparation and presentation. Although not the main focus of the study, no consideration of the lines of thought of a speaker should ignore completely the manner in which he presented his ideas. Chapter Four is not much concerned with matters

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Chapter Five, the conclusions, is a general attempt to place Kellogg's theological and ethical ideas, as set forth in Chapter Three, in relation to his background and times, as outlined in Chapter Two, and to suggest some reasons for Kellogg's extraordinary popularity as a preacher.

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CHAPTER I

ELIJAH KELLOGG: LIFE AND CHARACTER

Life and Ministry

Boyhood and Early Years.--Elijah Kellogg was born in Portland, Maine, on the 20th of May, 1813.

His father, also named Elijah Kellogg (1761-1843), was from South Hadley, Massachusetts, the Connecticut valley country of Samuel Chapin, Solomon Stoddard, Jonathan Edwards, and Daniel Shays. He is described as a militant patriot and a Calvinist clergyman of the "old-school." He beat the drum at the battle of Bunker Hill and spent the long winter of 1777-78 with Washington at Valley Forge. In 1788, he was graduated from Dartmouth College and was called to the pastorate of the Second Parish Congregational Church in Portland. He was one of the original overseers of Bowdoin College, which he helped to found in 1794. He lived and worked in Portland until his death.

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Kellogg's mother was Eunice McLellan, of the McLellans, a proud Scotch-Irish family and one of the first European families to settle in Maine.

As a boy, Elijah seems to have been lively and full of mischief, and he seems to have remained so all his life. He was not fond of school; he was apparently a poor student. Once, at least, he skipped church to go swimming, and he lied about it to his father. When his father asked him where he had been, he said he had gone to the Methodist church to hear how someone else preached. Interested and perhaps curious, his father asked him about the sermon. Young Elijah supplied both text and synopsis, but he had never heard anyone but his father preach, and it was an old-line Calvinistic sermon that he put into the mouth of the Methodist preacher. Thus he was found out. However, he seems not to have been haunted by guilt over such an act, and he often repeated the story on himself.

When he was about ten or eleven, he was sent into the country to live with a Mrs. Lothrop Lewis. In exchange, the Kellogg's boarded Mrs. Lewis's daughter so that she could attend school in Portland. Kellogg seems to have enjoyed the country enormously; perhaps it was partly being

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away from the watchful eye of his stern father. This exchange seems to have been for only about one year.

Back in Portland, young Kellogg hung about the docks. He loved to listen to the sailors, and at fifteen, he went to sea. For three years he lived the life of a merchant seaman, apparently in the trade between New England and the Caribbean.

At eighteen he was back ashore. For a while he knocked about the country working at one farm and then at another. After a few months of these peregrinations, his father indentured him for one year as an apprentice to do general work on the farm of Mr. Alexander McLellan, a relative of Kellogg's mother. The purpose of the indenture seems to have been more to hold him in one place, to make him settle down, than to make a servant of him. He lived and worked as a member of the McLellan family. If making him "settle down" was its purpose, the indenture seemed to work. Kellogg became a hard and serious worker and learned to be a farmer. It was while living with the McLellans that he decided he wanted an education.

He entered Gorham Academy a little older than most boys preparing for college, and it is reported that he

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worked especially hard to make up for lost time. It was while at the Academy that he determined to become a minister.

It was also at this time that he began his evangelism, that he started his first Sunday-school. The story of its founding, in an unsavory neighborhood, shows something of the character and personality of Kellogg. For although he felt the "call" to go there and teach, he was not without fear, so he invited a friend to go with him (George Prentiss, later a Professor at Union Theological Seminary). His friend is said to have replied,

No, Elijah, I don't dare go down there. They will kill us if we do . . . I'll tell you what I'll do. If you go down there and start a Sunday-school and don't get killed, I'll come down later and help you.¹

Kellogg set out alone. He founded the Sunday-school, and fifty years later, it was still meeting regularly.

Bowdoin College.--In 1836, at age twenty-three, Kellogg entered Bowdoin College. (It should be noted that six of his thirty classmates were at least as old as he.) His college career seems to have been characterized by pranks and poverty.

¹George Lewis, "The Boy," Elijah Kellogg: The Man and His Work, ed. Wilmot Brookings Mitchell (Boston: Lee and Shepard, 1903), p. 23.

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The college in those days was a wild and lively place, and Kellogg seems to have been at the center of much of the activity. Perhaps the most celebrated "prank" was the incident of President Allen's silk hat. President of the college, Dr. William Allen, is described as a pompous, over-bearing man who is known to have laughed but once. He was most unpopular among the students. When it became known that his silk hat, a symbol of his formal pomposity, had been stolen, Kellogg boasted that if he knew where it was, he would put it on the chapel spire. Of course, he was soon told where to find it, and he did climb the chapel spire on a dark and showery night and fixed the hat at the top, where it greeted the campus community in the morning. It is alleged to have taken a crew of workmen with ladders three days to get it down.

Besides pranks, Kellogg knew poverty as a student. There were no scholarships in those days, and a student without money had no choice but to work. Kellogg worked his way through college by "keeping school" during the long winter recess and by mending snow-fences for the college. He himself gives the account of walking seventy-five miles to Penobscot after Christmas and back again through the mud of March to keep school--walking because he was too

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poor to ride. He even had to "hire a watch in Brunswick to keep school with."¹

As to the snow-fences: They needed frequent replacing chiefly because students would break them up for winter bonfires. In later years, Kellogg confessed that, when he needed money desperately, he would sometimes tear up and burn fences to get the job of making new ones.

In spite of the "pranks" and poverty, Kellogg seems to have entered fully into college life--both formal studies and literary society as well. Kellogg was a member of the Peucinean society and a contributor to the Bowdoin Portfolio (a literary magazine founded in his junior year). His contributions to both seem to have been mainly poetry.

He was immensely popular among his fellow students, and his influence on others is described as always good. Even his role in the incident of the "hat" is defended:

To steal the hat was a petty and foolish trick
 . . . but to carry it through darkness to the
 top of the chapel spire required a clear head,
 a stout heart, good muscle, and nerve²

And his burning of fences is excused by his poverty.

¹Kellogg, "Speech at Centennial of Bowdoin College, June 28, 1894," Mitchell, p. 304.

²Henry Leland Chapman, "College and Seminary," Mitchell, pp. 30-31.

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Samuel P. Newman was Professor of Rhetoric at Bowdoin while Kellogg was there, but there is no particular evidence of his influence.¹ Kellogg does not mention him as one of his favorite or most influential teachers.

Andover Theological Seminary.--After graduating from Bowdoin, Kellogg went to Andover Theological Seminary. Certainly he had well known teachers there: Leonard Woods,² Bela Edwards, Moses Stuart, Ralph Emerson,³ and Edwards Park. But Kellogg makes little reference to his three years at Andover. Perhaps the reason was the professional character of the school, a place for study, not a place for the high-jinks that create fond memories and make good stories. Whatever the reason, Kellogg does not write about his famous teachers.

Sparticus.--It was for Edwards Park's class in Rhetoric and Oratory that Kellogg wrote what is probably

¹Newman was the author of a popular textbook, A Practical Guide to Rhetoric, first published in 1827; it went through 60 American editions, the last in 1854.

²Leonard Woods, Professor of Theology, was the father of Leonard Woods, President of Bowdoin College during Kellogg's senior year.

³Ralph Emerson, conservative Congregationalist clergyman and distant relative to Ralph Waldo Emerson, the famous transcendentalist and essayist.

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his most famous work: the declamation, "Sparticus to the Gladiators." According to Chapman, Kellogg was timid and afraid of criticism. He greatly dreaded the assignment, and he determined to write something so diverting in its subject matter that attention would be drawn away from criticism. Apparently he succeeded, for the class had no adverse criticisms. Park said that though he might criticize some points, on the whole it was so masterfully done that he would not. One of Kellogg's classmates later spoke it at the Boylston Prize Speaking at Harvard and won. It was there that it came to the attention of Epes Sargent, who first published it in his School Reader of 1846. Besides "Sparticus," Kellogg wrote ten other declamations.

The Call to Harpswell.--During his last year at Andover, Kellogg received the call from the church at Harpswell, a community with which he had come in contact while he was a freshman at Bowdoin. He used to spend Saturday afternoons sailing among the islands of Casco Bay in his little cat-rigged boat, Cadet. One day, sailing with a friend and delayed by wind and tide, he landed at evening on Birch Island. The boys were welcomed by the islanders, and Kellogg made friends.

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Subsequently, he became a regular weekend visitor to Birch Island which is just across the water from Harpswell Centre. For Birch Islanders, both store and church were in Harpswell Centre, and it was through them that Kellogg first came in contact with the Harpswell Church. By the end of his sophomore year he was regularly attending church and prayer meetings at Harpswell.

When the people of Harpswell learned that he was planning to become a minister, they said that he must come back to Harpswell and be theirs. For they had no regular minister but relied chiefly upon Thomas Upham, Professor of Philosophy at Bowdoin College, to supply their pulpit. Kellogg, perhaps half jokingly, said that if he lived through the seminary and they still wanted him and would build a new church, he would come and preach for them.

Thus it was that during Kellogg's senior year at Andover, Upham arrived to tell him that the timbers for the new church were "on the spot," and that the people of Harpswell still wanted him to be their preacher. Upham reinforced his "request" by reminding Kellogg of his "promise" and he added that if Kellogg didn't go, God would curse him as long as he lived. Of course, Kellogg went.

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The Harpswell Church.--When the town was founded in 1751, town and parish were one and the same. The church, as many others in New England, was supported by taxes. But as time passed, other denominations sprang up and other churches were built; and many tax-payers refused to pay taxes to support a church to which they did not belong. A dispute eventually arose between town and church over the ownership of the church building. This dispute was current when Kellogg was at Bowdoin and probably explains his remark about building a new church as a condition of his coming there to preach.

Supporters of the old church organized a new society: The Centre Congregational Society in Harpswell. In April, 1844, with Professor Upham as moderator, they formally extended an invitation to Kellogg to become their "pastor in the Gospel ministry" at the salary of \$300 a year for four years beginning the first of June, 1844. Kellogg accepted the call "as a minister of the New Testament."¹ Thus his formal ministry began.

At Harpswell, 1844-1854.--During the early years of his ministry at Harpswell, Kellogg proved to be an

¹Wilmot B. Mitchell, "Early Harpswell Days," Mitchell, p. 56.

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active and energetic pastor. Not only did he attend to the regular duties of his little parish--his congregation included only from forty to fifty church members all this time--but his public ministry carried him all about the islands of Casco Bay and westward as far as Flying Point, Wolf's Neck, and Freeport. After services in his own church, he would take to his boat to call on neighboring shores. For some of the islanders who couldn't get to the mainland for church, he took the church to them: Bible reading, and prayer, and pastoral counseling in private homes on some of the far-out islands.

He entered into every phase of community life. He was elected to the school committee, and he brought the secular world into the church. One Sunday he read the following notice from the pulpit:

Widow Jones's grass needs mowing. I shall be in her field tomorrow morning at half-past four with scythe, rake and pitch-fork. I shall be glad to see all of you there who wish to come and help.

He was there with a large crew of men and boys to help.

For the first five years of his pastorate at Harpswell, he "boarded around"--most of that time at the

¹Mitchell, pp. 58-59.

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home of one Joseph Eaton. His mother spent summers with him there.

In 1849, he bought a farm of thirty-five acres in North Harpswell. He cut and hauled most of the large timbers for his house himself--from Ragged Island, three miles out to sea. He hauled the sand for his mortar from a beach on Birch Island. When the materials were gathered, Kellogg was "surprised" by seventy-five of his friends and neighbors, many of them ships carpenters. In three days they hewed the timbers, framed, boarded, and roofed the house. After the house was built, his mother came to live with him, and did live there until her death in 1852. He also employed a housekeeper at this time.

Marriage.--Kellogg married in 1854, at age forty-one. After his mother's death, a friend began chiding him about his single state. When Kellogg said he could find no one to have him, his friend suggested an old schoolmate: Hannah Pearson Pomeroy of Syracuse, New York, whose father had been minister at Gorham while Kellogg was at the Academy there. She is described as an educated woman, a school teacher, "just the sort of woman to be a minister's wife." Kellogg went to Syracuse; the matter seems to have been settled in a very businesslike way. And their marriage

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was apparently a happy one. They had two children, a son and a daughter.

His Work with Boys.--Kellogg was especially effective in his work with boys and young men. As was already suggested, he remained in some ways a boy all his life. This no doubt had a great deal to do with his success: he had not only sympathy but empathy as well. He would laugh at their jokes and listen seriously and with respect to their serious thoughts. He was also always on the lookout for educational potential, and he did much to encourage scholarship among the brighter boys of his parish.

But he was always evangelising, as Mitchell reports:

He would swim, sail, farm, and fish with the boys in his parish, and then, at an unexpected moment, but in a manner not repellent, he would kneel down in their boat or in the field by the side of a cock of hay or a shock of corn and pray with them.¹

Speaking of Kellogg's later work among young people in Boston, William Clough, one of those young men, said that Kellogg was not "dignified and solemn" as other ministers, and that it was this "unlikeness" which attracted young people to him. He said that Kellogg had an "intuitive" ability to tell just how far he could press a person,

¹Mitchell, p. 61.

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"just how much religious talk he would stand and still come to him with his burdens and for advice."¹ Kellogg's great strength seems to have been in personal contact. In Boston, he showed special interest in young men alone in the city. He would regularly visit them at their boarding houses, to look after them and make them feel that someone cared for them.

All the while Kellogg lived at Harpswell, both in his early ministry and in his later years, he was a frequent visitor to Bowdoin College. Most of his visits were informal, and most of his contacts were with students.

For some years Bowdoin College sent troublesome students to Kellogg for "rustication." General Joshua L. Chamberlain, at one time President of Bowdoin College, describes "rustication" thusly:

One of the recognized degrees of punishment in those days was that of "rustication,"--country residence being supposed to be a balance or compensation for some of the tendencies of the pursuit of the fine or liberal arts within a college town. This was applied to cases not quite deserving of technical "suspension"; but still was in fact removal from actual attendance on college exercises, whether required or prohibited,--a forced residence at the home of some scholarly and judicious gentleman, where

¹William Oliver Clough, "As Seen Through a Boy's Eyes," Mitchell, p. 96.

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the attractions would be wholesome influences rather than dangerous temptations, and where the pupil might receive instruction in the three branches of learning pertaining to a classical course, and thus be enabled to do what seemed less likely within college walls,-- to keep up with his class.¹

Kellogg's methods were never harsh. He seems to have relied on patience and affection to win the boys over to him, and he seems to have been highly successful in this process of "straightening-out" boys and setting them on a "straight and firm path."

Mariners' Church and Sailors' Home.--In 1854, the Boston Seaman's Friend Society invited Kellogg to become pastor of the Mariners' Church (Purchase Street) and chaplain of the Sailors' Home. He accepted this new call. He felt that there was much he could do in Boston, but he never severed his ties to the church in Harpswell, continuing to preach there during his summer visits.

Kellogg began his Boston pastorate in September, 1854. His formal duties included three public worship services at the Mariners' Church on Sunday, supervision of a Sunday-school, religious meetings held once a week in the reading room of the Sailors' Home, visits to sailors

¹Chamberlain, "Reminiscences," Mitchell, p. 173.

on shipboard and in hospitals, and of course, performance of the major ceremonies of life for the members of the church: baptisms, weddings, funerals.

The Sailors' Home was no small operation. It was operated in a large brick structure at 99 Purchase Street. Its residents were active seamen; it was more in the nature of a hotel than a permanent residence, often with hundreds of sailors staying there. During Kellogg's first year, it sheltered 2,458 men; during the eleven years of his chaplaincy, its residents numbered 25,358.

The Society provided Kellogg with a full-time missionary assistant: a retired ships-master from Plymouth, Captain Andrew Bartlett. Described as a faithful, zealous, and valuable assistant, he referred to himself as "a lieutenant to Mr. Kellogg."

Kellogg's "Flying Artillery."--Besides Capt. Bartlett, Kellogg gathered around him a group of young landmen--volunteers variously described as his "army," his "body guard," and his "flying artillery." How large a group it was is difficult to determine; for one thing its definition was imprecise. Kellogg himself refers to it as an army of young landmen interested in the welfare of

sailors."¹ Kimball says it grew rapidly during the period of revival in 1858. In that year Charles Grandison Finney was working in Boston with Dr. Stone of the Park Street Congregational Church, and Kellogg was meeting a class in Dr. Stone's chapel. It was this class that seems to have formed the core of the "flying artillery." Other members came from the Sunday evening services at the Mariners' Church. At any rate, it was large enough that at the outbreak of the Civil War sixty-eight members enlisted; of the sixty-eight, sixteen are described as Sunday-school teachers.

Converts rarely came seeking the church, so Kellogg and his army of young men went out looking for them. They would generally meet at the Young Men's Christian Association, and from there set out for prayer meetings on the receiving ship, Ohio, or for evangelizing on the docks. They would march along together, two by two, keeping step and time to song. Among their favorite marching tunes were "A Life on the Ocean Wave," "Say Brothers, Will You Meet Us," and the chorus "Glory, Glory, Hallelujah," which of course, later became the basis for "John Brown's Body."

¹George Kimball, "The Seaman's Friend," Mitchell, p. 80.

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They also sang other hymn tunes and popular songs of the day. Besides their meeting with sailors, they did missionary work in the slums of the North End. In both cases they seem to have been almost as much concerned with converting men to temperance as with winning them to Christ.

It is difficult to assess the extent of Kellogg's evangelical and temperance activity. However, the year 1859 is reported to have been an especially active one and may provide some general idea of the numbers involved. At the Sailors' Home 276 were reported to have signed the Temperance pledge, and 95 were listed as converted. Other evangelists may have reached greater numbers, but Kellogg seems to have had a better record than many in terms of permanent effect.

Sunday Evenings at Mariners' Church.--Perhaps Kellogg's attraction for young people is no where better seen than in the Sunday evening prayer meetings at Mariners' Church. Kimball says the church was always crowded on Sunday evenings: ministers of the Gospel, merchants, captains of ships, young people, all came to join the sailors. It was said that no evangelical organization in the city was unrepresented.

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Especially the young people came. Many of them belonged to other churches which they attended on Sunday morning, but they went to hear "Father" Kellogg in the evening. The attraction was so great that at one point the deacons of the Park Street church complained that "the larger half of the Park Street boys and girls run away and go to Mr. Kellogg's meeting."¹ Kellogg was officially the seaman's friend, but he was unofficially every man's friend, especially the young.

Civil War.--Chamberlain says that when the War began, he and others looked to Kellogg, expecting him to enlist. He suggests that Kellogg was offered service as a paymaster in the Navy. "But he was not drawn . . . with so many men gone forward, he thought he had a duty to the home." (It should perhaps be noted that Kellogg was forty-seven at the outbreak of the War.)

Kimball reports that those connected with the Mariners' Church at the beginning of the War would never forget "the stirring scenes of patriotism and faith" with which Kellogg bid his "boys" farewell. At one evening meeting in April, 1861 Kellogg spoke with feeling of the

¹Clough, p. 95.

impending crisis. He is said to have been "prophetic" in outlining the course of events soon to follow in the secession movement. When he had finished his remarks, he invited three of his "boys," members of his church, to the front of the pulpit. In front of the congregation he spoke personally to each of the three, then he drew three revolvers from under his desk, and gave them to the young men "bidding them go forth in the name of God, in a cause which he declared to be as holy as any that ever people contended for."¹ And they did go forth. Besides the landsmen who joined the army, over 200 inmates of the Sailors' Home joined the army; and over 600, the navy.

During the War, whenever a regiment from Maine passed through the city, in which ever direction, Kellogg went to meet it, marched along with it, and usually gave all of his money to the men in it. He made speeches to several regiments when they were reviewed on the Common. And one time, at least, he was so moved, so overcome, that "he broke down completely and wept like a child."

He kept up an active correspondence with men he knew at the front, sent them necessities and delicacies,

¹Kimball, p. 82.

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and looked after their personal affairs at home. When one young man from his church was wounded, he visited him in the hospital, arranged a furlough, brought him to Boston, gave him money, and sent him home to visit his parents in Maine.

Departure from Mariners' Church.--The sharp decline in the merchant marine during the War, and the great reduction in sea trade in Boston Harbor, meant of course a decline in the numbers of men resident at the Sailors' Home. Also the character of the neighborhood was changing, becoming more commercial. In the summer of 1865, Kellogg resigned his position with the Boston Seaman's Friend Society, and embarked on his career as a writer.

Career as a Writer.--Kellogg took to writing in the hope of being able to reach a wider audience, particularly of young people. Although his stories are real preachments, Kellogg often felt that he really should be employed as a full-time minister. It was not until years later, when he began receiving letters from people from all over the country who had been "inspired" by his books, that he felt certain that he had made the right decision.

In all, Kellogg wrote twenty-nine books. They are strong on local color--anecdotes of the sea and of pioneer

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life in early Maine and Pennsylvania. And they are strong on Calvinistic values, particularly relating to work. One of Kellogg's principal themes in the books is the dignity of labor. One of his purposes, as he put it, was to root out the "false notion that only mental work is honorable." He believed that hard physical labor is a great builder of character and a necessary prerequisite to good work with the mind. But whatever success Kellogg had as a moralist, he was less successful as a literary artist: his characters are two-dimensional, his main plots tedious, and his writing often careless. Nevertheless, his books were popular, and he is considered to be the best of the major "moralistic" writers (besides Kellogg, William Taylor Adams and Horatio Alger, Jr.) competing with the dime dreadfuls.

While engaged in his literary career, the Kelloggs lived in Boston, where his favorite working place was the Boston Athenaeum. During the winters, he preached in a number of pulpits, among them: Wellesley, Massachusetts, (1867); Cumberland Mills, Maine (1869), St. Lawrence Street Church, Portland, Maine (1870), and Pigeon Cove, Massachusetts (1874 and 1875). He continued to spend part of the summer, at least, in Harpswell where he also preached.

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At about the time he was expecting to begin receiving royalties from the sales of his books, his publishers, Lee and Shepard of Boston, failed. Needing money badly, Kellogg sold the copyrights to all but one of his books--The Good Old Times. Thus, in later years, he never did receive income from them.

During his years as a writer, he received calls from the Warren Church in Cumberland Mills and from two very large churches--the Congregational Church of New Bedford, Massachusetts, and his father's former church, the Second Parish Congregational Church of Portland, Maine.¹ But he declined these calls, and in 1882 returned to his farm in Harpswell.

Last Years in Harpswell.--In 1882, nearing the age of seventy, Kellogg returned to his farm in Harpswell, and there he lived and worked for the remainder of his life. His knowledge of farming stood him in good stead, for now it became his principal means of support.

Topsham Pastorate.--For five years, 1883-1889, Kellogg was pastor of the Baptist Church in Topsham. During these years he worked his farm, travelling to Topsham on

¹Mitchell, "Last Days in Harpswell," Mitchell, p. 143.

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Saturday afternoons and returning to the farm on Monday mornings. He also exchanged with and visited other churches in the area, including the church in Harpswell.

Return to the Harpswell Church.--In 1889 Kellogg returned to the full care of his old Harpswell parish; and he remained its minister, preaching two sermons every Sunday, until his death. He was paid but eight dollars a Sunday for his preaching, for his parish was poor and depended upon outside help to survive.

That he took his duties, however, to be more than merely Sunday services is illustrated by the following excerpt from a letter to his son, dated June 1, 1893:

I have not written before, but a complication of circumstances, some of them of a very sad nature, has rendered it impossible. In the first place, I strained my heel cord either by jumping out of the wagon or by wearing a very tight congress boot, and had to limp around for about ten days, but am all right now. Don't you think, the second night it was done, just as I was going to bed, two men came from Bailey Island for me to attend a funeral the next day at two o'clock. I told them it was impossible as I could with greatest difficulty hobble to the barn. They said there was no minister in town but me, and if I did not go, the person would have to be buried without any service. Upon that I told them to go to John Randall's and tell him to come over in the morning, and take me to the intervale point where they must meet me with a boat. John came; we rode to the point. John took me in his arms and put me in the boat. When we were

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across, two men, one on each side, led me to the house; when we got to the doorstep one of them said, "Mr. Kellogg, do you think you will be able to preach?" I replied, "Put me before the people, and the Lord will tell me what to say." The next morning my foot and leg were swollen to the knee, and I could not get on a rubber boot, but had to wear arctics I am all right now, however, and carried a bushel of apples on my back today.¹

The Period After 1890.--After his wife's death in 1890, Kellogg's children pleaded with their father to come to Massachusetts and live with them. But he refused. He felt that he belonged in Harpswell; it was his home; its people, his people. It was a wonderful thing, he said, to live in the house that he had built with the help of seventy-five friends, to sit in the shade and enjoy the fruit of trees he had planted forty years before, to look into the face of his housekeeper and see her--a granddaughter of one of his earliest Harpswell friends--eager to look after his every need. His parishioners were like a family; he fussed over them, and they took care of him.

Donation Parties.--Money was always a problem for Kellogg. All of his life he kept a "purse for the Lord" into which he put one-tenth of all the money he received to give to the Lord's work. For Kellogg, that usually

¹Mitchell, pp. 157-58.

meant to help those he saw as being less fortunate than himself. He gave away more than the one-tenth, more than he could practicably afford to. Mitchell suggests that one of the reasons he took the position at the Mariners' Church was that it would perhaps provide him enough money to pay for his farm.

An important means of support during these last years were the annual donation parties given by his friends in Brunswick and Harpswell. They seem to have been festive occasions, with much reminiscence and much laughter, and with a brief talk on some subject such as "love," or "friendship" by Kellogg and a prayer. The donation parties seem to have been large gatherings: 80 are reported to have attended one, 125 at another. Some of the money gifts were apparently quite substantial; many of the gifts, however, were of goods rather than of money.

Still Popular with the Young.--People still came from the resorts in the summer to hear him preach; occasionally a boatload of old friends would come from as far away as Portland to attend Sunday morning services at the little church in Harpswell. And he was especially gratified that the young people seemed to find him as "appealing"

as ever.¹ Local boys and girls filled his church for Sunday evening services, just as others had thirty and more years before in Boston.

Good Health and Hard Work.--Except for increasing deafness, he seems to have enjoyed excellent health all his life, and he managed his farm work--planting, tending his cattle, keeping his equipment in repair--to the end of his life. And he was, with "God's help," his own man, as the following entry in his journal, dated Nov. 25, 1889, attests:

Went to the Skofield barn, prayed and then with a tackle and much contrivance put my ox cart on the scaffold. I then took the wheels from the axle, and stowed them and the axle-tree away below. It took me a long time, and was hard work. William and his boy and myself would have done it in ten minutes, but as they thought and said I could not do it, I did. If it had been twenty years ago, I should have got help; but a person situated as I am--in debt, and having to begin life anew--must not show any sign of failure of strength or energy. I did it not for vanity but on calculation, as a duty. Especially is the sin of old age fatal to a minister²

Kellogg was in his 77th year at the time.

¹Kellogg, "Journal," Mitchell, p. 154.

²Kellogg, "Journal," Mitchell, p. 155-56.

Bowdoin College.--During his later years, Kellogg continued to visit Bowdoin College and to enjoy the company and affection of her students. As in his earlier years, most of his visits were informal. He would usually announce himself by a knock on the door of some student he knew. Soon a group of students would gather for an evening of story-telling and friendly advice. When the larger group broke up, Kellogg would read a psalm and lead his hosts in prayer. If the hour were late, there was always a bed to be found for him somewhere in the college. And Chamberlain reports that

at the house in town of more than one hard-headed old sea-captain there was always ready just at the head of the stairs, with doors unlocked, a room set apart for Elijah Kellogg.¹

He was invited to be a speaker at the Bowdoin Centennial celebration in 1894. Much worried by his deafness and perhaps a little afraid of the large crowd expected, he declined. But at the celebration, he was sought out and brought in by acclamation. When he appeared, he was given a standing and shouting ovation. He seems to have been very pleased; and though the speech he gave is no

¹Chamberlain, p. 172.

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masterpiece of oratory, it was enthusiastically received. Chamberlain says it was best of all the speeches heard on that occasion.¹

At the Harpswell Church.--Kellogg felt his increasing deafness to be a great "deprivation." As early as 1890, he complained that he was "no good at a social gathering," and by the end of the decade, it had cut him off from preaching anywhere else but at Harpswell. In 1896, he requested that his congregation let him resign on account of it, but his people refused to allow him to. When Clough visited him in 1899, he suggested to his local driver, a member of Kellogg's church, that he would think that Harpswell would want a younger minister. His driver's reply, as Clough reports it:

Why, bless you, brother, the people of this place are all of one mind in this matter. Like myself they had rather hear Mr. Kellogg say "amen," than the finest sermon any younger minister could possibly preach. Why, people come from far and near to hear him, and every now and then he has a request from some of them to deliver his discourse on the "Prodigal Son." It is a most remarkable sermon. I could hear it twice a year, and hunger for a third.²

¹Chamberlain, p. 172.

²Clough, p. 110.

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It seems he might well have been speaking for Kellogg's congregation.

In spite of his deafness in these later years, he preached at least twice at Merrymeeting Park, a resort near Brunswick. Special trains were run from Lewiston-Auburn, Brunswick, and Bath to accommodate the anticipated crowds which Chamberlain describes as a "vast assembly" overflowing the auditorium.

To the end of his life, Kellogg continued preaching two sermons every Sunday.

He died on March 17, 1901, in his 88th year. His last message to his Harpswell congregation before his death was, "I want to send my love to all these people." His last words were, "I am so thankful."

Characteristics and Methods

In Kellogg's life and character, several things stand out. Perhaps foremost is his attraction for, and success with young people, particularly boys and young men. But there are other things that are, at least, nearly as outstanding.

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As a Preacher.--Although his sermons are never frivolous, and are always firmly grounded in scripture, he drew freely from the world and life around him, from the images of farm and sea, to illustrate his meaning. His delivery is described as stirring and dramatic. He is said to have spoken as with the voice of a prophet.

Though he regarded worship as a serious business, he did not see it as a sombre activity. He liked music, loud music and lots of it. Once, in Boston, he was criticized because many of the hymn tunes used at the Mariners' Church were tunes of popular and tavern songs and therefore unsuitable for holy worship. He replied, "What! you wouldn't give all the good tunes to the devil would you?"¹

Once before an evening prayer meeting at Mariners' Church, when the church was especially crowded and the ushers were anxiously trying to seat everybody, Kellogg, from the front of the pulpit, pointed to one of the pews and said, "Six persons may be comfortably seated in those wall pews. There are only five in that pew. Why don't you take another reef in your mainsails, ladies, and accommodate one more?" The ladies blushed and reefed, and the congregation was delighted.²

¹Clough, p. 100-101.

²Clough, p. 98.

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After a brief ceremony and sermon at the 50th anniversary of the first Sunday-school that Kellogg founded, came storytelling and reminiscences. Of it Lewis reports as follows:

My own feeling was that it was fortunate the windows were open, for otherwise the house must have burst. I do not think there ever was another church than that since churches were built where was heard so much laughter and manifested so much fun and wit on Sunday.¹

Though he was successful with large audiences when he addressed them, Kellogg seems to have been afraid of them. At least he felt uncomfortable if they represented the so-called higher classes of society. He once said that he didn't like the "starch and formality" of the more fashionable churches. Perhaps that is why, in part, that he refused calls to larger churches. He also apparently wanted to return to his farm and friends in Harpswell.

As a Minister.--If Kellogg's manner in church was sometimes "unorthodox," his manner out of it was even more so. When "farmer" Kellogg made his Saturday trips to town to exchange farm products for commodities, he went dressed in his working clothes as a farmer. He saw no need for a minister to "dress-up" just to go into town. Chamberlain

¹Lewis, pp. 24-25.

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says, "His classical friends could scarcely recognize him trudging through the streets accompanying--not driving--his contemplative oxen."

He seems to have relied upon personal contacts more than preaching in his evangelism. Perhaps that helps to explain both the smaller number of converts than those of more noted evangelists, and his apparent record for more permanent success, as seen in the testimonies of Kimball and Clough. In his personal evangelism, both in seeking to win men to Christ and to win them away from the bottle, he showed patience and a keen understanding of human psychology.

One rough Ragged Islander whom Kellogg had influenced for the "best" through some apparently "unorthodox" means, said that when Parson Kellogg died he was going to carve upon his tombstone three letters--"D. F. M."--the last two were to stand for "funny minister."¹

He Gave His All.--While serving as minister, he was no part-time preacher holding forth on Sundays and available for ceremonials. He busied himself with and was involved in all the life of his parish: not only to point

¹Mitchell, p. 69.

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out Christian duty and keep his flock on the straight and narrow, but also to advise, to work with, to give help and counsel to all in his parish who needed it.

And he was sometimes "unorthodox" in his giving. He sometimes gave for other people, as a kind of local "Robin Hood." One winter he heard that a family on Orr's Island was in need. The father had been drinking heavily, and mother and children were in need of food and fuel. Kellogg went to the home of a well-to-do member of his parish and asked to borrow his horse and sled for an hour or two. When it was readied, Kellogg drove it to the surprised owner's woodpile and began loading-on. Kellogg's only explanation was, "That family down there needs fuel badly. You've got plenty, and I'm going to haul them down a good load." Apparently that was explanation enough.¹

Practical and Impractical.--Kellogg is everywhere reported to have been a good advisor on practical matters of life, but as Chamberlain adds, "for other people!" He was ever in financial distress. He simply gave away more than his income. His farm was heavily mortgaged, and one time, he very nearly lost it. Payment was overdue, and he

¹Mitchell, p. 71.

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was being threatened; however, some of his friends in town found out about it, and as Chamberlain puts it, "In a very private way payment was provided and the mortgage taken off." But his friends were not surprised to learn soon afterwards that his farm was mortgaged again.

Some of his Harpswell friends said that he was like a two-year-old with money. At the donation parties his housekeeper was instructed to hide some of the gifts, so that he would not give them away.

He Lived Close to His God.--Kellogg's relationship to his God was a highly personal one. When his wife died, he was very much grief-stricken. Returning from the cemetery, he said simply to the Rev. Mr. Wright, who had officiated, "Now I will return to my home to be alone with my God."

His every day seems to have been a dialogue with his God. He seems to have been upon his knees almost as much as in any other position. He prayed not only when he awoke and before retiring, but also before he undertook any task and again when he had completed it. Most of his prayers seem to have been prayers of thanksgiving, and for guidance, and for the benefit of others. But he prayed for himself, too, and for God's favor in practical matters.

I finished sowing barley to-day, and knelt down on the ground and prayed to God that as I had used my own judgment to the best advantage, had taken the advice of others, had worked diligently, and had not neglected my duty to Him that He would be pleased to bless this crop sown so late and under so many disadvantages and give me from it some good returns.¹

And sometimes to remind God of His duties to His faithful servant on earth.

I went to the altar where I have administered the communion and threw myself upon the mercy of God and opened my mouth wide and asked Him for His name's sake through Christ to put me in a way of paying my debts that are a dishonor to His cause, as I have consecrated my labor to Him and work only for daily bread and to pay my debts I also asked Him to grant me His Holy Spirit to interpret aright the indications of His providence, for I surely do not wish to be a revelation to myself.²

He was Much Loved and had Some Success.--Kellogg said that his purpose was to "proclaim the glad tidings to men." He is described as a shy, quaint, old-fashioned little man, saintly, loveable, and modest. His opinions on matters theological, public, and political were considered "rather conservative," even by his friends. Whatever they thought of his "theology," Kellogg was a man much loved. And his person seems to have affected the lives of a great many people in a profound way.

¹Kellogg, "Journal," Mitchell, p. 148.

²Kellogg, "Journal," Mitchell, p. 153.

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CHAPTER II

KELLOGG'S RELIGIOUS BACKGROUND AND THE TIMES IN WHICH HE LIVED

Part I. New England Orthodoxy

Kellogg's religious background is one of New England Orthodoxy. Not only was he the son of an "old line" Calvinist minister, but also he attended Andover Theological Seminary, which was the conservative stronghold in New England. Since New England Congregational Orthodoxy is not represented by a simple unified system of theology and practice, it will be necessary to trace some of its major lines of development.

Puritan Beginnings

The dominant group in colonial New England, and that in which New England Orthodoxy has its roots, consisted of the Puritans of the Massachusetts Bay Company.

They were no rag-tag band of outcasts scraped together from the fringes of society, but a fair representation of the English middle-class. They included men of wealth such as John Winthrop, the Colony's first governor and men of learning already recognized in England such as John Cotton, their first minister. They are commonly referred to as "Calvinists," but they were Calvinists with their roots in England not in Geneva.

The Puritan Movement in England.--The English Puritans saw themselves as carrying forward the reformation of the Church begun in the reign of Henry VIII. That beginning had been largely political and linguistic; the Puritans sought more fundamental changes. They wanted to "purify" the Church, to purge it of its "Romish trappings." These included not only medieval vestments and ceremonies but also any fixed ceremony--even the Lord's Prayer was banned as part of "dumb reading"--and the Roman system of ecclesiastical government. They were also much concerned with reform of personal morals and manners.

The American Puritans.--The members of the Massachusetts Bay Company were among the Non-separatist group in England; they sought reform within the established church. (The Pilgrims of Plymouth were a Separatist group.)

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However, they were "Independents," or Congregationalists; they wanted an established church but without an established ecclesiastical hierarchy. They favored local "congregational" control of the churches, and they depended upon the unanimity of the "saints," or church members, to insure essential uniformity of the Church in general. When they could not succeed in making their ideas prevail in England, they set out for America to build the "New Zion" here.

Although there was doubtless some economic interest in the venture, the predominant motive seems to have been religious. Whole families came, not seeking religious freedom, but to build the "New Zion." As John Winthrop declared in his sermon on board the Arabella:

Thus stands the cause between God and
us: we are entered into a covenant with Him
for this work; we have taken out a commission,
the Lord hath given us leave to draw our articles.
.

When He shall make us a praise and glory,
that men shall say of succeeding plantations:
"The Lord make it like New England." For we
must consider that we shall be as a city upon
a hill, the eyes of all people are upon us.¹

It is generally estimated that in the first ten years of

¹ John Winthrop, "A Model of Christian Charity," The American Puritans: Their Prose and Poetry, ed. Perry Miller (Garden City, New York: Anchor Books, Doubleday & Co., Inc., 1956), pp. 82-83.

the colony more than twenty-thousand persons immigrated to "the city on the hill."

While the Puritans were not Separatists, they were certainly physically separated from England and from the immediate control of both bishops and king. And they set about immediately to "purify" their own church and to establish their own moral state--to build "the city on the hill."

Perhaps a purely theonomous society would have been the ideal, but it was unattainable. Thus, the Puritans had to settle for a theocratic oligarchy. Theology and politics in the Bay Colony could not be separated, and both were founded upon their Covenant Theology.

The Covenant of Works and Original Sin.--The Puritans accepted the Calvinist doctrine that God had originally entered into a "Covenant of Works" with man. Under it, man could achieve salvation--assurance of the eternal enjoyment of God's company--by obedience to God's Law and by doing good works. But Adam had broken the Covenant of Works, and had been cast from the Garden. Men, who were descended from Adam, inherited the stain of his Original Sin, and could no longer achieve salvation through obedience and good works, though, of course, men were still seen

to owe both to God, for man owes everything to God, even his very existence.

The Covenant of Grace.--The Covenant of Grace was entered into by God with man after the Fall, at least it was entered into with those "elected" to salvation. The Puritans believed that it was God's purpose in creating man that man come to know him; and thus, even before the Fall, God had appointed a company of "elect" to be saved. How particular men were chosen is not clear, but it is clear that they did nothing on their own part to earn election. Thus it was seen to be an act of free Grace on God's part. However, all men were seen to owe complete obedience to God; and since no man deserved to be saved, those who were not "elected" had no just complaint, and those "elected" had no reason for pride, though they certainly had reason to rejoice and be especially grateful.

The Church Covenant.--The Puritans also believed that it was possible for a man to come to know if he were of the "elect." Furthermore, they believed that the "regenerate" elect, with God's guidance, could tell who else was of the "elect"--in this claim they went beyond both Augustine and Calvin. With this special ability, they set out to purify their church by admitting to membership only

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those professing Christians who could also demonstrate that they were of the "elect."

Church attendance, however, was required of all members of the community, whether they were members of the Church or not, for the Church was to be the great instrument of instruction as to God's will and man's duties.

The Civil Covenant.--They also believed that God had decreed that men come together under social compacts, or governments, the particular details of which were left to man to determine. But once having chosen, man was bound to accept and support such compacts, or Civil Covenants. Such a covenant was seen as necessary because of man's depraved nature. If left to his "natural," or animal, freedom without civil restraints, man could not help but choose evil instead of good. And man had no moral liberty to choose anything but "the good, just, and honest."

Thus the men of the Bay Colony were seen to be bound together for the common good under God's direction to build the "New Zion." Furthermore, they should cheerfully submit to the dictates of the theocratic oligarchy as John Winthrop reminded them:

If you will be satisfied to enjoy such civil and lawful liberties, such as Christ allows

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you, then will you quietly and cheerfully submit unto that authority which is set over you, in all administrations of it for your good.¹

And if they failed to uphold the covenant, they were assured that God would surely loose them to anarchy and the depredations of man's natural depravity.

The Ethic of Work.--Much has been written about the so-called "Protestant ethic" and the rise of the capitalist system in America. While capitalist enterprises did flourish among the Puritans, theirs was an ethic of work not of money manipulation as has sometimes been charged. In fact they believed that a man should not be interested in money for money's sake; that he should give to the poor and forgive debts of those who could not pay them.

But the Puritan idea of hard and dedicated work, which had its basis in the pure Calvinist doctrine of the calling of a man to his profession, had much to do with both the success of the Colony and the rise of capitalism in America. According to this doctrine a man is called to his profession by God, whatever his work--minister, sea-captain, tradesman, farmer. And the Puritans entered into

¹John Winthrop, "Speech to the General Court," Ibid., p. 93.

their work with the conviction that it was God's work they were doing.

They accepted America as a land picked for them by God, saved for them by God, and in which, with God's help and guidance, they would build the "New Zion." With religious fervor they proceeded to the fullest exploitation of the land. What they had no use for they cast aside, and that included the Indian. In general they treated him very badly. Although they once professed an interest in his education and conversion, they did very little in that direction, and for the most part treated the Indian, whose land they appropriated, as an "unperson."

The Enjoyment of Life.--In spite of the burdens of their theology and the heavy tasks of building the "New Zion," the American Puritans were not the gloomy persons garbed only in black and brown that they are often portrayed to be. Though they opposed ostentatious dress and vulgar displays of wealth, they liked color in their costume and fine quality craftsmanship in the utilitarian wares of their households.

While music was not used in sabbath church services, it was very much appreciated out of church. And dancing and drinking were both accepted. Indeed want of beer or

rum was considered a serious deprivation. Though of course, drunkenness was condemned.

While they observed more days of fasting and humiliation than of thanksgiving, they did observe the latter with feasting and merriment. And their objections to the May-pole incident at Merry Mount were not to the drinking and dancing but to their excesses and to the free practice of several of the more serious "vices."

Challenges to the Puritan Order

Challenges to the Civil Covenant.--The Pilgrims of Plymouth were a small community; but because they were established earlier than the Puritans of the Bay Colony and had an independent charter, they had an impact on the development of New England far greater than their small size would suggest.

The Pilgrims were Separatists, had been outcasts, and had been much exploited and abused by more powerful groups in England. Partly for survival, they had a commitment to democracy in which all members of the community supported it because they were a part of it. This presented

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The Pilgrims were also a much more humble folk than the Puritans, and less well educated. And though they were Calvinists, they did not become prisoners of complex arguments as the Puritans sometimes did. While they were not liberal, they were at least more flexible in their theology. Moreover, their stay in Europe had taught them to live at least with toleration, and they had also absorbed a Lutheran tendency to place more emphasis on God's Love than did the Puritans, who were much more concerned with his Law.

The Pilgrims were not the only challenge to the Puritan Order, however. In choosing the congregational form of church government, they established a democratic pattern which they could not ultimately suppress. However, the leaders of the theocratic oligarchy tried to prevent dilution of their power as early as 1631; in clear violation of their charter, they restricted participation in the civil government to church members. At the end of the first decade, only one-tenth of the members of the community were franchised. Some of the wealthiest and best educated "citizens" were excluded; and when they tried to

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present a remonstrance, they were charged with treason and sedition and clapped into prison. It wasn't until 1690 that the requirement of church membership as prerequisite to the right to vote was abolished.

With the 18th Century, the theocratic oligarchy ceased to exist as ruler of the Colony. The original Civil Covenant under God had become thoroughly secularized, even to the guarantee of religious liberty. Yet public tax support for the established church, the Congregational Church, continued in parts of New England into the middle of the 19th Century.

Challenges to the Church Covenant.--In spite of the many harsh things that have been said about the Puritans (particularly in reference to their intolerance and inhumane treatment of "heretics"), they were not generally vicious men nor devoid of feeling. They were simply dedicated, narrow-minded bigots. And they became much distressed that many of their children had not experienced "regeneration," and that their grandchildren were for that reason denied baptism. Partly to get around this dilemma, and partly to be able to safely broaden their base of political support, they introduced the notion of a "Half-Way" Covenant.

The "Half-Way" Covenant.--The "Half-Way" Covenant was introduced in 1657 and confirmed in 1662. It provided that baptised children of church members could become "conditional" members of the church, and their children would be eligible for baptism. Admission to this conditional status was not automatic; they had to give public profession of their willingness to be guided by Christian principles and to promise to bring up their children in the "fear of the Lord." Though they would become members of the Church and eligible to vote in civil elections, they were not members in "full communion." They could neither partake of "The Lord's Supper" nor vote in Church elections.

But the "Half-Way" was the "dangerous" kind of step that the zealots of 1636 (the year of the Antinomian heresy) had fought so hard against. For by the end of the century, a fourth church was formed in Boston over the vigorous but futile protests of the conservatives led by the Mathers. The new Brattle Street Church went far beyond the provisions of the "Half-Way" Covenant: It did away with the public relation of a religious experience as a qualification for full communion. It insisted that baptism be given to all children presented by any professing Christian who would

sponsor its religious education. It declared that all contributors to the support of the minister should have a voice in his selection whether they were members or not. And they reintroduced the use of the Lord's Prayer into the Sabbath service.

Challenges to the Puritan Religion

In the 17th Century, although religion could not be easily separated from the theocratic society, the challenges to Puritanism can be seen as primarily to the Church and Civil Covenants. In the 18th Century, the challenges were to Puritan preaching and to the theology itself.

Pietism.--There is often confusion about pietism, and the later emotional outbreaks of the revival are sometimes described as reactions to it. But the revivals really grew out of pietism naturally rather than reactively. For pietism should not simply be confused with the Covenant of Works and the orthodox insistence upon right beliefs and right observance of law. Perhaps more important than "pious" action itself (which may be only Phariseeism) is the attitude

toward the action. And the Puritans' attitude began to shift from its rational base before the end of the 17th Century.

Rational Piety and Traditional Preaching.--By the beginning of the 18th Century, the Puritan Order was badly fragmented, if not broken entirely. "Rational Piety" may be seen as an attempt to create a theonomous society through Christian devotion and acts of charity where the Church and Civil Covenants of the old Puritan oligarchy had failed. Perhaps the most eloquent spokesman for "Rational Piety" was Cotton Mather, and the approach to religion he advocated differed from the old order in two important respects.

First, Mather sought to create (rather than compel) conformity to Puritan values and ideals not through rational argument alone but more importantly through fostering an attitude of Christian devotion. Bible reading and quiet meditation were advocated, especially for the clergy, but also for men generally. Formerly the interpretation of the Bible was seen to be the primary and almost exclusive function of the Puritan minister; while Bible reading was not forbidden, it had not been encouraged either. For the Bible was seen as the Word of God as revealed to, and imperfectly expressed by, men; and it required rational analysis, and

preferably a college education, to read the Bible profitably and without falling into error. Mather did not suggest doing away with the scholastic approach, that was still central, but he did advocate daily devotional meditation in addition to analytical preparation on the part of the minister.

Second, he advocated the introduction of non-rational materials and appeals into the sermon--appeals addressed to the Will. Formerly, Puritan preaching had emphasized reason and clarity alone. The Puritan minister sought to be logical and clear; he did not seek to interest, much less excite, his listeners. It was seen as their duty to pay attention to his instruction, and it was assumed that the Reason properly instructed would direct the Will, which must follow the dictates of Reason.

Early Puritan sermons usually began with the division and explication of the text followed by a practical application of its message. The whole sermon was carefully organized, outlined with points numbered, and read from manuscript to insure clarity and accuracy.

Mather, and later Puritan preachers, sought to influence the Will more directly by inclusion of the non-rational, "affective" appeals. They were first introduced

into the application portion of the sermon but soon came to be used throughout. Thus the preacher through "rational piety" sought to move his hearers to more devout and Christian behavior, especially in his assumption of social responsibilities.

Zealous Piety and the Fires of Hell.--Quite another kind of "piety" may be seen in the preaching and practice of Solomon Stoddard. He went much further than Mather ever would have dared; and except for his careful reliance upon old Puritan doctrines and language to support his innovations, he would probably have been openly attacked by the Mathers. In an earlier time, he would doubtless have been branded an heretic.

Stoddard did not rely on gentle persuasion to affect his hearers; but through exciting fear and terror of hell, he sought to drive them to more devout and pious behavior. Nor did he limit his innovation to preaching.

In less than six years after the introduction of the "Half-Way" Covenant, he ceased to make distinctions between "conditional" and full members. For, he argued, no man could tell of another for certain whether he was saved or not. Furthermore, he invited all men to partake of the Lord's Supper; it might itself be a great instrument

of conversion: "The call is to everyone that will . . . So that they that are at a loss about their present condition have free liberty to come as well as others . . . there is no bar in any man's way."¹

The Pietistic movement shifted the focus of attention regarding man's duties, to man and man's concern to know the state of his soul. And it shifted the methods of Puritan preaching from more purely logical address to the ever increasing use of non-rational appeals--especially appeals to fear and terror.

Revivals of the Great Awakening.--Why the revivals of the 1730's and 1740's occurred is difficult to try to determine. That they did occur is a matter of record, and they must have been remarkable events. Perhaps they were in part, at least in New England, an outlet for emotions too long pent-up. But it should be remembered that the revivals did not begin in the land of the Puritans but in the Middle-Atlantic colonies. They were emotional outbreaks such as the colonies had not seen before. The descriptions of young women screaming and fainting as they listened to George Whitefield in Boston sound more like descriptions of contemporary teeny-boppers at a Beatle-

¹Perry Miller, The New England Mind: From Colony to Province (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1953), p. 235.

concert than responses to a sermon. But such reactions were not limited to young girls only; farmers in Connecticut raced with desperate urgency from the countryside to towns where revivalists were speaking--especially Whitefield drew them.¹ And in Northampton, Massachusetts, members of Jonathan Edwards' congregation clambered to the pulpit begging to be saved.

Perhaps the most famous and successful of the resident revivalists was Jonathan Edwards. He was the very opposite to Whitefield and the itinerants; he was a scholarly, reserved man who preached in the old style from a closely written and carefully ordered manuscript. Though accounts vary greatly as to his voice and delivery, they seem to agree that he was not "sensational" or flamboyant. Perhaps that, given the apparent emotional climate of church audiences, increased his sermons' power. They must have seemed like terrible and objective truth. Like his grandfather, Solomon Stoddard, Edwards sought to move his hearers by impressing them with the dreadful uncertainty of their condition. Great numbers flocked to hear him. It should also be noted that, like his grandfather, he was active in

¹For an interesting account of one Connecticut farmer's reaction to the news that Whitefield would be preaching in a nearby town see William Warren Sweet, Religion in Colonial America (New York: Cooper Square Publishers, Inc., 1963), pp. 285-86.

organizing small devotional and study groups within the community.

Of the itinerant revivalists, George Whitefield was most celebrated and the most successful. He came to America when he was only twenty-six, and participated in revivals in both the Middle Atlantic colonies and in New England. He apparently possessed a magnificent voice, great oratorical power, and a colossal vanity. His extemporaneous manner of preaching must have contrasted very sharply with the plain style of the resident clergy's carefully written and ordered sermons.

There were a number of other itinerant revivalists, some of them without much education, and many of them doubtless trying to imitate Whitefield. They were given to wild shouting and stamping of feet as they extemporaneously amplified texts in ways that both amazed and shocked the resident and educated clergy. At least one of the most famous, John Davenport, was quite probably mad.

The revivalists were heavily attacked by members of the educated resident clergy, who deplored both their lack of knowledge and the emotional excesses of the revival meetings. Most prominent among the opposition was Charles Chauncy of Boston. But the revivalists made an impact upon

New England preaching: no longer could congregations be expected to listen to plain discourse addressed to the reason only; and many New England ministers moved toward a more "extemporaneous" style of delivery, though they generally still prepared manuscript sermons.

The revivals did not change fundamental Calvinist doctrine, however. Neither Edwards nor Whitefield accepted Arminianism; and although the faintest stirrings of religious feeling were taken by some ministers to be proof of one's "justification," the doctrine of the elect was upheld. There was no way a man might "earn" or insure salvation.

New England Orthodoxy

As has been already indicated, it is difficult to try to derive a simple statement of New England Congregational Orthodoxy. This is true partly because of the independence of individual churches, and partly because the "saints" were not nearly as unanimous in their thought as the founders of the Bay Colony believed they would be. Also the majority of the clergy, then as now, cannot be considered to be systematic theologians. However, subject

to qualification and some sharp individual deviations, the major points of New England Orthodoxy seem to have been the following:

The Bible.--The Bible was accepted as the revealed word of God, but not as a "simple" book whose message was easily available to any reader. Its correct understanding was believed to require the use of trained reason. This is why the Congregationalists, and also their Presbyterian cousins, insisted upon a college-trained clergy.

God.--The doctrine of the Trinity was accepted with God seen as existing in three persons: Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. However, the primary emphasis seems to have been clearly upon God as Creator, Ruler, and Judge rather than as either Father or Redeemer.

Man.--Man was seen as being "totally depraved;" this did not mean that man was seen as having no good in him, but that the taint of original sin was not to be thought of as affecting some part of him and not others. It was accepted as affecting every part of man, presumably including his reason.

Atonement and Jesus.--Atonement was seen as an act of God's mercy, with the death of Jesus accepted as necessary to uphold Divine Law. Generally Jesus was not presented

as the "Savior who died for man's sins" but as proof of God's desire to save at least some men. The suffering and crucifixion were necessary, however, to pay the penalty of the Law. Man could not possibly pay the penalty himself, for he already owed God complete obedience and love, and even his very existence. Jesus--or God in and through Jesus--paid the penalty for man, but he was not seen to have died for a man in any specific sense. Men were not seen as "washed in the blood of the lamb" but as forgiven sinners. The resurrection was taken as a proof of God's mercy and promise of eternal life.

Justification and Regeneration.--Through the intervention of the Holy Ghost (or Holy Spirit), a man would be made to recognize his sinful state and that God had forgiven him (Justification), and that with God's help he could overcome his natural tendency toward evil (original sin) and lead a Christian life (Regeneration). Such a profound experience as the awareness of Justification was not seen as necessary, however. If a man were of the elect, a rational faith and Christian life were deemed sufficient to salvation.

Predestination and Free Will.--Only the regenerate elect could be admitted to salvation, and no non-Christian

could be of the elect. If one were of the elect, it was taken as predetermined that he would have to be a practicing Christian. He might, however, become converted after having led a non-Christian and perhaps even sinful life. God's ways were often mysterious and difficult to understand; they were not considered to be irrational, however.

In spite of the notion of Predestination, man was seen to have free choice either to obey the commands of God or not to obey them. Man owed God obedience--all men, with no exceptions and no excuses. Predestination was not seen as removing man's final responsibility for his own fate. It must be added that the doctrine of Predestination, though generally accepted, was the most unsettled and the most controversial point in New England Orthodoxy.

Part II. Religion in 19th Century America

Kellogg's life spans a period that is perhaps the most varied and changing in religious history in America, both in theology and in church practice.

The great challenges to theology in the 19th Century in America and the major forces and events affecting preaching and the character of the churches came not from within the churches but from the world outside. They included not only the ideational forces of rational idealism, romanticism, evolutionism and pragmatism but also the historical events and socio-political factors of the Battle of New Orleans, frontier society, the anti-slavery movement, the Civil War, industrialization, and the social ills of an urbanizing America.

Rational Idealism and Romanticism

The 18th Century was not a religious one primarily but a political one. The historical impact of the Great Awakening has probably been generally overrated. Actual

church membership at the end of the 18th Century has been estimated as low as seven percent of the population. The 18th Century was also the Age of Reason, the Enlightenment. And though many who did not belong to churches were apparently hostile to religion, a majority were probably indifferent to it. The less educated were busy in politics and carving a life out of the frontier; the better educated tended toward deism and probably shared Benjamin Franklin's view of religion which may be summarized as follows: there is one God who is creator of the universe; he should be worshipped; the most acceptable service to God is helping one's fellow men; the soul of man is immortal and will be judged in accordance to man's conduct in this life; God does not directly intervene in the affairs of men; Jesus was a great moral teacher, and belief in his divinity is probably good if it makes men take his teaching more seriously.

Universalism and Unitarianism.--The Age of Reason had an impact on the churches themselves. Many men who shared Franklin's ideas about religion were church members, and from such deistic attitudes come Universalism and Unitarianism. Universalism was the more purely rationalistic

of the two: it denied God's direct intervention in history, and saw God as too rationally good to condemn man to eternal damnation.

The Unitarians, the larger group, had their major growth in New England. They also accepted a generally deistic God; however, they did not rule out his special intervention in the affairs of men, though they saw it as a very rare occurrence in history. They also denied God's damnation of men, but their reason was that man was too good to be damned. They shared their faith in man's fundamental goodness with the romantics. The early Unitarians accepted the qualified divinity of Christ and his performance of miracles. Both Unitarians and Universalists were basically rationalistic, however. They relied on man's reason, rather than his intuition as the romantics did, and saw religion as primarily an ethical system.

By the end of the 18th Century, Unitarianism predominated in the Boston area; though it remained primarily an urban and upper class movement, twelve of Boston's fourteen Congregational churches had some kind of Unitarian minister. The "capture" of the chair in Theology at Harvard by a Unitarian, Henry Ware, was the primary motivation

of the Orthodox to found another seminary in Northern New England: Andover Theological Seminary, founded in 1808.

Liberal Romanticism.--The "eruption" of Romanticism at the turn of the century is often described as a reaction to the cold and mechanistic philosophy of the Age of Reason. It found its earliest expression in art and literature, but soon came to have its impact upon religion. Romanticism stressed the idea of the goodness of "natural" man and the goodness of "organic" nature as contrasted to the mechanical world of pure reason and man's technology. The Romantics laid great stress on man's intuition as opposed to his rational faculty; and believed that through intuition man could come to a "higher knowledge" than was attainable through mere reason alone. The Transcendental movement grew out of the impact of Romanticism upon Unitarianism in the 1830's and 1840's.

The Trinitarian Controversy and the Supernatural.--

Though the older churches were trinitarian, their emphasis was on God the Creator, Ruler, and Judge. They emphasized the oneness of the Trinity; Jesus was seen as a separate manifestation of God, but still somehow a part of the wholeness of God. The Arminian sects put increasing emphasis on Jesus, both as Son of God and as the Personal Savior

who had died to save all men. The Baptists and Methodists seemed to think of Jesus as more uniquely a separate being, the Son of God.

The Unitarians, on the other hand, came increasingly to deny Christ's divinity; they came to see him more and more as a kind of "super-human," the greatest man who ever lived and an example for all Christians. The early Unitarians accepted the reality of his miracles and of his resurrection as proofs of his divine authority rather than of his divinity. But later Unitarians, like Theodore Parker, came to deny the "supernatural" entirely. For him, Unitarianism became almost entirely a system of ethics, with Jesus as the great teacher and the great example.

The Frontier and Democratic Romanticism

The impact of the frontier on the development of American institutions and culture was great, especially in terms of democratization. And its impact was felt in both civil and religious institutions.

Predestination versus "Democratic" Choice.--The Baptists and Methodists, with their denial of predestination

and affirmation of every man's free choice, flourished on the frontier. Their success was due in part no doubt to their willingness to use uneducated missionaries, while the Congregationalists and Presbyterians insisted on maintaining their high standard of training and didn't have enough men to send out. But the Baptist and Methodist messages were also more congenial to the romantic and democratic spirits of the frontier in which men had confidence in their own fundamental "goodness" and believed that every man should have a chance to make of himself what he would. It should be noted that the Free-Will Baptists were also among the earliest non-Congregational settlers of New Hampshire and Western Maine.

Though many of the early Baptist and Methodist circuit riders were not only uneducated but anti-intellectual, some, like Peter Cartwright and James B. Finley, were not. Cartwright even saw the distribution of books and tracts as one of his major functions and did much to encourage learning. And both Cartwright and Finley openly attacked the Calvinist doctrine of Predestination at every opportunity.

By the middle of the 19th Century, a large proportion of the orthodox Congregationalist and Presbyterians

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had to come to give assent to the idea that atonement was at least universal in intent. Both Charles Chauncy and Samuel Hopkinson had moved in that direction in the late 18th Century, but as late as 1823 when the orthodox Lyman Beecher defended the "Faith Once Delivered Unto the Saints" against Unitarianism as defined by Channing in his Baltimore speech of 1819, Beecher was heavily condemned by his orthodox colleagues for backing away from the doctrine of Predestination. Nevertheless, the change came.

In the late 1820's Charles Grandison Finney, the great revivalist, provided the rationalization that came eventually to be accepted: Predestination and determinism were replaced by a notion of Divine Pre-cognition, which allowed all men freedom of the will and opened the possibility of salvation to all men.

Revival and Perfectionism

If the Puritan idea of the New Zion had become lost in the nearly two centuries from the founding of the Bay Colony to the War of 1812, it was reborn again in a somewhat different form after the Battle of New Orleans, 1815.

The battle meant nothing in terms of the war; the war was over before the battle began, but the impact of the victory on the popular American mind was great. An army of untried Americans was seen to have defeated a tried army of the most powerful nation on earth; and surely the hand of Providence was on the American side. The idea of God's special favor upon the new nation was reborn with more optimism and confidence than the old "New Zion" ever held. America was seen as new and undefiled; the American as the "new" man. Even the land of "old" Europe was seen to be worn out and sterile, ruined by corruption in contrast to the fertile soil of the "new" American Mid-West. Increasingly God was seen to have an interest in the new nation; it would be the "perfect" nation, an example to all history.

This romantic notion was held not only in the popular mind; William Ellery Channing, Theodore Parker, and others, with seeming full confidence, sought social reforms that would bring about the "new" society.

Charles Grandison Finney sought to reform individuals in the confidence that once converted and born into new life, men could be freed from sin and able to perfect themselves.

Horace Bushnell took quite another route to the development of a Christian society through Christian individuals. He was the outstanding advocate of "Christian nurture." Man, he believed, was basically good, and if properly brought up, in a Christian family with love and the example of Christian behavior ever before him, would inevitably develop into a "perfected" Christian adult, unstained by sin and without base or anti-social desires.

Others, less patient perhaps in seeking the perfect society, set out to build their own. Numbers of communities, most with a religious base, were formed in attempts to build a model for the perfect society. The romantic idyll of Brook farm, the Oneida Community, the Mormons, the Shakers with their severity, were all part of the attempt to achieve perfection in an earthly community.

Some, like the Millerites and the Advent Christians, looked for the Second Coming of Christ in the 1840's; and they apparently expected him to establish the seat of his thousand year kingdom in the United States.

Spiritualism, Cults, and New Thought

In the 1840's and 1850's, there was a wave of interest in spiritualism, phrenology, mesmerism, and other "esoteric" cultisms. The interest in them persisted after the Civil War and continues today. For the most part they cannot be considered important in their impact on either American religion or culture. However, the "New Thought" of Phineas P. Quimby should be noted, because Quimby lived and practiced in Portland, Maine, during the years of Kellogg's first ministry at Harpswell.

Quimby was a "healer without surgery." He began his practice by using hypnotism; but he later discovered that it was unnecessary; that suggestion alone was effective. Quimby believed that illness was caused by the patient's false beliefs, and that the cure was discovering the truth about it--"New Thought." While this was not really a religious movement, Quimby believed that he had rediscovered the secret of the healing ministry of Jesus. Among those whom he cured was Mary Baker Eddy, the founder of Christian Science.

Pre-Civil War Reform Movements

In the period before the Civil War (1820-1860), reform movements advanced on many fronts; and prominent in many of them--education, prison, factory working conditions--was a handful of liberal clergymen, the most prominent perhaps being Channing and Parker. The majority of the clergy seem not to have been much involved, however, except on two issues--alcohol and slavery. These two were seen as great evils of which the United States would have to purge itself in order to attain perfection.

The use of alcohol had always been widespread in America, but early in the 19th Century the problem of drunkenness seems to have greatly increased; temperance was seen as a great need throughout the country, and many advocated total abstinence and even prohibition. In 1846 Prohibition did come to the State of Maine, and the temperance movement seemed to be at high tide; but within the next five years agitation for abolition of slavery had captured most of the attention and energy of the reformers in the North. They included not only the liberal clergymen of earlier reform movements, but such conservatives as Theodore Dwight Weld and the Lane "rebels." (Orthodox

students under Weld's leadership who left Lane Seminary for Oberlin College when Beecher would not involve the seminary in the abolition movement.) In 1844 the Methodists split on the issue of slavery into separate northern and southern denominations; they were followed the next year by the Baptists.

The Civil War

The Civil War was a great turning point in American history: The Constitution, debated before the war, became as "Holy Writ" afterwards; and Lincoln, as martyr to the cause, a kind of secular Jesus.

When the War began, the majority of American clergymen became ardent supporters of whichever side they were on. However, in the early years of the War, neither side advanced "slavery" as a cause. Southern clergymen spoke in support of the South's right to self-determination and of the necessity of freeing itself from the corrupt, industrialized North; and Northern clergymen spoke of the necessity of preserving the Union, which had been so favored, and even authorized, by God. Preachers on both sides saw

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the war as a blood-purge and punishment for sin, and neither group were as confident about its outcome as were the secular leaders.

While northern clergymen saw slavery as the chief sin for which the nation was being punished, and southern clergymen saw industrial corruption in the North as the chief sin; both cited other causes for God's wrath: including sabbath breaking, vanity, political corruption, intemperance, and even profanity. Both denounced corruption and war profiteering, which they said were prolonging the war; and neither was active in efforts to recruit men to serve in the armies. They called for moral reform and trust in God to bring victory.

Evolutionism

Although published in 1859, it was not until after the Civil War that the impact of Darwin's Origin of the Species was felt in the churches of America. Conservative churches reacted most quickly and forcibly attacked the theory; their chief weapons were ridicule and the incompatibility with their understanding of the revealed word

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of God, which of course they took to be the correct understanding.

A few of the more "liberal" clergy, such as Henry Ward Beecher and his successor Lyman Abbott, embraced the idea of evolution and incorporated it into their theologies. God came to be accepted as a divine director of a natural chain of events; and they spoke of "Evolutionary Christianity," in which the church was seen also to be "evolving" just as the natural world was.

By the end of the century a majority of churches had probably made some accomodation to the idea of evolution. Most accepted it, reserving to God the power of having "started things off" and the ability to intervene in the natural chain of events once started.

Although the Conservatives waged a fierce theological campaign which continues even today, they were largely left to talk to themselves except where their opposition affected public policy--most notably in public education and the teaching of evolution in the schools.

Post Civil War Ills and Reform

Industrialization and Urbanization of America.--

In spite of the great blood letting of the war, the nation was not purged of sin as the clergy had predicted. Industrialization and corruption were greatly accelerated by the war economy. Capitalistic profiteers gorged themselves on the blood of the nation by selling rotten meat and shoddy and dangerous equipment to the military.

The industrializaing nation was an urbanizing nation. More people came to live in the cities and large towns than remained on the farms. And the larger urban centers were complete with all the problems of sanitation, transportation, unemployment, and slum dwellings that seem to go with the "free" city.

Low wages; bondage to banks, railroads, and factories; child labor in sweat shops and coal mines; rats, disease, and starvation--these were the lot of the urban poor. This was the base upon which the "Gilded" Age was built. It was during this period that the "Protestant ethic" earned its bad name. For although the Puritans stressed a man's calling and obligation to hard work as a duty to God, they also stressed the idea of the unity of the community

and the obligation of helping one another--especially the wealthy were enjoined to meet the responsibility of their "privilege" and aid their less fortunate brethern. The "Christian" business men of the Gilded Age saw not so much God's calling men to different professions, but rather God's casting men in different roles. And some men were apparently cast in the role of the "exploited"; and that was taken as proof of their moral worthlessness. The emphasis shifted from "do your duty as you are called" to "don't complain about your place." These "Social Darwinists" were not given to charity or to helping their fellow man except in such "philanthropies" as building library buildings and schools which would glorify and perpetuate their names.

Where the churches stood.--Some church leaders, like Henry Ward Beecher, comfortably catered to the "Social Darwinists" in their prosperous flocks and condemned the poor for their moral inferiority. Others, like Phillips Brooks, turned away from the problems of the world and spoke eloquently to man's more eternal needs, leaving the poor to grub for their material needs by themselves. Some, like Dwight L. Moody, spoke to the poor and exploited, but concerned themselves with reconciling the unfortunate to their fates with a faith in a God who loved the poor and

humble and would reward them in an after life. And still others, like Russell Herman Conwell, urged the poor to get rich, with the assurance that with hard work and honesty and Christian faith, any man could become a millionaire.

Some defenders of privilege denounced the reformers as "anarchists" trying to destroy the capitalist system and the church too. How they made the connection is not always clear, but they saw the "system" as that ordained by God. Such pulpiteers closed their eyes to the murders of picketing demonstrators by the Chicago Police, and actually denounced the demonstrator for trying to save their own lives. The virulent attacks upon the reformers by some members of the American clergy are unmatched by any other pulpit attacks in American church history. Some of these "men of God" demanded the slaughter of reformers, union organizers, and picketing demonstrators. For they declared that the rich were made rich because they were good, and the poor poor because they were wicked. Thus they cast reformers in the role of champions of the devil.

While many clergymen, both orthodox and liberal, became apologists for their wealthy patrons, many did not. Those who did not were generally liberals, and it was they

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who took up the call for reform. On the other hand, traditionalists turned away from concern with the problems of "the city on the hill."

The Social Gospel Movement.--The number of clergymen who took up the cause of reform in the 1870's was small, but by the end of the century it had become the major movement in American churches. By the beginning of World War I, the Social Gospel had the vocal support, at least, of the great majority of American churches.

The social gospel reformers combined faith in man's ability to effect change in his world (as opposed to the evangelical reliance upon God) with the idea of "evolutionary" progress and American pragmatism as the means to achieve it. They urged their followers to stay sober, work hard, try to save a little money, educate their children, and organize!--not only into industrial and trades unions but also to effect social, political, and educational reforms. They saw the church's primary role to be the reformation of society, the building of God's kingdom on earth.

Most of the social gospel leaders, such as Walter Rauschenbush, Washington Gladden, and George Herron, saw free capitalism and Christianity as incompatible. A few,

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such as Herron, even became socialists; most, however, worked within the "system" and relied heavily upon education and organized social action as the means of curing the ills of the "new" industrialized America.

Kellogg's Century.--Such were the times through which Kellogg lived and preached. He was born before the Battle of New Orleans, on the eve of the great Unitarian-Trinitarian debate. He attended an orthodox seminary, and he began his public ministry the year that adventist excitement was at its peak. During his first Harpswell ministry, Phineas Quimby was practicing the "medicine of Jesus" in Portland. He lived and worked in Boston, a center of abolitionist activity, before and during the Civil War. And he began his "second" Harpswell ministry as the Social Gospel Movement was beginning.

CHAPTER III

KELLOGG'S SERMON MESSAGE:

PRINCIPAL TOPICS AND LINES OF THOUGHT

The purpose of this chapter will be to outline the principal topics and lines of thought of Kellogg's sermons in order to discover the basic elements of his theology and ethic. The concern will not be with any sermon or sermons in particular, but with generalizations concerning what he sought to communicate to his parishioners. However, if Kellogg supplies an appropriate epitome of a position or an argument, an attempt has been made, wherever practicable, to include it here. Nevertheless, most of the "lines of thought" presented on any one topic are general and represent a distillation and combination from a number of sermons rather than completed arguments from single sermons. Kellogg was not a systematic theologian, any more than most preachers are; therefore, such a practice

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is necessary to get a clearer picture of his major theological and ethical positions than would otherwise be possible.¹

God

God is a Trinity.--Kellogg's idea of God is of a triune God: Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. He is presented as three distinct "persons" which are, however, somehow one God. How precisely, Kellogg does not try to explain; he accepts it as being a question beyond man's limited ability to understand. And it is not necessary, he feels, for man to be able to explicate it.

God as Maker.--Apart from direct references to Jesus, however, Kellogg usually presents God in the role

¹References to other than direct quotations are not meant to suggest the particular source of the idea being discussed but to direct the reader to what is perhaps Kellogg's most complete single treatment of it.

The Kellogg Papers and Sermons in the Bowdoin College collection are not individually catalogued but stored in shelf-boxes arranged according to the years in which they were first delivered; since the identical biblical text does not appear on more than one sermon in any particular shelf-box, specific sermons will be identified by reference to the shelf-boxes in which they are stored (e.g. KPS, 1858-59) and the texts upon which they are based.

Creator, Ruler, and Judge. He rarely refers to him as God, the Father, except when speaking directly about repentance and salvation. Kellogg's most frequent reference to God seems to be as man's Maker, the God to whom man owes all that he possesses which is good.

God as Spirit.--Kellogg is a dualist: he divides all existence into two realms, spirit and matter. Objects which can be seen, touched, handled are defined as material; those things which cannot be so treated are spiritual. Man has both a spiritual and a material nature. However, God is defined as pure spirit.¹ He is invisible; he cannot be seen by man; nor has he ever been seen by man. God is eternal and beyond human comprehension, though, of course, not beyond human awareness.

God as Love.--God is depicted as the source of love. He first loved man, and his love is constant and unchanging. And, for Kellogg, the most obvious proof of God's love is found in the suffering and sacrifice of Jesus in order to save man. It should be noted, however, that Kellogg rarely refers to God's love apart from Jesus, and he usually refers to it as "Christ's love." Although

¹KPS, 1881-83 (John 4:24), p. 2.

such is not always the case, in his famous sermon on the Prodigal Son, God is presented in the character of Heavenly Father to all men.¹ It is one of the few references to God as a Father to man, as opposed to God as Father of Jesus.

Knowledge of God.--While God, as spirit, cannot be seen, and Kellogg does not assert that he is nevertheless everywhere, the evidence of God is everywhere. Kellogg says that God has given man the means to know him: through man's conscience, the use of his reason, and through "the works of creation that declare his glory, wisdom, and power."² In fact, Kellogg sees nature as a primary revelation of God: "The natural world reveals in a wonderful degree the wisdom and power of God. The artist is manifested and glorified in his art."³ The purpose of the natural world, from the flowers to the constellations, seems almost to be to show the evidences of God to man--"so many

¹See Appendix I-A.

²KPS, 1876-80 (Exod. 20:3-4), p. 18. Except for the use of an occasional colon or exclamation point, the Kellogg manuscripts show no punctuation; to aid clarity, punctuation has been added to such quoted material in this chapter.

³KPS, 1876-80 (Job 37:6), p. 1.

vehicles to lift our thoughts to their author."¹ And man can also come to know God through the record of written revelation: the Bible.

The Bible

The Revealed Word of God.--For Kellogg, there is no question about the Bible's being the revealed word of God. He does not attempt to prove that it is, and he only rarely reminds his hearers of its authority. He accepts it, without reservation, and uses it as authority.

A Practical Book.--Kellogg sees the Bible as a "practical book": a guide to salvation. It is neither obscure nor concerned with the esoterica of theology. Its message, as he sees it, is direct and urgent. Of the Bible, he says:

It is adapted to man's necessities. It came to man as a fallen, sinful being, not to inform him how he came into this state, except in general terms, but to tell him that he is in it. And to tell him how to escape from it.²

¹Ibid., p. 2.

²KPS, 1860-61 (Matt. 15:19), pp. 8-9.

"Literally" True.--Kellogg is a Biblical literalist insofar as he accepts "myths" as history. He seems to accept the creation story as a factual account: that man was formed out of the clay of the earth 4000 years before Christ.¹ And he goes so far in accepting details reported as to calculate the value of the ointment in the alabaster box used at the Last Supper as "about \$41.00, actually \$40.70."²

Beyond Simple Understanding.--Yet Kellogg also says that the Bible contains many things which are beyond man's simple understanding. However, he asserts, man will be able to understand the whole of it in the afterlife. The part available to man in this life may be seen as a "preface and introduction" to the whole book: "the book of time and eternity."³ However, man is capable of understanding all he needs to know in this life, all he needs to know for salvation.

¹KPS, 1884-89 (Luke 10:36-37), p. 19.

²KPS, 1858-59 (Matt. 27:3-5), p. 13.

³Kellogg, "Wresting the Scriptures," Mitchell, p. 338.

Man's Essential Nature

Man as Natural Creation.--Kellogg sees man as the natural creation of God, fashioned out of the clay of the earth to which his body must return resolving itself into its original elements at death. Man is never freed from his earthly beginning, and that explains man's love and affinity for the natural world. Kellogg notes that men of the greatest refinement and intellectual development have sometimes cultivated the love of nature to the highest degree.¹

Man as Darling of Creation.--Kellogg also sees man as, not merely one among many natural creations, but as the darling of creation. He goes so far as to declare that "Man is the noblest work of the Creator," and that, "the world was made for man and not man for the world!" And he continues:

There is an evident arrangement throughout the whole of nature to meet his [man's] spiritual and body wants: the animals, the fruits, and the plants were created to afford him food and raiment.²

The world was created not only to supply man's physical

¹KPS, 1858-59 (Gen. 2:15), p. 11.

²KPS, 1864-75 (Matt. 6:26), pp. 2-3.

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needs, but to provide for his spiritual needs as well. Man loves variety, music, and beauty, says Kellogg, and God has supplied all of these things, and abundantly, in the variety, music, and beauties of nature. And they were created thusly to provide for man's "spiritual wants."¹

Kellogg also assures his listeners that God would not go to so much trouble to provide for man and then become caught up in attention to the "means," forgetting the "end" for which he created them. Thus he reminds men of God's special interest in their welfare, and at the same time admonishes them not to get too caught up in the enjoyment and "pursuit" of God's "means" and forget the God who created them and thus become enslaved to mere physical nature. For man is more than mere physical nature.

Man's Soul.--Man's body and his physical attributes display more conspicuously than any other natural work, the wisdom and power of God.² But the most distinctive and important part of man is his soul. "It was created in God's own image."³ Only man, of all creation, has a

¹Ibid., p. 5.

²KPS, 1864-75 (Prov. 6:6-8), p. 1.

³KPS, 1864-75 (Matt. 6:26), p. 2.

soul.¹ And man's soul is the most precious part of man and eternal in existence because it is divine in origin.² It is spirit as God is spirit.

Man's body is of the "beast," of animal nature. It requires food; it is subject to infirmities; it dies.

The life of the beast is supported by meats, and drinks, and clothing. The life of the soul is not. The life of the beast ends with the death of the body. The life of the soul does not!³

Thus Kellogg expresses amazement at the great concern men show for their lives as beasts and the little concern they show for their souls.⁴

Because man possesses a soul which is spirit, he is capable of worship of, and communion with, God, who is pure spirit. Kellogg asserts that proof of man's spiritual nature is not necessary; it is evident as a matter of consciousness upon the least reflection. But of its nature and permanence, he says:

Separate the body into its original elements; it is a body no longer. But the soul

¹KPS, 1881-83 (John 4:24), p. 2.

²KPS, 1884-89 (Matt. 16:26), pp. 6-8.

³KPS, 1864-75 (Matt. 6:26), p. 8.

⁴Ibid., p. 9.

that animates it you cannot. Though it is simple substance, no acid can erode it, no weapon can wound it; its identity cannot be destroyed.¹

Man, therefore, has the nature necessary to worship and to know God.

Man's Value is his Soul.--The soul is not only the most precious part of a man, it is all that really counts. And the soul of each and every man is of inestimable value. While men value others according to what they possess or according to their personal attractiveness, that, says Kellogg, is not the way God values men.

When God comes to estimate a man, to put a value on him, to weigh him in the balance of everlasting truth, He proceeds very differently from us. He does not throw onto the scale the clothes which he has, or the money in his pockets . . . But he strips him; weighs his soul. All these other things are offal; they make no part of the nett weight of Heaven's estimate. They are trivial which serve as the instruments of the soul in this world, but they are all thrown out and do not come into the account.²

God values men, not for what is on them but, for what is in them. Kellogg cites the examples of both Jesus and the **Apostle Paul**, who associated with drunkards, whores, and

¹KPS, 1881-83 (John 4:24), pp. 3-4.

²KPS, 1864-75 (Matt. 6:26), pp. 9-10.

thieves. "They did it because they weighed the value of the soul . . . they looked through the roughshells of the Oysters to the pure Pearls within."¹

For all the beauty of the earth, Kellogg asserts men's souls are so valuable to God:

Yet He will destroy the whole of it as not worth saving But not so with the soul. To save the earth with all its fruits, and flowers, and beauty He will not lift his fingers. But to save the soul, He will give Jesus Christ, his son, to die in agony on the cross.²

Man as a Social Being.--Kellogg asserts that man was created a social being by God. Man thus "craves" association with others. Such association affords man the purest of human joys and the highest of human happinesses. Moreover, man needs others to share both in his happiness and in his sorrows--life without social contact would be a life without vitality. For, Kellogg says,

He who has survived the friendships and sympathies of life has survived all happiness. He may long continue to exist, but he has already surrendered his humanity and ceased to live.³

Kellogg includes marriage among essentially social relationships, a relationship not of sex or law but of

¹Ibid., p. 20.

²Ibid., p. 12.

³KPS, 1864-75 (Cant. 1:8), p. 1.

"affection and sympathy." Such will be true, he warns, however, only of that marriage which

has not on the one hand degenerated into the licentiousness of free love and on the other into that which is scarcely preferable, the barrenness of a mere legal contract.¹

Men not only share and find joy in one another's company, but are also profoundly and constantly being influenced by others--more than by anything else in the world.

The books we read and study influence us less than those with whom we associate while studying and reading them. The one is passive, the other an active instrumentality. The book is dead; the companion alive with all the affections, passions, and impulses that dwell in our bosoms.²

Man as Dependent.--For all of man's human qualities and his ascendancy over other natural objects, and for all of the benefits derived from his social contacts, man is ultimately dependent upon God. This is generally true in so far as he is dependent upon the world for food, shelter, and clothing; and it is particularly true in the very fact of his life. For man is a "frail" creature; the death of others should serve to remind a man of that fact. "A person retains quiet and undisturbed possession of property

¹Ibid., p. 2.

²Ibid., pp. 30-31.

for a term of years; he holds it by possession. But not so with life; we obtain no title by living."¹ The man who ignores this ultimate dependence and searches for happiness only among the things of the world, and who seeks aid in the exigencies of life only from the world, is not only ungrateful, but to Kellogg, he is also a very great fool.

The Fall

Before the Fall.--Man was created a paragon of nature, given a divine soul, and placed upon an earth of surpassing beauty. Kellogg vividly portrays the garden before the Fall as an earthly and natural paradise, and he describes man's life as light and pleasant. But he says,

Man was made for labor. The whole construction of his mental and physical nature points to the adaptation of the mind to plan and the body to execute.²

But as Kellogg portrays life before the Fall, man's work was not fatiguing; it was just sufficient to keep the mind alert and the body well conditioned.

¹KPS, 1876-80 (Jer. 2:13), pp. 5-6.

²KPS, 1884-89 (Exod. 20:9), pp. 1-2.

After the Fall.--Kellogg's picture of both man's lot and the character of the earth change radically as a consequence of man's transgression:

Sin enters this abode of peace and the whole course is changed. Thorns and thistles spring up alike in the heart of man and in the soil. Enmity between man and his Maker. The animal and material creation is filled with antagonistic and warring forces. Toil in the sweat of the face takes the place of light and pleasant employment. Emotions have opened into passions; Placid streams that with low murmurs glided in quiet beauty to the sea, into foaming torrents with loud and angry roar. All the faculties have assumed a corrosive quality and prey upon each other. Blood is shed, and that purple stream has never ceased to flow from that time to the present.¹

As a consequence of the Fall of Adam and Eve, all men are subject to sin; all have inherited the "original taint" as a natural characteristic of man. And man has fallen so low that he can learn from the meanest creatures.²

Original Sin.--Man's natural bias toward (tendency to) sin is an inherited characteristic. How and why the "original sin" is passed on, Kellogg does not attempt to say, except that it is apparently inherited like other characteristics such as artistic talent or even the

¹KPS, 1858-59 (Matt. 6:6), pp. 5-6.

²KPS, 1864-75 (Prov. 6:6-8), p. 2.

ability to talk. One difference from other particular inherited characteristics, however, is its universality.

The Bible does not tell how, or really why, this should be so; it merely states that such is the case.

Adam and Eve were given free choice of good or evil, and they chose evil--to disobey the command of God.

They became sinners and exposed to the divine wrath. The Bible declares that by reason of the corruption of the weakened wills, the first pair sinned and sin entered into the world. And that men are born with such a nature that when they become capable of acting they will certainly sin. But what that connection is it does not inform us.¹

Kellogg accepts that assertion of man's state as being all that it is necessary for man to know. And certainly he feels anyone can see that sin is natural to all men. The evidence is everywhere.

In all history, and in all countries of the world, no man ever lived, except Jesus, who was without sin. For Kellogg the fact of its universality is proof enough that it must be derived from the common parents of all men: Adam and Eve.²

¹KPS, 1860-61 (Matt. 15:19), pp. 7-8.

²Ibid., pp. 19-21.

Man's Depraved Nature

Fallen man is depicted as a naturally depraved creature: a creature with great potential for evil and only a very limited potential for good. The taint of man's original sin is not seen as a mere curse of the flesh but as wicked depravity of the heart and weakening of man's reason so that his mind becomes slave to his basest desires:

The forces of evil intrenched in us at our birth and having a prior and undisputed possession of the will and affections, the executive forces of the mind, are an overmatch for the power of reason and the efforts of wise and good men.¹

Potential Evil is Within Man.--Kellogg denies that the causes of sin and evil in the world can be laid to social conditions or to situations of circumstance alone. For, he notes, although it is true that the majority of the worst crimes and sins are committed in the worst neighborhoods, "or localities in large cities where villains most do congregate,"² such is not always the case. Evil and sin may be found at every level in society and in

¹KPS, 1860-61 (Eccl. 9:13-18), p. 21.

²KPS, 1860-61 (Matt. 15:19), p. 27.

every part of the world. Kellogg cites the murder of Abel by Cain as an example of the most unprovoked and wicked crime in all history. And, he adds, not only was it unprovoked but Cain was even a farmer, a wholesome and peaceful occupation, says Kellogg, and the best kind of life for man's moral development.¹

Man's Corrupt Heart and Carnal Mind.--For Kellogg, man's depravity is not to be found in his body.

Strictly speaking there is no more sin in a man's flesh, or bones, or blood, or tongue, or heart, than there is in the ground on which he treads or the food he eats. The sin is in the mind, and the body is only the instrument²

Thus, when Kellogg refers to man's corrupt, wicked, and natural heart, he seems to mean man's natural will--which Puritan faculty psychology also located in the heart. It is the natural will which has the inclination to evil. And it is in this sense that from the very heart of man his evil proceeds.

Now as all life forces . . . produce effects identical with their own nature, Wherefore follows from this fact that the heart from which all this corruption proceeds . . . must itself be corrupt.³

¹Ibid., p. 29.

²KPS, 1860 (Rom. 8:6-7), p. 5.

³KPS, 1860-61 (Matt. 15:19), p. 1.

And Kellogg notes that such is the testimony not only of scripture, but of Jesus: "For out of the heart proceed evil thoughts, murders, adulteries, fornication, thefts, false witness, blasphemies," (Matt. 15:16). And, Kellogg adds,

It is not a partial description of the worst of men but intended by the savior to be a description of the natural heart in all ages and among all nations.¹

And Kellogg asserts, that though it is fortunate that not all men are as bad as they might be, yet

every man has in him the germs of evil which unrestrained by anything from without the man may possibly lead him to commit the most atrocious crimes and into open hatred to God and his Law and shut him out of Heaven.²

The proof of man's natural potential for evil, the force of man's natural depravity, is its operation in good men. For even the best men are aware of their "inclination to evil," when tempted, they are excited by it; and sometimes, if the temptation is the right one, even good men give in.

By carnal-mindedness, Kellogg is also making a figurative reference. He seems to use "carnal mind" to refer to a more developed rational choice than is the case

¹KPS, 1860-61 (Matt. 15:19), pp. 1-2.

²Ibid., pp. 3-6.

with the direct operation of the will. To be carnal-minded does not mean that one lusts after the flesh nor that he pursues luxurious living and glorifies in the pleasures of his body, though such pursuits are certainly carnal-minded. But Kellogg refers to the broader choice and action of one who seeks to live outside God's Law. Carnal-mindedness refers to the conscious ignoring of man's spiritual nature and responsibilities to God, and the devotion of one's energy and attention wholly to things of the world. Thus a carnal-minded man might even be an ascetic, yet wholly devoted to the pursuit of the things of the world--such might be a businessman whose only interest is money, not spending it but only its acquisition. Carnal-mindedness is the deliberate seeking to live close to the world and far from God.¹ Such an attitude and practice is not merely "inimical to the Law of God, but . . . enmity whose being is irreconcilable opposition to the commands of God."²

¹KPS, 1860 (Rom. 8:6-7), p. 10.

²KPS, 1860-61 (Matt. 15:19), p. 3.

Sin

Tendency and Transgression.--Although it is inevitable that man sin because of his depraved nature and natural tendency toward evil and sin, man is not born a "sinner." For sin is not "tendency" but the "transgression" of the Law.¹ Of course transgression can be in spirit as well as in act; and evil thoughts, ill will, or failure to love one's neighbor can all thus be transgressions of the Law. Nevertheless, "Sin," says Kellogg, "is sinning."²

Temptation and Responsibility.--Though all men have the taint of original sin and a natural tendency toward sin, not all men are subject to the same temptations, nor, when they are, always in the same degree. Kellogg's most common example of such varied reactions is that toward liquor. Some men have very little desire to drink, perhaps no noticeable inclination to that particular vice at all; while for others, the inclination may be very strong. All men, however, are "sinners and tempted by sin, but some prefer one form of it to another."³ Even the

¹KPS, 1876-80 (Psa. 103:15-16), p. 4.

²KPS, 1860-61 (Matt. 15:19), p. 18.

³Ibid., p. 26.

allegedly "safe" man, the man of stoic reason or the religious leader, is subject to temptation. He may not indulge in the cruder vices, but he should be especially mindful of the sins of pride, selfishness, and over-self-estimation.¹

But temptation itself is not sin. "We can no more avoid temptation than we can help seeing that which is before the eye."² Nor, says Kellogg, is man's natural depravity sin in itself. "Feeling an inclination to yield which is an impulse we were born with is not sin, but sin is yielding."³

However, Kellogg is careful to note that the source of evil, the cause of sin, is not the temptation in the "external world," but its source is within man, his natural depravity, man's evil inclinations. "The taint of original sin is the power which gives force to and creates the temptation, else it had been no temptation."⁴

In spite of man's natural inclination toward sin, he does have free will and is responsible for all his acts.

¹KPS, 1860-61 (Eccl. 9:13-18), pp. 16-17.

²Ibid., p. 11.

³Ibid.

⁴KPS, 1860-61 (Matt. 15:19), p. 26.

All men were created, as Adam and Eve were,

with the power to choose either good or evil;
choosing to disobey the commandments of God,
they became sinners and exposed to divine
wrath.¹

The original transgression was a voluntary disobedience of a "known and positive command."² And, Kellogg says, the original corruption of our nature is no excuse for any man. Though he admits that the original corruption does make virtue more difficult to attain, "we are justly held responsible for our sins."³ For, he continues, although we are not responsible for "the tendency with which we were born," we are responsible for "the exercise and cultivation of it which we can help."⁴ And if a man argues that he has no power to free himself from bondage of sin, Kellogg's reply is "We are free to accept the freedom which the gospel offers and by which we are delivered from the bondage of sin."⁵ And finally he says, "For this tendency we are not responsible; for yielding to it and refusing grace necessary to resist it, we are."⁶

¹ Ibid., p. 7.

² Ibid., p. 13.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid., p. 11.

⁵ Ibid., p. 12.

⁶ Ibid., p. 18.

Guilt and Fear.--For Kellogg, man's experience of feelings of guilt are the primary proof of the individual's responsibility for his own sin.

It is a fact that whenever we sin we feel guilt or remorse. Now, though we may feel regret, we cannot experience remorse or guilt for that which is not our free act.¹

There has never been a sinner, he asserts, who did not feel guilt. And since "it is the doctrine equally of the Scriptures and of conscience that intelligent voluntary action is the only ground of guilt," men must accept their responsibility for their acts and not try to lay the whole blame on Adam.² For Kellogg argues,

Although men come into the world at a disadvantage, with inclinations to evil rather than good; yet although this makes it impossible for them to do good and they tend to sin, it does not substitute a ground of guilt and self condemnation till they actually and voluntarily sin against the Law of God and conscience.³

Nevertheless, Kellogg notes, that in judging moral character

We are to estimate the guilt of an individual, not merely by the actual and present atrocity of the crimes with which he is charged and has committed, but we are also to take into account the natural tendencies of mind, the

¹See note on p. 95 above.

²Ibid., p. 13.

³Ibid., pp. 9-10.

circumstances in which he was placed, and the temptations by which he was surrounded.¹

Thus, although a man is "responsible" for his sins, men, in judging others, are reminded that they should show some of the understanding and mercy which they expect themselves to receive from God through Christ.

But guilt has another consequence: it is the offspring of sin that makes men afraid of God.² Such a "guilt-ridden" man, fearing God's wrath which he knows he deserves, may harden his heart to God--even deny God, and so make himself insensible of God. Such men may push themselves away from God and try to blot all thought of God from their minds. This, Kellogg says, is what the Bible means when it declares "The wicked has not the fear of God before his eyes."³

Such guilty fear and denial of God, though it is based in the fear of facing the consequences of God's power and wrath, is not what the Bible means by "Fear of the Lord." Such "Fear" is neither the anxiety nor the terror of the guilty, but it is the fear that Abraham had for the Lord.⁴

¹KPS, 1858-59 (Matt. 27:3-5), p. 4.

²KPS, 1876-80 (Psa. 25:14), p. 5.

³Ibid., p. 6.

⁴Ibid., pp. 2-3.

Fear of the Lord, as Kellogg generally seems to mean it, is the apprehension of God's awful and almighty power, and of man's helplessness before him and utter dependence upon him. Such a fear should not terrify man, except sufficiently to motivate him to walk in the way of God's Law. That is what is meant by "walking in the Fear of the Lord." But when accompanied by the "comfort of the Holy Ghost," such "fear" should inspire reverence, confidence, gratitude, and love.¹ However, Kellogg does make a place for some terror, especially for the guilty. It may be necessary, and is certainly good, if it leads the sinner not to attempt to flee from God, but to throw himself upon God's mercy and submit to God's will.²

Sin and Suffering.--For Kellogg there is an undisputed connection between sin and suffering. The great changes in man's lot and in the natural world as a consequence of man's original transgression have already been noted in the account of the Fall of Man. Man is thus born to an inheritance of suffering: it is his inevitable lot;

¹KPS, 1884-89 (Acts 9:31), pp. 3-4.

²KPS, 1876-80 (Psa. 25:14), p. 5.

it is the natural law of the universe, says Kellogg, just as it is natural law that "the sparks fly upward."¹

But man's suffering is not only a consequence of the natural changes brought about by the Fall; suffering is caused by sin as present action in the world. This connection too is natural law.

This is a suffering world because we are all sinners. This natural and miserable tendency of things cannot be altered; it must go on. Sin will bear its fruit.²

And as sin is the great cause of evil, Kellogg asserts, it is obviously the cause of the suffering which evil occasions in the world.

Not only must all men suffer, but the good may actually suffer the most. Perhaps even because they are good. Kellogg cites the example of Job's suffering and adds, "For whom the Lord loveth he chasteneth and scourgeth" ³

Rebellion and Selfishness.--Kellogg sees the essence of sin to be selfishness: selfishness not only toward other men but also toward God. And it is this selfishness that leads men into rebellion against God:

¹KPS, 1884-89 (Job 5:6-7), pp. 1-2.

²Ibid., p. 3.

³Ibid., p. 5.

Now, the natural heart has not in it one particle of love to God. It is selfishness and selfishness is sin. Sin, the Scripture describes as transgression of the Law. Now, what leads man to transgress the Law? Selfishness. The desire to have his own way, to be a law unto himself. In short, to be a God.¹

And furthermore, Kellogg says, "all sin against others commences in sin against God." He cites the example of Cain's murder of Abel:

It was neither a blow given nor a wrong done to him that moved him to the dead. It was pure malice. It was rebellion of the sinful principle against God's justice in having respect to the sincere offering of Abel and not to the hypocritical offering of Cain.²

And Kellogg says, it is selfishness that is "natural parent to evil thought, murders, adulteries, fornications, thefts, false witness, blasphemies."³

The Answer to Sin.--Kellogg's analysis leads him to define the "cure" for sin to be the end of selfishness and rebellion by voluntary submission to the will of God. But, he adds, it must not be submission out of compulsion; it must be out of love to God. Such submission is the essence of religion, and it is the only answer to the problem of sin and evil in the world. And the only answer

¹KPS, 1860-61 (Matt. 15:19), pp. 4-5.

²Ibid., pp. 29-30.

³Ibid., p. 5.

to suffering, too. For in Christian submission, man will accept God's will and judgment, and God's providence, as being the best and good. Though man may not understand it, especially in connection with personal suffering, he will accept and place his trust in Jesus for a happier future life.¹

Jesus

Jesus becomes a much more central figure for Kellogg than he was for the earlier orthodox preachers. For Jesus is the "Savior of mankind": he is presented not only as the way to salvation, but also as the way to a better life on this earth. Kellogg calls him the founder of Christianity and sees a perfect harmony between Christianity, as he understands it, and the character of Jesus.² Kellogg usually refers to Jesus as either the "Savior" or as "Christ."

Jesus as God.--For Kellogg, Jesus, as part of the trinity, is an eternal being; and he is accepted as having existed before the Creation. He is part of the triune God, and Kellogg sometimes simply refers to "God" as assuming

¹KPS, 1884-89 (Job 5:6-7), pp. 7-10.

²KPS, 1858-59 (Mark 10:51), pp. 1-2.

flesh because he so loved man that he himself paid man's penalty under the Law. Most of the time, however, Jesus is presented as the son of God. Nor does Kellogg separate Jesus the man from Christ or God in the man. But in spite of Kellogg's general theological declaration, God as Father seems to be really God; and Jesus does not seem to be an aspect of the one God, but an inferior being, inferior in position at least as son to father--the Prince to the King (Creator, Ruler, Judge) of the Universe.

The "inferior" position of Jesus is probably nowhere more vividly presented than in Kellogg's description of the anguish of Jesus in Gethsemene. Jesus is presented as pleading with his father to be released from his mission, yet nevertheless submitting to his father's will. And God, Father and King, sends a messenger to give Jesus strength: an angel who flutters down on noisy pinions.¹ If Kellogg really holds to the idea of the unity of Jesus and God, it seems extraordinary for a lesser being, a mere angel, who is presented as very physically there, to be able to give strength to God. It appears that for Kellogg, in spite of theory, the tendency was, like other popular trinitarians,

¹KPS, 1858-59 (Gen. 2:15), p. 13.

really to have two Gods: Creator-King, and Son-Prince.
(Since the Holy Spirit lacks definite personality, it
does not cause a similar problem.)

However, if there is confusion about the nature of
the trinity, there is no question about the divinity of
Jesus. Besides the direct and obvious testimony of the
Bible, which Kellogg literally accepts, there are the
"historical" proofs. The first and second are found in
the Bible as history: the miraculous conversion of the
thief on the cross¹ and the resurrection itself.² The
third, and perhaps for Kellogg the most impressive, is the
growth of Christianity and the "fact" of the acceptance and
great influence of Jesus upon so many thousands of people
through all ages since he walked upon the earth.³

Jesus as Man.--In Jesus, God (or his Son), humbled
himself and became man. For only thus could he be a suit-
able substitute for man, and it is as a substitute for man
that atonement is made possible.⁴

¹KPS, 1858-59 ("On the Divinity of Christ," no
text), p. 5.

²KPS, 1858-59 (Mark 10:51), p. 11.

³Ibid., p. 12.

⁴KPS, 1881-83 (Phil. 2:8), p. 2.

Kellogg presents Jesus as the Second Adam.¹ As such he was subject to all the ills, temptations, and sufferings that man is subject to; but like Adam before the Fall, he was without taint of original sin.² How this notion of "temptation" is harmonized with that outlined above, Kellogg does not make clear. But Jesus had to be subject to temptation, at least as much as Adam was, in order to fulfill the commands of the Law as man's substitute--the commands which Adam failed to fulfill.³ Thus Jesus, as man, presents an example to men of perfect submission and obedience to God.

Kellogg particularly stresses Jesus' humility. He not only was born of man, but chose humble parents. He might have been born a philosopher or a king, but he chose to be "low born of torments in an obscene village; his cradle was a manger."⁴ As a youth he lived and labored with his parents; and when he began his ministry, he called his disciples from among men of low estate. And Kellogg adds:

¹KPS, 1858-59 (Gen. 2:15), p. 10.

²KPS, 1881-83 (Phil. 2:8), p. 4.

³Ibid., p. 7.

⁴Ibid., p. 9.

Though possessed of infinite power,
 when insulted he manifested no resentment.
 Who when he was reviled, reviled not again.
 When he suffered, he threatened not. Thus did
 Christ, as our substitute, manifest a perfect
 humility and fulfill the law man had broken
 . . . [Jesus] fulfilled the Law man had broken
 not only in regard to the virtue of humility,
 but likewise in respect to all the requirements
 of that Law to which he became a debtor
 by assuming human nature and the penalty due
 to transgression [sic].¹

Jesus as Teacher.--Kellogg is, of course, interested in the message and teaching of Jesus. And he shows particular interest in Jesus' methods and the effects of his teaching. Kellogg describes Jesus' purpose and message thusly: "He came to promulgate a doctrine and code of morals peculiarly his own, some of which had been darkly hinted; others never were."² Jesus is described as speaking with simplicity and with authority.³ And through his teaching, Kellogg says, he gave new life to the old forms of worship and drew a "deeper spiritual meaning" from the ten commandments and the great teachings of the Old Testament.⁴

¹Ibid., p. 10.

²KPS, 1884-89 (John 7:46), p. 1.

³Ibid., p. 2.

⁴KPS, 1884-89 (Luke 10:36-37), p. 3.

Kellogg says that it is not strange that there were not more conversions during the life ministry of Jesus--not so many altogether as from one sermon of one of the Apostles--for it was not Jesus' purpose to produce present results but to lay a broad foundation for "future results."¹

And Jesus' most important message was not the system of morals which he taught; rather, his primary purpose was to declare "himself to be the Son of God, God made manifest in the flesh." And his immediate purpose was to prepare the ground for the full impression of his crucifixion and subsequent resurrection.² Jesus' preaching must be seen, not in the limited and immediate setting but, as the foundation for all subsequent preaching of the Gospel. And, Kellogg declares, Jesus has been at work and is at work through all of his "followers through all ages."³

But Kellogg also warns that the teaching of Jesus should not be taken as the reason for his mission to earth. His real purpose was to die for man and thus to make atonement possible. Kellogg strongly attacks those who would

¹KPS, 1884-89 (John 7:46), p. 2.

²Ibid., pp. 2-3.

³Ibid., pp. 3-4.

emphasize the teaching above Jesus' role as Savior; or what is worse, make him a mere martyr to his convictions.¹

Jesus as Mediator.--Jesus not only made man's salvation possible through his sacrifice but also acted, and continues to act, as man's mediator to God. In fact, Kellogg says, that that was the main reason for his suffering of human afflictions--the lowly birth, the labor of his youth, etc.--"that we might have a Savior who can be touched with the feeling of our infirmities."² And Kellogg assures his listeners that Jesus' efforts on man's behalf did not end on the cross. He went to "prepare the way" for men, and he continues to make intercession for men. And Kellogg affirms, he is the only one who can make intercession for man.³

It is largely on this ground that Kellogg strongly attacks the Roman Catholic Church as a priest-ridden and idolatrous church which seeks to place priest, Pope, the virgin Mary, and a host of lesser saints (some of whom are

¹KPS, 1881-83 (Phil. 2:8), pp. 12-13.

²KPS, 1884-89 (Job 5:6-7), p. 4.

³KPS, 1876-80 (Exod. 20:3-4), p. 11.

probably mere fairy tales) between man and God.¹ Kellogg especially attacks the adoration of Mary on this ground:

It is sometimes said that prayers are not offered to the virgin as divine, but that she may intercede with her son in behalf of the supplicant. But what reason have we to suppose from the Bible that she has any such power of intercession; or that if she has, there is any necessity for its exertion. Is not Christ held up in the Bible as the great and only mediator, and are not sinners invited to come directly to him, and did they not do that. Of all the multitudes who resorted to the Savior when he was upon the earth for the healing of both the body and the soul, do we ever hear of any of them resorting to Mary in order to obtain her intercession with her son? And there is no ground in the Scriptures for any such supposition.

It is these unscriptural practices that have made the Catholic religion all over Europe, among the educated classes a mere farce, and with the ignorant a superstition.²

Jesus as Savior.--For Kellogg, clearly the most important role of Jesus was as Savior. For without Jesus as Savior, all mankind would be lost: "We should have been justly damned and doomed to the punishment of everlasting fire."³ Jesus' mission was to save man: "For the son of Man is come to save that which was lost." (Matt. 18:11);

¹Ibid., p. 22.

²Ibid., pp. 10-11.

³KPS, 1881-83 (John 6:44), p. 2.

and Kellogg adds to that citation, that Jesus came to save all men not just an "elect" but especially those who were lost.¹ And because Jesus died for man's sins and suffered man's punishment, Kellogg says:

Hence . . . for us there is no Hell. We have no punishment to meet in the future. Moreover, if we have assurance that we are in Christ . . . because Christ died we face no condemnation to Hell. Neither is there any temporal punishment to fear, because the law of the spirit of life which is Jesus hath made us free of the law of sin and death.²

Atonement

Atonement is the means through which depraved and sinful man is reconciled to God. It is accomplished through the sacrifice of Jesus for man's sins.

Demands of Divine Law.--Kellogg accepts the orthodox argument for the necessity of atonement. Man owes all he is and has to God, and he owes God perfect obedience. Because of man's depraved nature, fulfillment of the Law is impossible, and so man must be punished--divine justice demands it. Kellogg does not argue in detail for the necessity of upholding the Law and God's authority as Mikado of

¹KPS, 1858-59 (Matt. 18:11), p. 2-3.

²KPS, 1881-83 (John 6:44), p. 3.

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the universe, but he does accept the Law as Law to which even God cannot make exception. Justice thus demands that transgression be punished. Yet God wanted to save man; Kellogg presents Jesus as the "solver" of God's apparent dilemma.

Why would Jesus leave the perfect bliss of Heaven to share man's unhappy lot and humiliation? Kellogg gives Jesus' motive as not love for man alone, although that is the customary reason given, but also the preservation of the authority of the Law and the punishment of sin:

There existed in the heart of the Lord Jesus a motive sufficiently strong to induce him thus to do; and that motive was the glory of his Father in the triumph of divine justice, the punishment of sin, and the salvation of the human race.¹

Jesus as Substitute for Man.--Jesus' substitution for man had two important requirements. First, he had to lead, as a man, a sinless life. For only by perfect obedience to the Law and in a sinless state would he be eligible to pay the penalty for man. Had Jesus transgressed the Law, even in the smallest degree, he would have been in precisely the same position as man, and in such a circumstance presumably able to pay no penalty but his

¹KPS, 1881-83 (Phil. 2:8), p. 4.

own.¹ But as a "man" without sin, he was able to pay the penalty for men who had sinned and who could not possibly pay the penalty themselves because they had nothing with which to pay it, for even their lives they already owed to God.

The second important requirement was that Jesus suffer and die. It was not enough that he lead a blameless life; that only provided a good example in itself and was, moreover, expected of him. The Law required that sin be punished, that the penalty be paid. For Kellogg, Jesus' suffering and death constitute the payment and are thus the most important part of his mission. Jesus' suffering was so great because he bore the weight of all man's sins, paid the penalty for all. Kellogg vividly depicts not only the agony of the cross but also the anguish of Gethsemane as part of the necessary suffering--it was so great that Jesus sweat drops of blood.²

As proof of the "necessity" of Jesus' suffering and death, Kellogg not only argues for the requirements of Law, as above, but also cites Jesus' "importunate pleading" with his Father in Gethsemane; surely, Kellogg says, if there

¹Ibid., p. 10.

²Ibid., pp. 16-19.

were any other way, God would have spared his son.¹ But

Kellogg adds:

God having determined that on that ground, and that alone, he could pardon the sinner: Sin being punished [and] the sentence of the Law being executed upon the substitute: And to this end the substitute must die as the sinner must otherwise have died.²

Furthermore, Kellogg argues:

It is the death of Christ that is everywhere in the Scriptures emphasized, which is the great and important feature of the atonement. For by it we obtain remission of sin, and without it, though Christ had taken upon him our nature and in other respects fulfilled the demands of the Law, he would have left his work unfinished and there would be for us no salvation.

Both Jesus and his Apostles represent his death upon the cross as the "cause of forgiveness of sin and reconciliation with God." And finally, Kellogg says, "the death of Christ was absolutely necessary to our salvation."⁴

Jesus Died for All Men.--For Kellogg there is no question of any "elect"; Jesus' atonement was universal; "the sacrifice was to avert the ruin and throw afar the blessings of a free and full atonement to all generations of men" ⁵ Jesus, as man's substitute, obeyed the

¹Ibid., p. 16.

²Ibid., pp. 11-12.

³Ibid., pp. 12-13.

⁴Ibid., p. 13.

⁵KPS, 1858-59 (Gen. 2:15), p. 10.

Law and also "endured the penalty that we must otherwise have endured, by that obedience he purchased the right to redeem all who believe in him."¹

But although Kellogg saw atonement as universal, it was not automatic. Every man has sinned, and every man is under sentence of divine law. "The debt must be paid; the penalty of the Law must be inflicted." Either man or his substitute must die; "therefore," Kellogg concludes, "must every sinner perish who will not accept that substitute and believe in Christ who purchased salvation by such sacrifice of himself."²

Grace

Except for the idea of the universality of atonement, Kellogg's concept of the "Covenant of Grace" is wholly within the orthodox tradition. Man is saved, atonement is possible, only through God's free grace.

There can be no mutual obligation because man is already under infinite obligation to God as his Creator and Maintainer; and

¹KPS, 1881-83 (Phil. 2:8), p. 10.

²Ibid., p. 19.

can do nothing without him, neither can he offer to his Maker equivalent for what he receives from him, since all the service he can render is already due.¹

And because man is not capable of perfect obedience, Kellogg says, "any covenant made between God and man must, on the part of God, be entirely of grace."²

And it is by grace alone that man is saved. Neither works, nor ceremonies, nor "sacred" rites are of any real power or necessity. Not even baptism nor the Lord's Supper.³ Kellogg notes that the thief on the cross was not baptised, and not one of the disciples had a Christian baptism.⁴ All hope of salvation is founded upon God's free grace, and the proof of God's grace is to be found in Jesus: "Christ is the deed and seal upon the Covenant. God's proof, as it were, revealed to man."⁵

¹KPS, 1876-80 (Psa. 25:14), p. 19.

²Ibid.

³KPS, 1876-80 (Exod. 20:3-4), p. 27.

⁴Ibid., p. 28.

⁵KPS, 1876-80 (Psa. 25:14), pp. 21-22.

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Faith

The Nature of Faith.--For Kellogg, faith is belief, but it is also much more than just belief as intellectual acceptance. He describes "Gospel Faith" as one of the four ways of Knowing. The others are (1) Perception through the senses of observable physical phenomena; (2) Grasping of qualities "with the fingers of the mind, looking beyond mere physical attributes"; (3) Scientific and Philosophical Faith, the belief that things unseen exist--such as that someone loves us or hates us--based upon observable behavior patterns, etc. Gospel Faith is a knowing experience of God's will in oneself. Such a faith commences, says Kellogg, in willing submission to the sovereign will of God.¹

Such an awareness, which Kellogg describes as the spirit of God moving in man, is "as necessary to the existence, and growth, and maturity of grace in the soul as is breath to the life of the body."² For it is not only an awareness but a necessary means of perception of God and of God's will. Kellogg compares it to the eye

¹KPS, 1864-75 (Heb. 11:1), pp. 10-18.

²Ibid., p. 3.

and ear, but it is an eye and ear attuned to the realm of spirit.¹

The Power of Faith.--Kellogg declares that there is no power available to man so great as the power of faith. Such was the strength of Abraham, Noah, Job, and the Apostles. It was the Apostles' power of faith which made their acts of healing possible.² (It should be noted here that Kellogg is referring to the faith of the healer and not of the person being healed.) And Kellogg cites the great "victories" of Shadrach, Meshach, Abednego, and Daniel as victories of the power of faith.³

Man's Capacity for Faith.--Kellogg admits that not all men have the same capacity for faith, and he says that the heroes of the Old Testament and the Apostles were men of extraordinary capacity. But, he adds, though there is a vast difference in the capacities of individuals for faith generally, "it follows that as Christ died for all, the spirit pleads for all; the gift of faith is offered to all who ask for it." And all men have the minimal capacity for faith necessary to be saved through grace and for forgiveness of sins.⁴

¹Ibid., p. 2.

²Ibid., pp. 5-6.

³Ibid., p. 4.

⁴KPS, 1864-75 (Luke 14:6), pp. 10-12.

Justification and Regeneration

"Justification."--Rational faith and pious behavior in themselves, to Kellogg, are not enough to save a man. A man must undergo an experience strongly reminiscent of the Puritan idea of "justification."

I do not ask you, dear friend, whether you have read the history of his birth, life, and death in the Scriptures; I know you have. Nor whether you night and morning repeat his prayer; I know you do! Your mother taught it you [sic] long ago, and you do it just because it makes you think of her, and you seem to feel again the warm kiss she used to bestow when it was finished.

But have you ever seen Jesus Christ on Calvary? The breast heaving, the whole frame quivering with agony Have you realized that your sins caused that blood to flow

Do you say no such knowledge. I never saw any of these things nor had any of these feelings. Then you are a poor blind sinner and will be lost.¹

The sinner, Kellogg declares, must share in the anguish of Jesus and the agony of the cross. "For the design of atonement is not to save the sinner in his sins but from his sins."² Man must see that God would be completely just in casting him off forever. Such recognition is

¹KPS, 1858-59 (Mark 10:51), pp. 6-8.

²KPS, 1858-59 (Gen. 2:15), pp. 30-32.

essential to true conversion, to "justification and regeneration."

Although rational faith is not sufficient in itself, it may lead one to the necessary spiritual experience:

It is because of this blindness [spiritual blindness] that you see no beauty in Christ and apprehend no pleasure in religion. But that there is this beauty and ineffable joy, you must believe, upon the testimony of the scriptures supported by your reason and conscience, and pray for a spiritual experience of them.¹

And Kellogg assures his listeners that the sinner who is thus reborn, having been naturally born depraved and spiritually blind, will have his eyes opened upon a world of new ideas and enjoyments:

He enters upon a continuity of happiness which eternity will not exhaust, and thus his future life will be a succession of new and inconceivable delights. New scenes of glory and beauty being presented to the mind as new powers are developed to meet them.²

Regeneration.--The growth of new powers is regeneration. For Kellogg, the experience of "justification" should be the beginning, not the culmination, of a fully developed spiritual life. He describes it as the foundation

¹KPS, 1858-59 (Mark 10:51), p. 12.

²Ibid., pp. 15-16.

upon which the future happiness of the soul is built. And man builds his "new life" upon this foundation, not by himself but with the aid of divine grace and through the power of faith. Kellogg compares the development of the spiritual nature to the development of worldly culture and refinement, but it is a much higher culture, a culture of the spirit.¹

Christian Nurture

In general, Kellogg did not accept the validity of the theory of "Christian Nurture," but this position was somewhat ambivalent. Certainly he worked much with the young, and he strongly criticized both church and families for practices of the early 19th Century which neglected the young; in which no effort was made to bring them into the fold until after they were fully adult, married, and presumably settled in life.² Kellogg argues:

I would say that early impressions are the most enduring, and religious impressions

¹KPS, 1881-83 (Psa. 11:3), pp. 8-9.

²Kellogg, "Religious Worship Early in the Century," Mitchell, p. 283.

more so than all others, resulting from the fact that they are not so much impressions as the development of innate tendencies kept alive and nourished by the intercourse that all men, to a greater or less extent, hold with their Creator.¹

But Kellogg's general view is far more pessimistic. And although he always stressed the importance of early religious training and of good examples by the child's parents, and although he gives great importance to the influence that a mother may have upon a child, Kellogg's usual position is that there is no natural tendency for good in any man or child.² Nor does he see the infant mind to be like a blank paper, as it was often described by the advocates of Christian Nurture, upon which either good or evil may be written. If such is the case, Kellogg asks:

How does it happen that evil is always written. How is it that children most carefully trained and religiously educated, even if outwardly moral and engaging, still sin and experience guilt of conscience, and must be divinely changed before they can enter into heaven. Why is that?³

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No, the mind of a child is not a sheet of blank paper; but it is a sheet written over

¹Ibid., p. 276.

²KPS, 1876-80 (Psa. 103:15-16), pp. 9-10.

³KPS, 1860-61 (Matt. 15:19), p. 22.

with invisible ink whose writing is invisible till it is held to the fire when the inscription appears. Thus in the mind by nature are the germs of evil which the temptations and forces of life bring out and develop.¹

As a refutation of the efficacy of Christian Nurture, Kellogg gives the example of a young man brought up in a Christian home with all the positive reinforcements of Christian Nurture. Surely, Kellogg argues, if there is any natural good in him it will have been developed to great strength; yet when the same youth leaves home to go to the big city or to sea, evil examples are placed before him; and if he does not fall, he will, nonetheless, feel the seductive call of sinful pleasures thrill his very blood. And, Kellogg adds, such is not the "unusual" case; so many "good" boys do fall that citation of specific examples is completely unnecessary.²

The practices of Christian Nurture are good, and can produce only good results; but for Kellogg, they go only so far, and they do not bring any assurance of great or permanent spiritual development.

¹Ibid., pp. 26-27.

²Ibid., pp. 23-24.

The Joys of Christian Life

Not all of the benefits of Christianity are to be found in Heaven, Kellogg says. As to the charges which non-Christians make, that any reward the Christian receives he has certainly earned, such remarks only reveal the ignorance and spiritual blindness of those who make them.¹ And such anti-Christian attitudes may also be attempts to hide from God, from anxiety, and from the fear of death. Kellogg not only calls such men to be aware of the dreadful and eternal danger that they are in and the urgency of their conversion, but also challenges them to examine their own lives to see if perhaps they are only deluding themselves and are not really miserable men.

More often, however, Kellogg's "calls" to communion were directed to the "Christian" believer who was once in communion but who has wandered away from God, who is unhappy and unfulfilled out of communion and who can remember the happier times when he did experience the fullness of Christian communion and fellowship; but who is reluctant to return because he may be too proud to humble himself,

¹KPS, 1858-59 (Mark 10:51), pp. 12-14.

or perhaps so ashamed that he is afraid he will not be accepted back into the fold.¹

Kellogg assures the "wanderer" that though it had been better if he had not strayed, he is surely welcome to return.² He also notes that the enemies of religion, the scoffers who are in bondage to sin and full of fear and anxiety, will try to keep others from joining or from returning to the Christian life. They may heap ridicule upon one, and they are a majority in the world, but Kellogg says, they are to be pitied rather than heeded. And surely, he adds, one can endure a little ridicule; that is nothing compared with the ridicule Jesus endured for the benefit of believers.³

And, Kellogg says, the "way of Christ" is the only true way, the only way that can bring peace either in the future or in this life. And the way to, or back to, Christ is to "follow in the footsteps of the flock," to follow those who fear God and live close to him; to enter the fold, lock the door against evil, confess one's sins

¹Kellogg, "The Prodigal's Return," Mitchell, p. 331.

²KPS, 1864-75 (Cant. 1:8), p. 29.

³KPS, 1858-59 (Mark 10:51), p. 20.

and be forgiven; then one can live in the love and happiness of communion with Christ and his followers.¹

Christian Fellowship.--Kellogg sees the Christian community (members of a church) as an "Hallowed circle of Christian sympathy." It is a community of brothers who participate in one another's lives and help one another; and it is a joyful relationship and community.

United in prayer when the heart submitted, in praise when it soared to God, in mutual rejoicing over souls saved, in mutual sympathy under trials, in mutual advancement of Christ's kingdom, they found abiding joy.²

And in time of personal trouble or affliction, Kellogg says, worldly consolation cannot begin to compare with Christian consolation: the strength one can derive from submission and trust in God, and the understanding, sympathy, and aid one receives from his Christian brothers.³

Communion with God.--But the highest joy of the Christian life, says Kellogg, is to be found in the experience of communion with God. This is the goal of Christian life and the most perfect form of worship. Sweet as the

¹KPS, 1864-75 (Cant. 1:8), pp. 31.

²Ibid., pp. 21-22.

³KPS, 1884-89 (Job 5:6-7), pp. 8-9.

joys of Christian fellowship may be, they are as nothing when compared with the supreme joy of the soul in communion with God. Such communion is "the highest effort of which the human soul is capable and the only thing that imparts permanent satisfaction and happiness."¹

Kellogg describes the experience of communion-- "participation in the Covenant"--with God as an "almost" mystical experience encompassing all knowledge, all joy. And he says that such experiences should grow in frequency and in depth as one matures in Christianity: This is the essence and sign of Christian growth. And as one grows older, the expression "Mystical" of communion with God should become more and more frequent.²

The Duties of Christian Life

"Take a map of the world," Kellogg says, "and see how poor a figure religion makes in it."³ "The interests of the world and the interest of the church are directly

¹KPS, 1876-80 (Psa. 25:14), pp. 11-12.

²Ibid., p. 21.

³KPS, 1860-61 (Eccl. 9:13-18), p. 21.

opposed."¹ Evil has such a prior claim on the world and in men's hearts that, indeed, in competition with the world's enterprises, such a religion as Christianity could not long have survived without the power of God behind it.² And although Kellogg presents Jesus, as a man working in the world, as a model for Christianity, he also says

the Friends of Christ are solemnly enjoined [Cor. II, 6:16] to renounce all unnecessary connections with the sinful men and things of the world that they may be devoted to God³ as his peculiar people zealous of good works.

Kellogg never seems to be certain of whether the church should be out working in the world to make a better world, or if it should withdraw as a community of God's servants in isolation from the world. In general, he seems to favor "isolation."

The Christian's Duties to the World.--Though Kellogg is reported to have been an ardent supporter of the Union cause in the Civil War and to have spoken of the war at Sunday evening services at the Mariners' Church,

¹Ibid., p. 23.

²KPS, 1876-80 (Rom. 12:17), pp. 7-8.

³KPS, 1890-98 (II Cor. 6:16), p. 4.

the topic does not appear in the manuscript copies of sermons in the collection at Bowdoin College, and the collection seems to be quite complete.

Kellogg does note, however, that the citizen cannot avoid the world: nations are arrayed against one another, and the citizen is bound to be caught up in the conflict, will he or will he not.¹ And Kellogg cites Jesus' reply, "Render unto Caesar" as evidence that "Christian men . . . are of all others bound to fulfill all their obligations to the men of the world."² But Kellogg's general focus of attention is upon personal obligations to other individuals rather than to states or institutions. For he adds, though a man can be honest and moral and not be in Christ, "no man can be religious without being honest and moral."³

Kellogg says, "Religion does not absolve a man of his obligations even to the ungodly." And his example--an extended example--is of a man who uses liquor and then realizing the evil of it, stops; yet if he owes money for liquor previously purchased, he must not refuse to pay the

¹KPS, 1858-59 (Mark 12:16-17), pp. 2-3.

²Ibid., p. 12.

³Ibid., p. 13.

debt, even though he may regard the seller as evil and the sale a crime. But Kellogg also warns that he should "send another to pay it lest the smell of liquor, appealing to his tendency, induce him to drink again."¹

Kellogg rarely mentions duties to the worldly or to the state, and even in the sermon based upon Mark 12 ("Render unto Caesar ") though he begins with reference to the state and world, he very quickly turns his attention to man's duties to God and to the problem of intemperance.²

The Christian's Duties to his Fellow Man.--As already mentioned, Kellogg cites Jesus' life as the model for the Christian life. Jesus' life was characterized not only by perfect obedience to God, says Kellogg, but also by love for his fellow man (even for his enemies), and by his kindness and worldly service to those who sought his aid. A perfect example of both Jesus' behavior and a perfect model for the Christian is to be seen in Jesus' response to the importuning of the blind beggar:

This Savior, with the affairs of the universe and all our sins resting upon his

¹Ibid., p. 14.

²KPS, 1858-59.

shoulders, turned aside to ask the blind beggar what ailed him. This act does not present the character of the religion of Christ in a gala dress but in its everyday habiliments and working clothes. It is not an impulse but a feature of it.¹

Since the time of Christ, Kellogg says,

Man has learned to relieve the distresses of his neighbor, to deal bread to the hungry, and to bring those who are cast out into his house²

And the motive for such Christian charity should be Christian love. The Christian is "obligated" to love God supremely, to love one's self next, and to love one's neighbor just as much as one's self. The Christian's love for God should be unchanging whether God gives or takes away; and his love for his neighbor should be unbounded by limits of family, town, county, state, or country.³ In his discussion of such love and treatment of neighbors, Kellogg contrasts the "love" and fair treatment of the Indians by the Quakers to the mistrust and cheating of the Indians by other colonists, including the Puritans. And, says Kellogg, the contrast in the resulting peaceful friendship on the one hand and the war and hatred on the other

¹KPS, 1858-59 (Mark 10:51), p. 3.

²KPS, 1884-89 (Luke 10:36-37), p. 21.

³Ibid.

followed inevitably from the original treatment of their "neighbors."¹

The difference between Christian love and the love of the non-Christian, Kellogg says, is that the Christian loves freely, whereas the natural man "loves" only selfishly for what he can get out of it.²

However, Kellogg's views of Christian love and neighborly responsibility do not lead to support for organized charities and social reforms. He cites the example of the Good Samaritan as a model for Christian duty; and he seems to disparage charitable organizations as poor substitutes for men's duties as individuals. For he says, "societies have been formed to do what Christ urged men to do, but each man should give directly. For that is most efficient and will get results."³ And generally Kellogg saw such direct giving as being to one's immediate neighbors and to the "good" but unfortunate people; and he warned his parishioners to avoid the dangers and temptations of too close contact with the ungodly.⁴

¹KPS, 1876-80 (Rom. 12:17), pp. 20-21.

²KPS, 1884-89 (Luke 10:36-37), p. 7.

³Ibid., p. 21-23.

⁴KPS, 1890-98 (II Cor. 6:16), p. 3.

Among the Christian's duties to his fellow man was the obligation to forgive his enemies. The idea of revenge, Kellogg says, has been the great cause of animosity among men and nations; it is the great cause of war and its sorrows.¹ He notes, however, that things have been getting better in the world; and, in a rare sermon reference to the Civil War, cites the Confederate treatment of prisoners as the only "specimen of ancient barbarism in the 19th Century."² [Apparently his worldly vision was none too keen.]

Kellogg says that the prohibition contained in the text "Recompense no man evil for evil" (Rom 12:17) shows the striking contrast between the spirit of Christianity and man's natural state. For to repay evil with evil is one of man's strongest natural drives.³ But such action only serves to inflame hatred to "white heat."⁴ And, Kellogg adds, a man must forgive trespasses if he expects himself to be forgiven and to receive grace from God.⁵

¹KPS, 1876-80 (Rom. 12:17), p. 22.

²Ibid., p. 23.

³Ibid., p. 8.

⁴Ibid., p. 21.

⁵Ibid., pp. 9-10.

Perhaps the Christian's most thankless duty is the obligation to admonish his brethren for their sins. Though some men are unfit to reproach others, Kellogg says, men often need to have their faults pointed out to them. Kellogg admits that such is a thankless task, and too often man's "fault finding" betrays envy and maliciousness in social conduct and in conversation.¹ But, Kellogg adds, it is a Christian's duty to be watchful of others; though in doing it, he should be very careful and watchful of himself and of his own motives. For his motive should be pure and his interest wholly in the welfare of his neighbor. Kellogg handles the objections to assumption of such responsibility thusly:

What have I to do with my neighbor's sins? I will not concern myself with the duty of admonishing him. Let others do it who take pleasure in such a thankless and ungrateful task.

Ay, but those are the very persons who are most unfit to do it. Still it must be done, for what saith the Scripture: Thou shalt in any wise rebuke thy neighbor and not suffer sin upon him.

Faithful are the wounds of a friend. Christians are under obligation to watch over each other in meekness and love.²

¹KPS, 1884-89 (Matt. 7:3-5), pp. 2-3.

²Ibid., pp. 9-10.

The Christian's Duties to God.--The Christian's duties to God are seen as no different from any other man's duties, except that as a Christian he is presumably more aware of them and consequently more responsible for carrying them out. And of course, as has already been outlined, a man's debt, obligation, and duty to God constitute an abiding theme for Kellogg.

Early in his ministry, Kellogg reminded his congregation of their duty and warned them not to become complacent as they sat in their nice, new church. For duty to God entails much more than building and maintaining a sanctuary.¹ In a sermon, already referred to, which began with man's duties to the state, Kellogg outlined man's fundamental obligations to God as service, love, and devotion. And he generally seemed to see the Christian's fundamental duties as the following: 1) keeping the Sabbath day, 2) attending public worship services, 3) praying, and 4) bringing up one's family to "fear" God.

Kellogg also saw work as a primary obligation of man. Not only was man made for work, but he was obliged to work. One of Kellogg's sermons even treats the six-day

¹Mitchell, p. 72.

week as divine ordinance. The beginning of the Commandment on Sabbath observance ("Six days shalt thou labor and do all thy work") was, for Kellogg, equally binding with the other Commandments of God. It was a duty "equally obligatory" to Sabbath observance.¹

Furthermore, Kellogg saw the "inculcation of industry and prudent economy" as everywhere in the teaching of the Scripture and especially the teaching of Jesus.²

The Christian's Reward for Duty.--Finally, Kellogg says, in reference to duty, whether to man, state, or God, the Christian should expect no reward. Duty is fulfillment of an obligation, not the performance of some extra service. Duty insofar as it has any reward, is its own reward. Doing one's duty should, however, give one joy and a sense of satisfaction; but it should not, Kellogg warns, become the occasion for pride.³

¹KPS, 1884-89 (Exod. 20:9), pp. 1ff.

²KPS, 1864-75 (Matt. 6:26), pp. 1-2.

³KPS, 1860-61 (Eccl. 9:13-18), pp. 2-6.

Christian Worship

As has already been noted, in discussion of Kellogg's view of man, he believed man to be the only earthly being capable of apprehension of, and communion with, God. And Kellogg saw man's purpose in life as twofold: to obey the will of God and to worship God. The second was included in the first, but it was of such importance as to be almost equal, if not equal, to all of man's other obligations. To Kellogg, worship was not restricted to church services, but was a continual awareness of God and communion with him. The most simple, common, and effective means of worship is prayer. And as Kellogg's journal attests, he himself was forever on his knees; his every day seemed to be a continuing dialogue with God.

Prayer.--Prayer, says Kellogg, is a natural and universal instinct implanted in man by God.¹ He compares it to the natural instinct for migration amongst birds.² And all men pray: among man's moral instincts none is "more universal, more natural, or more indestructible than

¹KPS, 1881-83 (John 4:24), p. 5.

²KPS, 1881-83 (Job 21:15), p. 3.

prayer."¹ Of all the creatures of the earth, only man prays, and Kellogg adds:

Wherever men live, in certain circumstances, at certain times, in the control of certain impressions of the soul, the eyes are raised, the hands are clasped, the knees bend, to implore aid, to render thanks, to adore, to appease; with transport or with fear, publicly or in the secrecy of his heart, it is to prayer man takes himself in the last resort to fill up the void of his soul or to hear the burdens of his destiny.²

Prayer is also a form of worship, the simplest form of Christian worship. It is talking with God: a conscious communion of man's spirit with another conscious spirit--with God. And prayer has great power because God gave it great power, and because it is of the spirit. It is the force behind all conversion and all Christian work:

All that preaching can do for a sinner's conversion is to stir him up to pray by showing him his guilt and need of prayer and encouraging him by the promise of God.³

And if there is not prayer behind the services and activities of the church, they will neither convert anyone nor satisfy the spiritual needs of God's people, or help them on their way to Heaven any more than

¹KPS, 1881-83 (John 4:24), p. 5.

²Ibid., pp. 6-7.

³Ibid., p. 13.

painted fire will get your breakfast or meats carved in alabaster satisfy the appetite.¹

And Kellogg believed the prayer meeting to be the most important in all the round of religious observances and services. Men within the church, he says, tend to attach too much importance to the "beauty of the sanctuary, the eloquence of the preaching, or artistic music" as contrasted to their views of prayer and the prayer meeting. But he continues, "if that is wanting, all is wanting."² And he adds, "It is of no less importance that Christians, when they meet together to pray, should give testimony of what prayer has done for them" Such witnessing is comparable to the witness of the disciples after the resurrection, and it should be considered both a duty and a privilege "to make it known for the good of others."³

Kellogg saw one of the major functions of prayer as not just worship and communion, but the seeking of forgiveness of sins and reconciliation with God. But he warned his parishioners that no man should ask for forgiveness for himself without asking it for everybody; and certainly no prayer for forgiveness would be heard until the

¹Ibid., pp. 12-13.

²Ibid., p. 11-12.

³Ibid., pp. 13-15.

one praying has forgiven those who may have sinned against him.¹

Sabbath Observance.--One of Kellogg's most constant concerns was for the keeping of the Sabbath.² Apparently it either was, or he felt it was, a major problem in his parishes. The Sabbath must be kept, he observed; it is a requirement of Divine Law. It is not a matter of inference merely, but an absolute obligation clearly stated in the Ten Commandments. God owns all time; the Sabbath is not a day for man to decide whether he will keep it or not; it is not man's to dispose of. And Kellogg warns that though Sabbath breakers may seem to prosper, they will surely pay the penalty for their transgression in the future if not in the present life. And, he adds, if one could see into the heart of a Sabbath breaker, one would doubtless see that he is not as happy as he would be if he kept the Sabbath.

Among the prohibitions for the Sabbath which Kellogg defined were entertainment of guests, any feasting requiring the employment of others, any travel except to

¹KPS, 1884-89 (Luke 10:36-37), p. 5.

²Kellogg's most comprehensive statement concerning Sabbath obligations and prohibitions may be found in his sermon devoted entirely to that subject: KPS, 1876-80 (Exod. 20:8).

and from the sanctuary. Certainly travel for pleasure was a violation, not only in stealing time from God but in forcing animals to labor for man's benefit in clear violation of the Commandment. All gainful employment was strictly prohibited. Only in an emergency was work to be permitted: such as to save a life or to save a crop upon which lives depended. But in general, Kellogg warned, if there is any room for doubt, it is not an emergency, and no work should be permitted.

The Sabbath was seen to be God's day, and it should be devoted to God. The purpose of rest was not to give man time to take his pleasure, but to free him to give his full attention to his duties to God. And man is expected to give the whole day to God. It is not a day for sleeping late, and it does not end after church. It is to be measured as any other day, from sun to sun; and to give God less than a full day is to cheat God just as a man would feel cheated if he hired someone to do a full day's labor, and the employee were to show up late for work and then sneak away in the middle of the day. It is in devoting the day to God that man keeps it Holy as the commandment enjoins.

The Sabbath should properly be spent in (1) quiet contemplation of God's truths and the benefits received from God, (2) Prayer, especially of thanskgiving, (3) Bible reading, and (4) attendance at public worship services. Of the four, Kellogg gives especial attention to attendance at public worship in the sanctuary, for he says:

If Christians should confine themselves to prayer and meditation in their closets and did not assemble for the public worship of God on the Sabbath, religion would disappear from the face of the earth, all progress with it, and mankind go back to barbarism.¹

Puritan versus Roman Catholic Worship.--Kellogg contrasts the Protestant form of worship with the Roman Catholic and attacks the latter on three principal grounds: 1) non-scriptural base and reliance upon rites and ceremonies as substitutes for the word of God, 2) idolatry, and 3) displacement of Jesus as man's Mediator by pope, priest, the Virgin Mary, and an host of lesser saints. This last point was discussed above in connection with Jesus' role as Mediator.

Kellogg denounces all idolatry on the grounds of the Commandment against it, and he cites Roman Catholic idolatry as the chief Christian offense against that

¹KPS, 1876-80 (Exod. 20:8), p. 27.

Commandment. Idolary is, he says, the natural result of man's desire to know through sensible images what can be known only through the light of pure faith--in the light of the spirit.¹ He cites Moses' prohibition of the use of any heathen forms even when the Hebrews said that they were only seeking to worship God through the idols and not worshipping the idol itself. Kellogg asks:

Are not the Catholics guilty of idolatry when they make images of the virgin Mary and of saints and set them up in their churches as objects of worship . . . especially when they prostrate themselves before the cross and before the image of the virgin, intreating her to intercede for them.²

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I know that the Catholics say that they do not worship the image but God; and that the image or the crucifix is a mere symbol, or reminder, of the power behind it and which it represents. But can it be supposed that the veriest heathen ever supposed that there was any virtue, or power, in the block of wood which he had carved to bless and protect him? Did he not always ascribe to it some power which the image represented? In what sense then does their worship of images, and relics, and crosses differ from the old paganism? In nothing but in name.

The Catholic plea . . . that they do not worship these images, or things, but the Deity through them finds no justification in Scripture, because all such worship is just strictly forbidden as the most absolute

¹KPS, 1876-80 (Exod. 20:3-4), p. 17.

²Ibid., pp. 8-9.

idolatry. God will not be worshipped through the image or in any way but the way he has appointed in the Bible.¹

However, Kellogg says, men must be able to interpret the "symbols of the imagination," and it is for this reason that written revelation is necessary:

The symbols of the imagination . . . must be interpreted by sense The same principles obtain in respect to the conceptions of God and the doctrines of grace. They must be interpreted and clothed in some form in order that they may be available to human necessities, and that worship of the one and practice of the other may be possible. A religion that consists in mere contemplation is useless. It is the universal abuse of this natural operation of the mind that shows the necessity of written revelation; and which, in the absence of that revelation, has, in all ages the world over, led men to represent the divine being by some image or outward form.²

This is why Protestantism places such great stress upon the use of Scripture in worship as contrasted to the Catholic reliance upon "masses, festivals, gaudy ceremonies, outward rites and relics, absolutions and holy water, and more than all, the superstitions of the people."³ Protestantism makes Scripture the only rule of faith and practice; thus it is necessary that men be able to read the

¹Ibid., pp. 10-12.

²Ibid., pp. 16-17.

³Ibid., p. 23.

Bible for themselves, "for by it they must be judged."¹
 And, says Kellogg, the great instrumentality for spreading the gospel message is the preaching of the word.²

It is because of the importance of the preaching of the word, that Kellogg attacks the use of Latin³ and the substitution of mere visual images, ceremony, and priestly authority for the more important mental stimulation of worship based upon declaration of the word.

All image worship, all formal worship of any kind, where the powers of the mind are not called out and made a necessary part of the worship, fosters mental debility. In a religion like the Catholic for instance, where the priests' lips keep knowledge; where many of the services are performed in an unknown tongue that conveys no idea to the mind of the worshipper nor stimulates his own thought; where if he is not forbidden to read the Bible, at least he is not encouraged thus to do, but told that the catechisms of the church, composed by those who cannot err and who know a great deal better than himself what his spiritual needs are, are sufficient; where he is told that to adore the saints, keep holy days, attend church will, if they are punctually and devoutly performed, secure his salvation. Here is no room for independent thought, nothing but unquestioning assent.⁴

Preaching.--Although Kellogg liked loud music and lots of it in church, and saw the prayer meeting as both

¹Ibid., p. 24.

²Ibid., p. 23.

³Ibid., p. 31.

⁴Ibid., pp. 20-21.

the simplest and supremest form of public worship, his attack on Roman Catholic practice makes it clear, that like his Puritan forefathers, he saw the preaching of the word as the focus of the Sabbath service. He saw the preacher's task as one not to "confine knowledge as the priest," but to give knowledge, and apparently to stimulate thought, including critical thought, not only about one's self but about one's understanding of religion as well.¹

But, Kellogg added, the best means and efforts of the preacher will not avail "except they are earnestly and effectively used by those who teach and those who are taught."² For Kellogg, as for the earlier Puritans, the listeners had responsibilities too. And he cites the need for educated congregations as the reason for the growth of public education in New England, and he contrasts it especially to Catholic countries, where preaching is not the usual practice and ignorant and superstitious congregations are desired.³

¹Ibid., p. 24.

²KPS, 1884-89 (John 7:46), p. 4.

³Ibid., p. 25.

However, the listener's responsibilities are no excuse for poor practice on the part of the clergy. Part of the reason that the church was faring so poorly in the world, Kellogg felt, was that preaching was often so dull. Why, he asks, are the theatres full and the churches so "thin"? And his answer is that ministers do not live up to their responsibilities as preachers. "How frigidly," he says, "do ministers preach and men listen to descriptions of the real anguish of Jesus." Though, he adds, men weep easily enough at a mere fiction in the theatre.¹

Kellogg's Message: Summary

Such then was the "essence" of Kellogg's sermon messages. He called himself a minister of the New Testament, but his most common tasks as a preacher seem to have been to warn man of his depravity and to remind him of his duty to God. And the two most frequent examples of each seem to have been man's woeful inclination to liquor and his failure to keep the Sabbath. Perhaps they were the two most common infractions of Christian conduct and law among his parishioners.

¹KPS, 1860-61 (Ecc1. 9:13), p. 22.

Though Kellogg saw Sabbath observance as of major importance to the Christian and to the Christian community, he saw religion as much more than a Sabbath occupation. It should fill, and be a guide for, man's whole life. And the communion of prayer should be regular and frequent practice.

Although he often spoke of the trials of this world and of the rewards or punishments of the next, when he called men to salvation through Christ, his call was not limited to assurance of future bliss. His principal emphasis was upon "regeneration" and freedom from the sins consequent upon man's natural depravity. He preached freedom from the bondage of sin, so that a man might submit to God's will and thus find the strength to overcome his weaknesses and fears and to fulfill his obligations to his Maker. For only in that way, Kellogg believed, could man find promise of future happiness and peace in this life.

CHAPTER IV

KELLOGG'S METHODS OF SERMON PREPARATION, PRESENTATION, AND DEVELOPMENT

Although the primary purpose of this study has been to discover and to set forth the major lines of theological and ethical thought expressed in Kellogg's sermons, some attention should perhaps be given to the methods which Kellogg used and the manner in which he set forth his ideas. In view of the extraordinary popularity of his preaching, and because his popularity seems not to have been primarily a consequence of his ideas and also because his sermons are not generally known, some consideration of Kellogg's methods and manner of preparation, presentation, and thematic development seems to be required. However, it is not the purpose of this chapter to attempt to examine Kellogg's methods of invention and delivery in any comprehensive way but only to set forth some general notes concerning his rhetorical practices.

Kellogg's Method of Sermon Preparation.--It is difficult to conjecture with any degree of certainty about Kellogg's methods of sermon preparation. However, the manuscripts give several clues to possible practices. Kellogg apparently wrote his sermons in manuscript draft as a method of composition; this perhaps took more than one sitting, for he took the trouble to note on one manuscript that it was written at one sitting.¹

Most of the sermon manuscripts in the Bowdoin College collection are written on folded sheets of blue or grey paper and show evidence of crossing-out and rewriting which seems to have been done at the time of original composition, for such passages are generally followed immediately by their revisions rather than having such revisions written in above.

Some of the sermons, particularly those from the prewar period at the Mariners' Church, seem to be at least second drafts, for they are both of much neater character and more careful handwriting.

¹KPS, 1860-61 (Psa. 46:1).

In general, little attention is given to grammatical niceties. There is little use of punctuation: periods, commas, and capital letters are rarely and irregularly used; colons, exclamation points, and underlining for emphasis are used more often but still irregularly. The exclamation point is generally used with rhetorical questions.

Many of the sermons end with the last few pages seemingly "unfinished," with spaced lines and scattered phrases. Such phrases do not indicate an ideational outline which might be reconstructed, but were probably meant to suggest some example or anecdote, particular illustrations or plea, to their author. Whether such a practice indicates that Kellogg was short of time and in a hurry--which probably was the case--or whether the formally written part of the sermon was the "new" part and the remainder was to be filled-out with a commonplace homily or appeal, or whether the first part of the sermon was merely a means of getting warmed up and the occasion relied upon to supply "inspiration" upon whose wings Kellogg would later soar, cannot be known for certain. The shortage of time seems to be the most likely explanation, for the sermons that are apparently complete suggest neither of the other kinds of "conclusions."

Kellogg's Manner of Presentation.--It is likewise very difficult to determine much about Kellogg's delivery. Such testimony as exists describes it as "eloquent," "vivid," "dramatic," and "forceful"; but such adjectives, while revealing fond appreciation, do not really provide much basis for reconstruction. The most complete statement about Kellogg's delivery is that given by Abiel Holmes Wright:

As a preacher Mr. Kellogg was great, both in the art of making and in the forceful presentation of the sermon. Rhetorical finish and enlivening humor were alike natural and easy to him. I have never heard a preacher who seemed more thoroughly to enjoy the effort of preaching, and few preachers excelled him in the ability to make his audience enjoy the sermon. How quickly could he change the amused interest of the congregation in the play of his humor into serious and solemn emotion by the power and pathos of his forceful appeals, applying the teaching of his sermon to the conscience and the heart.¹

Whatever Kellogg's manner of delivery was, it was probably quite dramatic as examples in his texts would indicate.

There is no reference to Kellogg's reading his sermons, and that may be significant. The uncompleted state of many of the manuscripts suggests that his delivery was probably extemporaneous; and that the manuscripts, whether

¹Abiel Holmes Wright, "A Tribute," Mitchell, p. 198.

or not they were carried into the pulpit with him, should probably be considered to be primarily records of his preparation; and insofar as they are permanent records, of the status of a set of notes rather than as real "texts" of what was actually said on any given occasion.

Preaching from a Biblical Text.--Kellogg almost always preached from a biblical text, and only very rarely from more than a single text in any one sermon. However, his use of the single text was not restrictive; it was sometimes only a starting point for the sermon and not cited except at the very outset. He preached almost equally from Old and New Testament texts.

Kellogg would sometimes refer to other passages in Scripture, but only very rarely would he quote passages other than the original text; he rarely cited specific biblical references, and he did not "pile-up" scriptural citations as proofs; but rather, he might develop the theme of a sermon with supporting examples drawn from the Bible as from an infallible source of historical information.

Methods of Development.--Kellogg's sermons were often loosely structured, anecdotal, and repetitious. Although it would be impossible simply to categorize many

of his sermons according to method of development, Kellogg did seem to favor two general methods of development--by narration and by examples.

Development by Narration.--Kellogg often developed a sermon through narration based upon a biblical text and with application to his congregation. Such a narrative would typically be divided into two parts, with one application passage near the middle and another at the end of the narrative. Such a sermon might be the recreation of a biblical story such as Kellogg's famous sermon on the parable of the Prodigal Son;¹ or it might be a "general" narrative of primitive life such as that based upon the picture of a "wandering shepherdess" drawn from the Book of Canticles;² or it might be an original parable such as Kellogg's parable on "Wresting the Scriptures."³ An example of the development of such a sermon, in this case Kellogg's sermon on the Prodigal Son,⁴ might be outlined as follows:

¹Text published by Mitchell, op. cit., under the title "The Prodigal's Return," pp. 321-37.

²KPS, 1864-75 (Cant. 1:8).

³Included by Mitchell, pp. 338-356.

⁴For the complete text of Kellogg's sermon on the Prodigal Son, see Appendix I-A.

Introduction

Brief statement of the purpose and meaning of the text--the parable of the Prodigal Son.

Body

- I. The nature and inevitable course of ingratitude and disobedience.
 - A. Narration: Kellogg retells the story of the Prodigal Son, filling in more detail.
 1. The "Prodigal's" father is presented as an Hebrew patriarch.
 2. The two brothers are contrasted:
 - a. The elder brother is presented as sober and industrious but without feeling.
 - b. The younger brother (The Prodigal Son) is presented as fickle and restless but of a generous and affectionate nature.
 3. The father is "drawn" to the younger son and hopes that he will turn out well.
 4. The younger son demands his inheritance which he had done nothing to earn.
 - a. He leaves his father's house and sets out on his own.
 - b. He lives in the pursuit of pleasure.

5. His "inheritance" runs out, and he is deserted by his "friends."
 - a. He is forced to tend livestock and to "steal" food from the animals he tends in order to survive.
 - b. He realizes his folly and becomes more sober.
6. The Prodigal thinks of "home" and wishes to return to his father's household.
 - a. At first his pride prevents his return; he is too ashamed to face his family.
 - b. He overcomes his pride, humbles himself, and determines to beg for a position as a servant in his father's household.

B. Analogical Application: The "prodigal" Christian who has wandered from God.

1. Like the Prodigal Son, he demands rights and goods he has not earned and does not deserve.
 - a. He leaves God, turns his back on God's law.
 - b. He lives in sin and indifference to God's commands.
2. But like the Prodigal Son, he is wretched and longs to return to God.
 - a. He is overcome with shame and guilt.
 - b. He wonders can he be forgiven?

II. The return of the Prodigal (repentant) and forgiveness.

A. Narration: The Prodigal Son's return and reception.

1. The "Prodigal's" father is depicted as sitting at home, thinking of his "lost" son, whom he loves.
2. The father sees his son coming, recognizes him, and runs to meet him.
3. The son, overcome with shame, thinks he must turn and flee.
4. But his father greets him and welcomes him back.
5. The Prodigal humbles himself, begs forgiveness, and offers complete obedience and service.
6. His father joyfully forgives him and restores him to his former place of honor and privilege.

B. Analogical Application: Thus it is also with the repentant sinner who returns to God.

1. The "prodigal" Christian wants to return; but as he comes nearer to God, he becomes more aware of his sins and more afraid that he will not be forgiven.
2. But like the Prodigal's father, God will meet and welcome the truly repentant sinner.

Conclusion

Kellogg calls the members of his audience who are out of Christ to recognize that they are in the same position as the Prodigal away from home.

And he invites them to return to God.

Development by Analogous Examples.--In developing a sermon through the use of analogous, or parallel, examples, Kellogg would often begin with a brief explication of the biblical text, including its historical situation and meaning. Such a sermon might begin with a discussion of a particular teaching of Jesus, such as that men should not be so concerned with the things of the world that they lose their own souls;¹ or it might begin with the account of an incident in biblical history, such as the faith and curing of a blind beggar;² or perhaps such a sermon would be developed from a discussion of the patience of Job.³ Such was also the method of development of sermons on "faith" and "man's natural depravity." After beginning

¹KPS, 1864-75 (Matt. 6:26).

²KPS, 1858-59 (Mark 10:51).

³KPS, 1884-89 (Job 5:6 7).

with a biblical example, teaching, or incident, such a sermon would be developed through a series of parallel examples analogous to the original case but drawn from contemporary life, and particularly from the world of commerce, the farm, and the sea. An example of the development of this type of sermon¹ might be outlined as follows:

Introduction

Kellogg begins with a reading of the text and a brief statement of its meaning (text: "Is not the life more than meat and the body more than raiment.")

Body

I. Explication of the text.

A. The Basic Argument (Part I):

1. Major Premises: fundamental truths concerning man's place in natural creation:
 - a. Man is the noblest work of creation.
 - b. The world was made for man.

¹For the complete text, see Appendix I-B.

- c. God is more interested in man (the end) than in the world (the means of man's support).
- 2. Inferences drawn from the major premises concerning man's proper interest in the things of the world:
 - a. Man is foolish and vain to try to outdo the world in particular worldly attributes--physical appearance, strength, etc.
 - b. Such attempts only make man more like the world and less like God.

B. The Basic Argument (Part II):

- 1. Major Premises: fundamental truths concerning God's evaluation of men:
 - a. The soul is contrasted to the body.
 - b. To God the soul is the most important part of a man.
 - c. Man is excelled by all creation in bodily attributes.
 - d. God values men's souls above all other creation!
- 2. Inferences drawn from God's evaluation of man:
 - a. Men should value other men as God values them.
 - b. The example of Jesus is cited to show that God valued the souls of the poor and outcast as well as the souls of the rich and powerful.

II. Amplification through examples of the ideas of evaluation outlined above:

A. Secular Examples: how men in various walks of life value things of the world:

1. Dealer in hides: a man of cultivated sensibilities who spends his day handling "green hides" as the means to support his cultivated tastes for fine perfumes, flowers, etc.
2. Merchant: a refined and educated man who "endures" daily business association with men who are very crude and vulgar.
3. Shipping Master: a well-to-do snob who pretends to be interested in the welfare of sailors in order to get the "head money" that they will bring. --the sailors, too, are presented as cynically feigning respect for the shipping master in order to get employment.

B. Scriptural Examples: how men should value other men:

1. Jesus again cited with references to specific persons with whom he met.
2. Paul's work with the "outcasts" at the Church in Corinth is also cited.
3. The "Lesson" to be taken from the examples of Jesus and Paul is briefly outlined.

C. Summary of argument based upon secular examples and Application to Christian life:

1. The general lesson concerning evaluation to be drawn from the secular examples: how men do and ought to value things.

2. The lesson applied to Christian life.
3. Final Secular Example (Chiffonier seeking jewels among rags and trash) which closely parallels Jesus' and Paul's searches for "pearls" (souls) among the "roughshells of the Oysters" (the downtrodden and outcast); this final example thus draws the secular and scriptural examples of worldly and spiritual evaluations together.

Conclusion

Kellogg ends the sermon with an apparently brief appeal to men to value themselves and others as God values them; and he reminds his listeners that at the final judgment men must be prepared for God's evaluation of them--of their souls.

However Kellogg developed a particular sermon, the examples were usually vividly presented, with much descriptive detail. In both narration and anecdotal example, he used the present tense and direct quotation of dialogue. Such a practice suggests the intended "dramatic" quality of the texts and the probable dramatic quality of their delivery. Whatever Kellogg's preaching was like as a communication act, it seems to have appealed to an extraordinary variety of people over a long period of time.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSIONS

Kellogg's Place in the Intellectual and Social History of Religion in America

Apparently Non-Involved and Unaware.--Perhaps the most striking thing about Kellogg's sermons is how little direct evidence they show of the great intellectual and social reform movements of the 19th Century. Kellogg seems to have been neither in the vanguard nor in the opposition to any particular movement; in fact, for the most part, he seems to have been remarkably unaware of the currents of change around him. At least if he were aware of the various theological and social challenges to traditional religion and ethics, the evidence of such awareness is not to be found in his sermons. He makes no direct references to any contemporaneous religious leaders nor to any liberal trends or movements in protestant theology.

Kellogg's sermons do not show evidence of much reaction at all to Protestant liberalism. Although he

refers to elements of "Christian nurture" and unitarianism, he does not directly name either as formal doctrines. His "refutations" consist primarily of vague acknowledgments that some such "heresies" exist; his primary focus of attention in all cases is upon the setting forth of what he perceives to be the correct doctrine.

Moreover, his only reference to the "unitarian" ideas of Jesus as a great ethical teacher who died as a martyr to his teachings is set forth for the first time in 1882; and Kellogg treats the doctrines, which were major controversial issues of half a century earlier as if they were very minor and very recent "tendencies" of emphasis. That is the closest he comes to addressing the "unitarian" challenge to traditional religion. Kellogg's ambivalence toward the efficacy of "christian nurture" has already been discussed; his "refutation" of liberal claims for christian nurture consists chiefly in setting forth what he perceives to be the correct doctrine relating to natural depravity and regeneration. Nevertheless, it represents the closest Kellogg comes to direct confrontation with Protestant liberalism. In general, evidence of even the existence of the major doctrines of Protestant liberalism is not to be found in the preaching of Elijah Kellogg.

As far as social movements are concerned, Kellogg referred to only two movements in his speeches: abolition and temperance. Although he seems to have disapproved of slavery (his books suggest that he clearly favored abolition), he seems not to have been very ardent in his opposition to it. In his speeches he only refers to slavery as one of the issues, along with intemperance, causing great agitation in Maine during the early part of the 19th Century. Intemperance, on the other hand, was often developed as a theme. Kellogg frequently cited it as an example of human vice, or weakness; it seems to have been his favorite example of one of man's natural tendencies toward evil--part of man's natural depravity. Slavery and abolition, however, do not constitute a theme, nor are they even cited as examples of any kind in Kellogg's sermons. Perhaps the reason for the division of Kellogg's attention on slavery and intemperance, and his ignoring of slavery, was that slavery was not a matter of immediate concern to his parishioners in either Boston or Maine, they neither dealt in nor had any contact with slaves; intemperance, on the other hand, may have been an immediate concern. But it should be noted that during the period of Kellogg's Boston pastorate, anti-slavery

agitation was at its peak; and during his first Harpswell ministry, Harriet Beecher Stowe wrote and published Uncle Tom's Cabin while she lived only a few miles from Kellogg (her husband was on the faculty of Bowdoin College). It seems unlikely that slavery and abolition were entirely "non-issues" to Kellogg's congregations.

The extent of the problem of intemperance among Kellogg's parishioners cannot really be known, but it is clear that Kellogg saw it to be a major problem. But although Kellogg clearly favored abstinence from the use of alcohol, particularly for those who showed a particular inclination to intemperance, and he seems (in his books) to have approved of prohibition, in his sermons he advocated temperance not abstinence. He did not condemn alcohol itself--in fact he argued that as part of God's creation it was both natural and good; but he argued strongly against its misuse. And Kellogg always approached intemperance in his sermons as an individual problem and not as a social problem.

Kellogg's emphasis upon individual rather than social action characterizes his approach not only to the

problem of intemperance but also to "social" problems generally. Although he gave freely of both his own time and money to help others and urged his parishioners to do the same as part of their Christian duty, he seems not to have had much use for organized or institutional social actions. In fact, Kellogg seems to have regarded the use of social welfare institutions and reform organizations as means by which men sought to escape their individual obligations to their neighbors. With such an attitude, it is not surprising that Kellogg did not support or discuss the social gospel movement either directly or indirectly. Kellogg's theology and ethic were concerned with the eternal and the personal, not with the societal or political. He seems to have kept man's obligations to God and neighbor clearly separated from man's obligations to the state, and his religion and sermons were properly concerned with the former and only indirectly with the latter. Such an attitude might also help to explain his apparent non-concern with the problem of slavery; and in this sense Kellogg may be seen as not unlike Harriet Beecher Stowe's famous father, Lyman Beecher. In fact, Beecher is probably the major clergyman whose theological and ethical positions Kellogg's most closely resembles.

Nor does Kellogg show any evidence of having heard of Charles Darwin or the doctrines of evolution. Kellogg accepted a literal interpretation of the Bible as the revealed word of God, including the idea of a "fixed" creation which took place in a seven day week of twenty-four hour days. If Kellogg heard of evolution, and it would seem that he must have, perhaps he determined that it was mere foolishness. And, if his parishioners were not concerned with it (or were perhaps unaware of such notions) certainly there would be no reason to "stir them up" over it. In any case, evolution is not in any way a topic in Kellogg's sermons.

Nor are there any signs of awareness or interest in faith healing of New Thought or Christian Science, adventism, or spiritualism. As with other "non-issues," they neither are evident as influences nor apparently do they involve issues that Kellogg felt it was necessary to address.

When Kellogg did attack theological ideas and social or religious practices, his objects were--with one exception (idolatry of Roman Catholicism)--ideas and practices as they might be found among his parishioners rather than

as propounded by other preachers or practiced by other groups of people. Uses and abuses of prayer, sabbath observance, obligations to work, Christian duties, intemperance, were all treated as "local" and immediate problems and issues. And matters of theological doctrine were generally set forth as Christian truths without reference to conflicting interpretations or doctrines.

Lack of Development.--Kellogg seems neither to have developed very much over his long career, nor to have changed any of his theological opinions. He continued to deliver old sermons, apparently unchanged, over and over again until the very end of his career. While one cannot be certain that the sermons were unchanged, for he apparently delivered them extemporaneously and thus would not necessarily be restricted to the manuscript text, there is no evidence of a change of views in any of the later interpolations. Such "revisions" as there are seem to be primarily matters of style--a word or a phrase altered but the essential meaning left unchanged. And some of his friends, at least, considered him to be "old fashioned" in his ideas toward the end of his career.

Between Traditional Orthodoxy and Neo-Orthodoxy.--

Although there is no developmental connection between 19th Century Orthodoxy and the Neo-orthodoxy of the 20th Century, it may be interesting to note that Kellogg's version of "Orthodoxy" is what one might logically hypothesize as being the bridge between 18th Century Orthodoxy and 20th Century Neo-orthodoxy if such a bridge existed. Of course, such a connection is only apparent, for 20th Century Neo-orthodoxy does not represent a "development" in the orthodox tradition but a reaction to liberalism. The leading Neo-orthodox theologians (probably Karl Barth in Europe and Reinhold Niebuhr in America) were men who began their careers as liberals in the tradition of 19th Century liberalism; their "neo-orthodoxy" represents a reaction to the horrors of 20th Century existence and a return to Calvinistic and Augustinian roots, while nevertheless remaining 20th Century men.

Both Kellogg and the 20th Century Neo-orthodox preachers use the Bible as an historical reference source, a source of great historical truth. Although Kellogg accepted the Bible as the literal word of God and the 20th Century Neo-orthodox accept it only as the inspired word

of men, their uses of the Bible in preaching and in theological argument are very similar. Perhaps the most striking difference between Kellogg's version of Orthodoxy and that of the 20th Century Neo-orthodox preachers is the social concern and involvement with social action programs of the Neo-orthodox preachers; such involvement reflects the Neo-orthodox preachers' "liberal" and social gospel heritage. Nevertheless, unlike the social gospelers, the Neo-orthodox preachers share Kellogg's pessimism about the efficacy of the kinds of reforms of men that the liberals believed social reforms and education would bring about. The 20th Century Neo-orthodoxy theologians, like Kellogg, accept the doctrine of man's natural depravity.

Perhaps the fact that Kellogg's theology and ethic do seem to constitute a bridge indicates that he was not entirely unresponsive to the "spirits" of his times. Kellogg may not have been swept up in any one of the great liberal or romantic movements of the 19th Century, but he was clearly a child of the 19th Century; and his "orthodoxy" is 19th Century Orthodoxy and not 18th Century Orthodoxy.

Elijah Kellogg: 19th Century, New England Orthodox Preacher.--Kellogg was certainly an orthodox preacher

as contrasted to more liberal or more evangelical spokesmen of the 19th Century. His theology was firmly rooted in the tradition of New England Orthodoxy. This is particularly evident in Kellogg's acceptance of the following doctrines: the Bible is the true revealed word of God; the authority of divine Law as set forth in the Bible is absolute; man is totally dependent upon, and obligated to, God; man is naturally depraved and tends toward evil; the civil state (covenant) is divinely sanctioned; Jesus is God (the Son of God and part of the Trinity), and his sacrifice was necessary for atonement.

But Kellogg also shows the unmistakable influence of 19th Century thought and attitudes. Perhaps the most important modification of "traditional" New England Orthodoxy in Kellogg's preaching was his apparent unquestioning acceptance of the idea of universal atonement--universal in intent at least. The doctrines of predestination and an "elect" are as "conspicuously" absent from Kellogg's sermons as are any of the "liberal" notions mentioned above. In this sense, Kellogg's "orthodoxy" may be seen to be very much in keeping with the democratic spirit of 19th Century America. For Kellogg, every man had the power to determine his own fate; though it might be easier for some

men to become converted and to be assured salvation, it was not seen to be automatically assured to any man and was possible for every man.

Although Kellogg did not accept the romantic notion of the essential goodness and perfectability of man (he was not a "perfectionist" like Charles G. Finney, for example), he did accept the power of God to act in the lives of men who were converted, so that there might be great improvement and even great human joy as a consequence of it. And acceptance of the romantic emphasis upon individuality may also be, in part, the reason for Kellogg's apparent rejection of organized social actions and reform movements in favor of individual actions as being the only means of producing effective and meaningful change.

The Sources of Kellogg's Popular Appeal

Although Kellogg's congregations were probably not hostile to his theological and ethical ideas, his message does not seem to be one which would in itself account for his extraordinary popularity. As has already been noted,

he was neither a leader of any movement nor prominent in the opposition to any movement. His popular appeal seems more likely to have depended upon his manner of preaching and his personality than upon his message.

Kellogg as a Preacher.--In spite of Kellogg's own ideas about the role of the preacher (which, as has been noted, was similar to the Puritan notion of the teacher whose task was to address the intellect of his hearers), he was probably most effective as an "entertainer" and a story-teller rather than as a "teacher." The few references to Kellogg's preaching all emphasize his manner of preaching rather than his message. And the testimony reported by Clough in reference to Kellogg's sermon on the Prodigal Son--that a member of Kellogg's congregation might gladly listen to that sermon twice a year and "hunger for a third"--suggests an aesthetic response, or a response to an entertainment, rather than an intellectual response to a message of importance.

Kellogg's Personal Appeal.--Certainly Kellogg seems to have had great personal appeal as a man. This is most evident in his work with individuals--members of his Harpswell parish, "boys" from Bowdoin College, sailors and

young people in Boston. Perhaps part of the strength of his personal appeal, or ethos, may be found in his "joyfulness" and his apparent love for others.

In spite of the harsher Calvinistic elements of Kellogg's theology (particularly in reference to man's depravity and man's duties), the religious experience, fellowship, and life to which Kellogg called men was not an austere or gloomy life but was always described as a joyful experience producing the highest of human happiness. His church services and his general social behavior seem to have been filled with good humor and a sense of joy in living.

As for Kellogg's apparent success with young people: it too probably grew, in part, out of his good humor and positive attitude toward life. But it probably also resulted from his apparently sincere interest in, and respect for, the young and in things that seemed important to them. He seems to have listened to young people as well as to have preached to them; and if he condemned kinds of behavior, he seems not to have condemned people. Such attitudes, especially respect for the young, probably made him contrast sharply not only to other clergymen of

his day, but also to the vast majority of the "older generation"; and thus, not surprisingly, young people flocked to his churches and called him "Father Kellogg" even in the later years of his life, and he was always a welcomed and popular guest of the students at Bowdoin College.

Suggestions for Possible Further Study

Although this study is only an introduction to Kellogg--the first study of him as a preacher--Kellogg is probably not of sufficient importance as a preacher to warrant further or more detailed rhetorical study. However, similar studies of other "less celebrated" but popular 19th Century preachers might indicate that Kellogg was more in the mainstream of 19th Century American Protestantism than were many of the more famous preachers of his day. At least this investigation suggests the possibility that the so-called major movements in 19th Century American liberal Protestantism were perhaps not so major in size as they are commonly supposed to have been.

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APPENDIX I-A

KELLOGG'S SERMON ON THE PRODIGAL SON¹

Text: Luke 15:18,20. "I will arise and go to my father." "But when he was yet a great way off, his father saw him, and had compassion, and ran, and fell on his neck, and kissed him."

The Savior, by a beautiful and affecting story illustrates the natural and inevitable course of ingratitude and disobedience to God. We have placed before us a Hebrew patriarch. In that land now so barren beneath the curse of a despotic government, but once so full of beauty and blossoming, when the Chosen People clothed its now barren mountain peaks with clambering vines and its valleys with waving grass and grain, dwelt a Hebrew, a righteous man among the kindred of his people, to whom God had given goodly land, and flocks and herds in abundance, whose tents stretched far over the plains, and who

¹Text from Mitchell, pp. 321-37.

had servants born in his house. This man had two sons, one of whom was much older than the other. It was a pleasant household; the father was kind and affectionate to his servants and to the poor,--a just man, fearing God and tenderly attached to his children.

As the two brothers were different in their age, so were they in their dispositions. The elder son was sober, industrious, and found in the care of the flocks and the quiet enjoyments of rural life enough to occupy and interest him. The father could put confidence in him, could go away from home and leave all his business to his care, sure that it would be completed as if he himself were present. But though sober, industrious, and trustworthy, and held by the restraints of his education, yet he was not of an affectionate and generous nature, but penurious and severe in his temper, and much more feared and respected than beloved by his servants and his equals. But the younger son was the very opposite. He was full of life and energy, but fickle and restless, and directed his energies to no good purpose. He cared nothing for business nor for cattle. He would not remain at home, but wandered from tent to tent and from vineyard to vineyard and into

the distant city; the farm life was dull and distasteful to him. His father could put no trust in him. If so be that his father went from home and left him in charge of the flocks and the servants, he was sure to find on his return that the flocks had strayed, that some of them had been lost or devoured by the wolves, or to find his son frolicking with the servants, instead of directing their labor. Thus while he could trust the elder son with everything, he could trust the younger son with nothing, and must always watch him with constant anxiety.

Yet, with all his faults, the younger son was generous and affectionate, keen to perceive and understand, and of great determination to accomplish when he was so minded. The father often said to himself: "Oh, that my son would only do well! How much comfort and honor would he be to me! And how much good he might accomplish!" Indeed, it seemed oftentimes that the boy could not help his wrong-doing; his wild, frolicsome, headstrong nature did so hurry him along. Afterward he would be sorry and even shed tears, and then go straightway and do the same again. Yet was the heart of the father more after this wild slip of a boy than after the other.

There is in the heart of the parent a principle, not possible perhaps to be explained, which leads him to be more attached to and indulgent of the youngest child. There is something also in the very anxiety that the follies of the disobedient child occasion which calls out and fosters the affections of the parent more strongly for him than for the one who never gives that cause for uneasiness. The father also felt that the boy, though carried away by the impulses of his own imaginations and the romance of his nature and spirit, was after all of deeper affections and nobler impulses and greater capacity than the other son, and had in him all the raw material of a noble, useful character, could this impetuous spirit and these burning impulses be subdued, not destroyed, and these energies wisely directed. Many a bitter tear he shed, and many a prayer he put up to God for this child of his love and his old age.

Matters went on in this way from bad to worse, the son becoming more and more discontented and uneasy. He listened to the tales of travellers who had been to distant lands and over the sea till his blood boiled, and he said to himself: "Shall I never see anything but these same

hills and valleys? Shall I never hear any discourse but about sheep and goats and fleeces of wool and cheese and barley? Shall I never see anything of the great world of which I hear so much? Must I stay here and milk goats when there is so much pleasure in the world to be enjoyed?" But now the time draws near when he shall be of age and his own master to go where he pleases. How he has been counting the days and reckoning up the time when he shall escape the restraints of home! No sooner has the time arrived than he goes to his father and says to him, "Father, give me so much of your property as belongs to me, my share." He does not ask it as a gift, but as a debt which the father was under obligations to pay him. What right had he to demand anything of the father? Had it been his elder brother who made this demand, who for many years after he was of age had labored hard and given the proceeds of his labor into the common stock, there would have been some justice in the request. But this man had never done anything, had spent all he could get, had tried his father to the utmost, and now had the assurance to come to his father and say: "Such a part of the property belongs to me. I want it, that I may go where I like

and spend it as I wish." He had been so long in the habit of receiving from his father without effort of his own that he had come to consider it as a matter of right.

The father was pained by this ungrateful conduct, and the prodigal in his own heart felt ashamed of himself; in the bottom of his heart he loved and respected his father, but the love of pleasure, his lofty imaginations of the enjoyments to be found in the world of which he had read, heard, and dreamed so much, overpowered all other feelings. Could he only escape from the restraints of home and obtain money and means to gratify his desires, he should be happy. The father without any reproach divides his living and gives to him his share. He has never seen so much money before in his life. He is mad with joy. He thinks it will never be exhausted. He can hardly stop to bid good by to his family, to his father whose heart aches to see this son of his love so glad to leave him. He takes his journey into a far country, just as far from home as he can get, that his friends may not be able to know what he is doing or to trouble him with advice. He's had advice enough. He's had enough of home. He's going to try the world. Now he gives loose

rein to all his lusts. He is soon surrounded by a circle of generous, jovial companions who would die for him; who every day pledge him health and happiness in the social glass; who, so far from troubling him with advice, tell him he is a noble-hearted, princely fellow, and that every thing he says and does is just right. How much better they are than his father's old, stupid, hard-working servants, or than his sober brother who thought only of sheep and begrudged him every cent, or than his father who was always telling him about the temptations of life! These noble, large-hearted fellows tell him money is made to spend and life is made to enjoy.

While he is thus going onward in the pursuit of pleasure, there comes a famine in the land. The prices of food rise to a fearful extent. His money is exhausted, and he is amazed to find that his friends so kind begin to cool in their affections just in proportion as his means diminish. He finds that, so far from dying for him, their intention is to live upon him till he has nothing left and then reproach him for his extravagance. The friend who begged him to make his house his home, just as though he were in his own father's house, intimates that

times are very hard and every one must look out for himself. Hunger succeeds and rags. He who never had a serious thought before is serious enough now. He who never bestowed a thought upon food or raiment must now find food or perish. In his necessity he resorts to the house of a farmer and with humble tone begs work. He who demanded of his father the property he had never earned a dollar of begs for the meanest employment that may keep him from starving! The farmer tells him that he may go into his fields and feed swine and eat a morsel with the servants in the kitchen. But the servants' fare is scanty, just sufficient to preserve life. In the morning after taking his morsel, he goes with a heavy heart to his work. What a contrast! He thought his home lonesome; but where and what is he now? All around him the land is scorched, the streams are dry, the trees leafless. He thought it hard to feed cattle; he must now feed hogs and beg for the privilege. Corn is so scarce that the swine can have only the husks, and he is so hungry that he would fain fill himself with the husks that the swine eat and no man gives unto him. Not one of all his former friends upon whom he has spent so much will give him a crust.

He now comes to himself; for the first time in his life he begins to think. He thinks of his kind old father, of his home where there is plenty. He says, "How many servants of my father have bread enough and to spare, and I perish with hunger!" He says, "Shall I go home?" Pride whispers: "Go home? How can I look upon my father's face, on my brother who was always steady and industrious, and the old neighbors? My very looks will tell what I am, and where I have been, and what I have been doing. No, I won't go home. I can't go home. I will starve to death first." But it is much easier to talk about starving than it is to starve. Hunger and poverty are hard masters. Long is the struggle, terrible. At length he decides. "I will go while I have strength enough left to get there. 'I will arise and go to my father, and will say unto him, Father, I have sinned against heaven, and in thy sight, and am no more worthy to be called thy son.'" And before his resolution has time to cool, he sets out on his journey.

How truly and strikingly does this illustrate the condition of one who wanders from God, and breaks the commands and deserts the house of his Father in heaven. A young man has grown up the inmate of a Christian family,

but God has created him. His abilities of body and mind are from God. The property which he acquires, the ability to obtain it, and the opportunity and the time are God's ability, God's property, God's time. God declares that by using these in his service, he shall be happy in life, and in eternity receive the crown of glory. But these commands are not agreeable to him any more than the commands of the father were to the prodigal. He does not feel that his abilities and happiness are the gift of God, that he is under any obligation to his Father in heaven. In the flush of youth and health and hot blood, he feels that his strength is the strength of stones and his flesh brass. He says to his heavenly, as the prodigal to his earthly, Father, "Give me the portion of goods that falleth to me." He feels that they are his own to use as he pleases, and thus he means to do; though like the prodigal all the return he has ever made to God is to sin against Him. He loves not to think of God and eternity and Christ and sin. So, like the son in the parable, he goes into a far country.

It is not literal space that is here meant; it is the distance of thought and feeling and affections and obedience. A man need not go out of his country to get

far from God. At home, in the practice of all the outward duties of morality, regular in the attendance upon the sanctuary, he may yet live as far from God, as unwilling to submit to His commands, as though living in the most disorderly manner and in open sin. But whether on the ocean and in foreign lands he lives in sin and spends his substance in riotous living and looks everywhere among all forbidden pleasures for happiness, or on the land conceals a proud heart under a correct life, the result is that he is wretched, finds no peace. But now the Spirit of God touches his heart, leads him to reflect upon his true condition. He comes to himself. "I have broken the laws. I have grieved thy spirit. I deserve not the least of thy mercies. Do with me what seemeth good in thy sight." But then the thought arises,--and it is a bitter one,--"How can I go into the presence of that pure and holy God? I, so vile a sinner, who have blasphemed His name! Can such a sin be forgiven."

Let us now consider the reception the son meets with. It is noontide, the time of burning heat. The cattle have sought the groves and the cool places of the hills, or are standing in the running streams beneath the

tall reeds of the jungles. The goats seek the clefts of the rocks. In his tent door, beneath the drooping branches of a sycamore that screen it from the sun, sits an aged patriarch. On his face is that submissive look that tells of high and holy communion with God. All around is peace inviting to repose. The faint breath of the dying breeze is gently rustling the leaves mingling with the hum of bees and the low murmur of a distant brook. The servants are sleeping in the shadow. But the old patriarch slumbers not with his slumbering servants. On his meek face is a troubled look, and now and then a silent tear steals down his cheek and falls upon his clasped hands. He is thinking of his absent, dearly loved, wayward child! From the past he argues disastrously of the future. If so headstrong and reckless under the mild restraint of home, what will become of him when all check is removed? Where is he, on sea or on land, this child of many prayers, many counsels, and bitter anxieties? Is he living in riot and folly, or is he already in suffering and distress, having not where to lay his head? Has he remembered any of the words of affectionate counsel that have been spoken to him? Do his thoughts ever turn toward his home and the friends of his youth?

While the good father is thus sitting in his tent door praying for and thinking of his son, he sees a traveller far off upon the plains, so far that he just discerns him. He thinks, What if that should be my son? So he steps out from the tent door and he looks long and eagerly, for the traveller comes slowly. But as he approaches, the father sees he is lame, footsore, and ragged, and his heart tells him: "This is just the condition in which I might expect my son to come. Ah, yes, that is he." And instantly the father runs to meet him.

But what are the feelings of the prodigal as he draws near his native country and the old familiar features of the landscape strike his eye, and he sees in the distance his father's tent and the old trees under whose shadows he played when a boy? How does he feel? He does not feel one-half the resolution he did when he set out. His hope which at first sustained him begins to waver. He does not feel so much confidence now as he did when he was farther off. He begins to think of his rags, and the appearance he makes. He goes into the thicket and washes his face in the brook and sleeks up his rags, and tries to make himself look decent and respectable to meet his father.

But it is no use. Wherever he touches them they tear and finally fall off altogether, they are so rotten. At length he gives up in despair and says: "Well, I must go as I am, miserable wretch. I can't make myself any better; the more I try the worse I look. There's nothing to make decency out of. Oh! what will my father say to me, miserable? God help me!"

While he is thus talking and going along, he sees his father in the tent door. "Oh," he says, "there is my father now!" Then he stops right short in the road and looks down upon the ground, and is of a good mind to turn back and run away. But while he is hesitating, his father comes running and falls right on his neck and kisses him. And when he feels his old father's arms embracing him, his lips on his cheeks, and his tears on his neck,--oh, that is the worst of all. Then his heart is like to break with sorrow. He did not expect such treatment as this. If his father had only reproached him and said, "You vile, wicked boy, is this what you have come to?" he could bear that better. But this kindness and love,--it quite breaks his heart. Then as soon as he can find voice for tears, he slips out of his father's arms and falls down on his knees

and says: "'Father, I have sinned against heaven and before thee, and am no more worthy to be called thy son.' Don't call me son; it breaks my heart. Make me thy servant, thy slave. Thou didst give me a goodly fortune which I never earned a dollar of. I have spent it all in folly, wasted thy substance, and disgraced thy name in foreign lands wherever I have been. I come here in wretchedness and rags to disgrace thee still more among the neighbors that know thee and thy goodness. Now, Father, let me be thy servant and serve thee, that I may earn thee something to atone for spending thy property and to show that I am really sorry." But the father will hear nothing of all this, and while he is speaking, cuts him short, saying to the servants who stand wondering, "Bring forth the best robe; take off his rags; wash his sores; put a ring on his hands, and shoes on his feet; and bring hither the fatted calf and kill it; for this my son was dead, and is alive again; he was lost, and is found."

Thus it is with the returning and repentant sinner. When he is far from God and is first drawn by the Spirit and assured by revelations of His mercy, he with considerable courage begins to seek and pray. But as he

comes nearer and the light from the Excellent Glory grows stronger, and he sees more of his sins, he begins to doubt and to falter. But when God sees him thus afar off, sees a little love in his heart, He comes to meet him. He puts the robe of Christ upon him and gives to him the signet ring.

My dear friends who are out of Christ, you are away from home. You are perishing. You have no food for your souls. You will die and be lost. Why sit here and perish in a foreign land? Why feed on husks when you may have the choicest of the wheat? There is bread enough in your father's house. Many have gone there; more are on the road; others are coming. Won't you join the goodly company? Be resolute. Say, "I will." Be resolute as in the emergencies of life and business; as when the lee shore is on one side and the gale on the other, and the seaman presses the canvas on the cracking spars and the straining rigging, and the ship must carry it or be dashed upon the breakers; be resolute as when one sees his friend perishing in the water and says, "I will save him or die with him."

My dear hearers, won't you say: "I will go. Nothing shall keep me back from my Saviour. Sins nor

fears nor devils shall not stop me. I will try if I die.

I know that God is merciful."

APPENDIX I-B

KELLOGG'S SERMON ON MAN'S VALUE AND VALUING¹

Purchase, 1864

Matt 6th chapt part of the 26th verse: Is not the life more than meat & the body more than raiment.

This is one of those expressions so frequent in scripture in which a broad statement of a truth a doctrine is made leaving the limitation of it to the common sense of man & the general bearing of scripture. The scripture

¹KPS, 1864-75 (Matt. 6:26). The text is of a sermon first delivered at the Mariners' Church, Purchase St., Boston, in 1864, and delivered an additional 63 times at other churches, the last noted presentation in 1898. The attempt has been made to transcribe the text of the manuscript as accurately as possible: no attempt has been made to add or correct either spelling or punctuation; words enclosed in brackets indicate illegibility in the original but are what is believed to be the correct reading on the basis of what is legible; words enclosed in brackets with a question mark indicate a guess at what the word might be based upon the parts of it that are legible; the question mark in brackets has also been used in the place of words, or parts of words, that are entirely illegible; a line through part of the text indicates that those words were crossed out in the original; a straight line by itself indicates that a line of comparable length was drawn in the original text.

everywhere inculcates industry & a prudent economy when therefore Christ says take no thought for your life what ye shall eat nor yet for your body what ye shall put on & illustrates the truths by a reference to the Lilies of the field which are incapable of effort or prudence the irresistible inference is that He would rebuke that prudence which [ripens] into avarice & [undue?] [? ty] & that love of & Hanking after [splendid riches] & luxury in living which [debauches?] both the soul & the body! He inculcates on the other hand contentment with the ordinary & [comfortable] food & clothing connected with industry prudence & a religious confidence in the goodness & providence of God: His argument is this. Man is the noblest work of the creator as to his soul it was created in Gods own image as to his body it was created erect & displays more [conspicuously] in its [communion] with the soul than any other creation the divine wisdom & power: The world was made for man & not man for the world! There is an [evident] arrangement throughout the whole of nature to meet his spiritual & body wants: The animals ~~were-created-to-give-him-feed~~ the fruits and the plants were created to afford him food & raiment He

loves variety & his Father has [gratified] his [taste]:
 In all the differing [tribes?] of [?] the [wider]
 change of Hill & Dale: He loves music & God has filled
 the universe with it till the streams murmur in soft
 cadences & the Bird calls to its Mate in Melody! He
 loves beauty & God has made all things beautiful in
 their season painted the Lips of the Ocean shell & dyed
 the gorgeous raiment of the Lilies. Now saith the [sav-
 ior] then faithless one shall he who [noteth] the [spar-
 rows] fall [Herdeth] the prey for the [lion?] & feedeth
 & clotheth the whole [trivial] creation which He made
 for thy use not take care of thee whom he made to use
 them shall he who takes care of the Means not take
 care of the end for which he created these Means! No
foolish trustless man there is no such imperfection in
 thy Maker God does not absorbed in the intermediate
process forget the more important end! Therefore
 follow your Makers example & see you do it not. Let it
 not be with you the great & absorbing question[s]
 swallowing up all better & higher interests What shall
 I eat & what shall I drink & wherewithall shall I be
clothed: Is not the life more than meat & the body

more than raiment: The end the design of food & clothing is to support life Hence they are of absolute importance no farther than this: They are the means not the end & the end is greater than the means & must take precedence of it. All beyond this neither prolongs life or adds to its happiness while it lasts! Suppose that a person goes beyond this that He lives in the greatest Luxury that His table is loaded with the earliest & choicest varieties of flesh & [drink] & fruit that the season & the country affords! What is he doing gratifying his appetites which the ox can do as well & better that he for he can eat faster & longer What is he eating earth grass & fruit transformed into flesh by the [baseness?] of animal life Thus becoming more & more of the earth & earthly every day is there anything very excellent in this! Suppose he adorns his person in the most costly apparel adjusted with perfect taste & of the most beautiful colors yet: He must blush in the presence of the Lilies for he is not arrayed like one of these! The life is more than meat & the body than raiment! Christ intends here not the mere animal life of the body in respect to which man hath no preeminence above a Beast for in this respect

they ~~all~~ [both] have one end & go to one place. But he means the life of the soul in which men Hath infinite preeminence above a beast The life of the Beast is supported by meats & drinks & clothing The life of the soul is not. The life of the beasts end with the death of the body the life of the soul does not! The soul is capable of thought [progress?] communication with God the Beast is not How strange than that men should rest in & be anxious about preeminence in these things in which he is surpassed by the Beast & even the plant: in strength eating drinking & external arraiment. neglecting those which constitute in him the image of God & fit him to be with God! When God comes to estimate a man to put a value on him to weigh him in the balance of everlasting truth. He proceeds very differently from us. He does not throw into the scale the clothes which he has or the money in his pocket or in his coffer: His real estate or his mortgages. But He strips him. weighs his soul all these other things are the Offal they make no part the nett weight of Heavens estimate. They are the [trivial] which serve as the instruments of the soul in this world but they are all thrown out & do not come into the account. This was the balance

in which God weighed Belshazzar & by which he was found
 wanting & in which he will weigh everyone of us! Methinks
 we should not therefore spend our lives Like a grasshopper
 that sports in the summer & dies in the fall nor ~~place~~
 [bend] our ambitions to these things in respect to which
 the ox can out lift & the Lily out dress & the Birds
 out sing us But to prove our celestial Heritage by
 doing that which they cannot do serving God cherishing
nobler thoughts & in time preparing for Eternity! For
 the life is more than meat & the body than raiment! That
 which God values in us therefore is the soul it is the
 soul the spiritual life that makes man valuable in the
 sight of God. What a vast wisdom & power has God dis-
 played in in the creation of the world & the various
 tribes of men and [animals] that inhabit it What [in/ on]
 [tley] is here and yet He will destroy the whole of
 it as not worth saving that which men estimate so highly.
 But not so with the soul to save the earth with all its
fruits and Flowers and beauty He will not lift his fin-
gers But to save the soul He will give Jesus Christ his
 son to die in agony on the cross If we are god's people
 we shall look at men and value them as God [Looks] at

them and values them. Not for what is on them but for what is in them That was the way in which Christ valued them not for the clothes they had on the rank they Held in the world or what other people thought of them but for the soul they had in them It made no sort of difference to him whose body it was in whether that of Mary Magdalen or Nicodemus or the rich Joseph of Arimathea it was the soul he was after which he sought and which he died That was because the value was in the soul: Men in business neither are attracted by what they consider the value of a thing. And when their heart is set in the value they do not permit themselves to be kept from attaining it as the unsightliness of the outward appearance. Here shall be a man scrupulously neat in his personal appearance of faultless taste in his dress His person his clothes and his Hankercheif is perfumed with essences. His dwelling is elegantly furnished His apartments perfumed with flowers for he is especially gratified by perfumes and is impatient of disagreeable scents and yet this same man upon occasion will go down into the Hold of a ship laden with green hides from South america reeking with abominable smells [? ?] the basement of a ware House and looking

them over because clean money and because all the money
 in his coffers and all the beauty of his Parlors and
 draperies of his rooms and the Luxuries of his table grew
 out of these same hides! And the end sanctifies the
 means. Here is another He is a merchant we will call him
Ephraim the balances are in his hand He has travelled
 much read much he has enlarged his mind and refined his
 taste by intercourse with men of varied culture. But in
 the way of his business he has to do with a great many
 rough men their company is disagreeable their oaths and
 their vulgarity shock him yet. He endures it all not
 for a day but for a lifetime: Why! because there is in
 them a value to him They do his work they bring him rich
 cargoes. Here is a man He keeps a shipping Office He
 would not associate with his customers out of business
hours. He lives out of town. Handsome place Trees and
shrubbery. Every morning he is at his place & there come
 in men Portugese Dutch men yankees & all kinds. He is
 pleasant for men are scarce a smile for everyone. He has
 [some] [capital] chances good ships almost new just old
 enough to have the rigging turned in the running gear [so
 as to] run easy & the [chafing nets] made first rate

Officers plenty to eat, Liberty to get ashore, watch &
watch & no work sundays [which means being interpreted
 something else] means that he hates the very sight of
 these men that He cares just as much where they go to &
 what kind of ships they get & what becomes of them as
 the [Covier?] out to Brighton cares what becomes of the
 cattle He sells. where they go to [a] what slaughter
 house they are killed at & [the sailors] But He is
 kind & pretends interest because he wants the Head Money
 thats their value to him. The sailors are not deceived
 they want a ship thats his value to them & so they
 profess to believe him & speak him fair. But as for
him they would not fish him up if he was between the
 vessel & the wharf they would say let him go its
 [only] a [Marine] its [only] a shipping Master.
 But here is another man the man Jesus Christ. He is
 sitting in the House of Simon (~~the-Leper~~) -----
 ----- There comes in a woman by common reput of
low character His [?] is offended at her pres-
ence ----- He is sitting at the well of
 sumaria ----- after the soul----- there is
 another man we will call him Paul He is of noble

intellect keen penetrating mind capable of filling the highest position in the community [nay] he is ahead in a high [pos----- ?] But he has embraced the doctrines & imbibed the spirit of Jesus from him he has learned that the soul is the maine thing that the worth of a man is his inward worth not the clothes he wears or the wealth he possesses. He has gathered a church. What people these were who composed that corinthian church see what he says about them-----Thieves [?] Drunkards [?] -----

How it must have pained the heart of Christ & of Paul to associate with those whom they met while they were thus [vite] but they did it because they weighed the value of the soul in the balance of eternity they looked through the roughshells of the Oysters to the pure Pearls within! Therefore if the men of the world in all their intercourse with men & things [can] [deny] themselves & do violence to all their tastes trample on their sensibilities not for a day but a life time & make themselves the veriest drudges to their work shall not those who sit at the feet of Jesus & profess his name learn to deny themselves & value their fellow men as he who died for them & prayed [his mind for them] valued them! Look

at the Chiffonier He goes into the [drains] among the
rats He overhauls the Heeps of garbage because he loves
the vile work no but because he [whiles/finds --will/
find?] a jewels there which when cleaned & polished the
noble will not disdain to wear on his finger or the
Monarch in his crown now a man is better than a jewele
& in groping among the poor the ignorant & the wicked we
may find a jewel that shall shine with eternal lustre
when earth & all its pomp & splendor shall have perished
My independent friends do you estimate your soul at its
true value as you value others property -----
----- There will be a weighing day -----
----- 1 -----

¹ Thus ends the written text, followed immediately
by a blank page & the back "cover" page on which are noted
some of the 63 times and places where Kellogg delivered
this sermon.

APPENDIX II-A

A COMPLETE LIST OF BOOKS BY ELIJAH KELLOGG

Good Old Times; or Grandfather's Struggle for a Homestead.

First published as a serial story in Our Young Folk's in 1867; published in book form in 1878-- see below.

Norman Cline. Published by the Congregational Sunday-School Publishing Society of Boston in 1869.

The following titles were all published by Lee and Shepard of Boston:

ELM ISLAND STORIES

Lion Ben of Elm Island. 1869.

Charlie Bell, The Waif of Elm Island. 1869.

The Ark of Elm Island. 1869.

The Boy Farmers of Elm Island. 1869.

The Young Ship Builders of Elm Island. 1870.

The Hard-Scrabble of Elm Island. 1870.

THE PLEASANT COVE SERIES

Arthur Brown the Young Captain. 1870.

The Young Deliverers of Pleasant Cove. 1871.

The Cruise of the Casco. 1871.

The Child of the Island Glen. 1872.

John Godsoe's Legacy. 1873.

The Fisher-Boys of Pleasant Cove. 1874.

THE WHISPERING PINE SERIES

The Spark of Genuis; or the College Life of James Trafton.
1871.

The Sophomores of Radcliffe; or James Trafton and his
Bosom Friends. 1872.

The Whispering Pine; or the Graduates of Radcliffe Hall.
1872.

Winning his Spurs; or Henry Morton's First Trial. 1872.

The Turning of the Tide; or Radcliffe Rich and his
Friends. 1873.

A Stout Heart; or the Student from over the Sea. 1873.

FOREST GLEN SERIES

Sowed by the Wind; or the Poor Boy's Fortune. 1874.

Wolf Run; or the Boys of the Wilderness. 1875.

Brought to the Front; or the Young Defenders. 1876.

The Mission of Black Rifle; or On the Trail. 1876.

Forest Glen; or The Mohawk's Friendship. 1877.

Burying the Hatchet; or the Young Brave of the Delawares.
1878.

THE GOOD OLD TIMES SERIES

Good Old Times (mentioned above). 1878.

A Strong Arm and a Mother's Blessing. 1881.

The Unseen Hand; or James Renfew and his Helpers. 1882.

The Live Oak Boys; or The Adventures of Richard Constable
Afloat and Ashore. 1883.

APPENDIX II-B

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