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The Third Lecture: One Hundred and Fifty Years of Anti-Popery at Harvard

Douglas C. Stange

The Third Lecture to be for the detecting and convicting and exposing of the idolatry of the Romish Church, their tyranny, usurpations, damnable heresies, fatal errors, abominable superstitions, and other crying wickednesses in their high places, and finally that the Church of Rome is that mystical Babylon, that Man of Sin, that apostate Church spoken of, in the New Testament.

When the will of Judge Paul Dudley (1675–1751) prescribing a lectureship for Harvard was read, the Roman Catholic Church was greatly feared in all Protestant lands. Dudley's home region, New England, had grown hysterical over the political intrigues of the Stuarts in Great Britain and over the maneuvers of the French and Indians on its frontiers. New Englanders devoutly believed that the Church of Rome was detrimental to their own political and social liberty. Dudley, the grandson of the first governor of Massachusetts, revealed his personal share of this anxiety in the establishment of a series of annual lectures at Harvard, his alma mater. His bequest of 133 pounds, six shillings and eight pence, declared that four subjects should be treated in rotation: 1) natural religion, 2) revealed religion, 3) the errors of Popery, and 4) the validity of non-episcopal ordination.

It is disappointing that so little research and analysis has been given the Dudleian lecture series, for the catalogue of persons who delivered them constitutes an impressive registry of distinguished men.[1] For

[1] Sister Mary Augustina Ray discussed a number of the 18th century Dudleian lectures on anti-Popery. *Cf. American Opinion of Roman Catholicism in the Eighteenth Century* (New York, 1936), 88, 126–138, 211, 379–380, 392. Perry Miller, in delivering one of the Dudleian lectures himself, gave attention to those on natural religion. *Cf.* Perry Miller, "The Insecurity of Nature, Being the Dudleian Lecture for the Academic Year 1952–1953, Harvard University, Delivered in Andover Chapel, April 14, 1953," *Harvard Divinity School Bulletin*, XIX (1953–1954), 23–28.

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example, nearly all the "anti-Popery" lecturers were graduates of Harvard, half of them are listed in the *Dictionary of American Biography*, and all their writings garnered together would comprise an imposing bibliography of history, theology, and literature. In the myriad of today's publishing ventures it is unfortunate that one project does not include the redaction and publication of the complete lecture series. However, before the day arrives when a student of church history and theology may have such a set of Dudleian lectures on his shelves, bibliographical research is a necessity. This essay seeks to provide bibliographical information for those particular lectures on anti-Popery.

In a way, Paul Dudley himself delivered the prototype of the lectures on anti-Popery in his tract written in 1732 entitled, *An Essay on the Merchandise of Slaves and Souls of Men.* In the essay Dudley praised the Protestant primacy of the Bible and condemned the papal primacy of Rome. For Dudley the division in Christendom between Protestant and Catholic was irreconcilable: "A Communion of Light with Darkness, or a Concord between *Christ* and *Belial* may as soon be expected," suggested the Judge, "as a Union between *Protestants* and *Papists*, so long as they adhere to their respective Principles and Worship." [2]

Edward Wigglesworth (1693-1765), the first Hollis Professor of Divinity at Harvard, gave the initial third lecture on anti-Popery in 1757. Wigglesworth enunciated ideas similar to those of Dudley in his lecture, *Some Thoughts upon the Spirit of Infallibility, Claimed by the Church of Rome.* The claim to infallibility, declared Wigglesworth, depreciated the role of Scripture. Everything necessary to salvation was to be found in the Bible and no papal intermediary was necessary (p. 29).[3] When he concluded, Wigglesworth cautioned his hearers to keep their eyes upon the Roman Catholic Church — that "restless, incroaching and implacable Enemy to *Protestants* of every Denomination" (p. 31).

[2] [Paul Dudley,] *An Essay on the Merchandise of Slaves and Souls of Men; Revelation XVIII.13. With an Application Thereof to the Church of Rome. By a Gentleman.* (Boston, 1732), p. 30.

[3] Page references are given to the appropriate tract in the list of Dudleian lectures appended to this essay. Where lectures exist only in manuscript form, page numbers are given only where the lecturer himself indicated page numbers. All the manuscripts are in the Harvard University Archives and are used here with the permission of the Harvard College Library.

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Four years later, Thomas Foxcroft (1696-1769), a Congregationalist pastor in Boston, spoke on "The Pope's Supremacy, an Usurpation." In an exegetical study of Mark 10:43, he decried any idea of the primacy of St. Peter, and surely stirred the young Harvard undergraduates seated before him when he shouted, "May the true *Reformed* Religion ever continue the Glory of *New England!*" (p.44)

Such outbursts have to be understood by viewing the intellectual and religious environment which produced the lecturers. For instance, when the next quadrennial lecturer, Jonathan Mayhew (1720–1766), died, considerable comment arose because Dr. Chauncy prayed at his funeral. This supposedly had been the first prayer ever offered at a Boston funeral, so anxious were New Englanders to avoid any "Catholick" practices such as praying for the dead.[4]

Mayhew himself, in his discourse in 1765, attacked these prayers in a broad assault upon the popular doctrines of Roman Catholicism. Without a doubt Mayhew's severity in tone and the energy he displayed in completing his task as a Dudleian lecturer were enormous. He did not mince words in delivering his essay on *Popish Idolatry*. The eucharist, saints, pictures, images, mariolatry, and purgatory of the "papists" received in turn vigorous denunciation. For Mayhew, Rome was the biblical "filthy prostitute," "the mother of harlots," and, oddly enough, at the same time "the Man of Sin" (pp. 44, 52). Moreover, he issued the warning: Rome's agents were going from country to country "seeking whom they may devour," and America should be on guard against them! (p. 51)

In 1769, Samuel Mather (1706–1785), the son of Cotton Mather, came to the podium for the third lecture. Taking for his title, "Popery a Complete Falsehood," Mather proclaimed his accusation was based upon the Holy Scriptures. The main content of his lecture carried not the importance of the charge he delivered at its conclusion, for he told "the blooming youth" of Harvard (its Divinity students in particular) that he commended them to the love of God and a hatred of popery — "not indeed to a *childish* or blind or *bigotted one*; but to *an* understanding and rational Hatred of it. . . [!] (pp. 22–23).

Mather legitimatized his admonition to hate Rome by citing Scripture. Samuel Cooper (1725–1783) likewise would do so in his *Discourse on the Man of Sin*, in 1773. Cooper believed that even without

[4] William B. Sprague, *Annals of the American Pulpit*, Vol. VIII (New York, 1865), 25.

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the prophecy of Scripture, reason and common sense would tell us that Popery was in "the true and proper sense, *antichristian*" (p. 18), and the Pope was the antichrist — "*Lucifer*, the son of morning" (pp. 61–62). Moreover, a "Romish Bishop" and the "Popish colony" of Canada existed not far from us and were gaining converts from among New England Protestants (p. 65). Cooper expressed his concern that America's vigilance was lessening and warned everyone to be on guard since Popery was "incompatible with the safety of a free government" (pp. 65, 66).

In 1777, Edward Wigglesworth (1732–1794), who had followed his father in the Hollis Professorship, attacked *The Authority of Tradition* in his Dudleian lecture. His main point was plain not only to his hearers, but to the readers of his lecture as well: "We may safely abide by the Protestant doctrine, that THE SCRIPTURES ARE SUFFICIENTLY CLEAR AND PERSPICUOUS IN ALL POINTS THAT IMMEDIATELY CONCERN OUR ETERNAL SALVATION" (p. 34).

In 1781, the task of the Dudleian lecture for William Gordon (1728–1807) was a bit more difficult than it had been for his predecessors. The American colonists were allied to France, a great Catholic power, and naturally it is not particularly judicious to attack the religious life of your allies. Yet Gordon stood firm in the tradition of the third lecture. "While we are politically allied to Popish powers," he confided, "and admit the right of all to judge for themselves in matters of religion, . . . let us not, decline opposing the erroneous tenets of *Popery*, and become indifferent to *Protestant* truths."

The President of Harvard College, Joseph Willard (1738–1804), followed Gordon as the next anti-Popery lecturer. Speaking in 1785 on "Persecution Opposite to the Genius of the Gospel," Willard cautioned his hearers to avoid assuming the attitude of persecutors in meeting the threat of the "Romanists." Although the Church of Rome had the "blood of hundreds of thousands if not millions" on her hands we should not wish the destruction of her members. We may use argument and persuasion to lead them away from their errors, but never violence and cruelty. Frequent prayer, the irenic Willard declared, was an effective approach to change the hearts of the "Romanists" (pp. 41, 45–46).

Willard's attempt to mix a few kind words in his polemic was copied by Jason Haven (1733–1803) in 1789. Haven, in a lecture on "The

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Doctrine of Merit, and Supererogation as Held, and Applied in the Romish Church," tried to induce his listeners to believe a sick tree could still bear some healthy fruit. We attack doctrine, proclaimed Haven, not persons. When the Catholics claim "there is no salvation outside their Church," he reasoned, "we do not retort that there is none in it" (p. 27).

John Lathrop (1740–1816), the Dudleian lecturer in 1793, and the first non-graduate of Harvard to offer the polemic on anti-Popery, spoke on the "tyranny and usurpation" of Rome. But Lathrop, like Willard and Haven before him, spoke with some softness in his lecture; even to the point of admitting that Catholics had the right to designate the foibles of Protestantism (p. 7). The fact, however, that the decay of European Catholicism was forcing immigrants of "Popery" to come to the United States was evidence to Lathrop that the Dudleian lectures continued to be important. They provided a platform whereby argument and reason could be used to win the immigrants over (p. 30).

The Dudleian lectures on anti-Popery reached a nadir in quality with the lecture given by Josiah Bridge (1740–1801) four years later, a flowery and incoherent effort on the faults of Rome. Charles Stearns (1753–1826) did considerably better in his lecture given in 1801, a comparison between paganism and the papacy. For Stearns there was little difference between the two, the Church of Rome simply being "the substance of Paganization under the accidents of Christianity." The Unitarian minister from Lincoln, Massachusetts, also admitted that some persons supposed a discourse on the errors of Popery could no longer be made interesting.

Thomas Thacher (1756–1812) pumped fire into the quadrennial polemic by delivering a rancorous lecture on miracles, in 1805. Rome was simply "an empire of despotism more *false*, *sanguinary*, *and destructive* to [God's] creatures, than any superstition and idolatry before existing"; or, Thacher added, than "any earthquake, famine, or pestilence, which convulsed the natural world" (p. 4). He prayed with the Harvard students that God would unnerve the arm of this "formidable monster" — the Roman papacy (pp. 5, 26).

If any Americans were beginning to wonder what the contest with Rome was all about, John Allyn (1767–1833), the lecturer for 1809, would refresh their memory. After Allyn confessed that many people did feel the subject of anti-Popery was obsolete, he went on to assail

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1.) the remembrance of the saints, 2.) transubstantiation, 3.) Purgatory, 4.) the doctrine of auricular confession and 5.) worship in Latin (pp. 5f.). He asked the Harvard students to push back not to the Reformation, but to the Apostolic Age (p. 46).

Stearns, Thacher and Allyn were very much alike in background. All were Harvard graduates, members of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, and Unitarian ministers. Their credentials, as those of their fellow lecturers, contained nothing which particularly qualified them to speak on anti-Popery. They were selected for this academic honor because of their eminent position in society and for the intellectual recognition they had achieved. None of the lecturers mentioned or yet to be named was traveling the lecture circuit espousing the downfall of Rome. They were not 18th or 19th century American nativists, but for the most part pastors and professors of the Liberal Protestant tradition (almost solidly Unitarian) who could be counted upon to deliver a polemic on the evils of Rome for Harvard, if requested to do so.

As we saw with Willard, even the president of the College himself could receive the call to speak on anti-Popery. This situation was repeated with the presentation by the amiable John Thornton Kirkland (1770–1840) who gave the lecture in 1813. A Unitarian minister and a popular president of Harvard, Kirkland broke with most of his predecessors at the Dudleian lecture platform by denying the allegory that the Man of Sin spoken of in the Bible was the Pope. He attempted to remain on a positive level and emphasized the principles of the Reformation, which in his mind were the supremacy of the Scriptures and liberty of conscience in the exercise of private judgment.

Nathaniel Thayer (1769–1840) and John Pierce (1773–1849) also chose to enunciate these principles in their lectures given respectively in 1817 and 1821. Their statements bore a close resemblance to that of President Kirkland. Thayer, in attacking the neglect of reason in both Roman Catholicism and Protestantism, cited the principles of the Reformation to be the adequacy of the Bible as a Rule of Faith and the inalienable right of each individual to the free exercise of his own judgment and conscience in interpretation (p. 27). Pierce in turn felt that the doctrines of the Reformation could be reduced to two: "The sufficiency of scriptures, and the right of private judgment" (p. 20).

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The emphasis upon the use of reason, the sufficiency of Scriptures, and especially, the primacy of private judgment as concepts are interesting here. Thayer and Pierce were Unitarian clergymen who disliked the stiffness and creedal aspects of magisterial Protestantism. Thayer directed his aim at two targets when he remarked, "Both the Reformed and Papal Churches have groaned under a burden of absurd theories, unprofitable forms, superstitious observances, visionary terrorism, and delusive hopes" (p. 5). Pierce was no less explicit when he declared that there had been "too much Protestant Popery in every successive generation" (p. 20).

The apparent shift in the lectures made by Thayer and Pierce was reversed when William Jenks (1778–1866), a Congregationalist minister and former professor from Bowdoin College, took the lectern in 1825. Apprehensive that there was currently too much a disposition to view "the errors of Rome as unimportant and trivial," Jenks declared that discussion of the dangers of the Papacy should not be branded "with the opprobrious names of illiberality and bigotry." He favored a reassertion that the antichrist of the Book of Revelation was the Pope, and expressed concern about the infiltration of America's great western frontier by Jesuit emissaries.

A more charitable approach was followed by Hosea Hildreth (1782–1835) in 1829. A Unitarian clergyman in Gloucester, Massachusetts, Hildreth told his Harvard audience that no longer could the Church of Rome be held up to "hatred and scorn." Accordingly, to attempt to gratify any hidden feeling of prejudice which may exist in the community, would be "immoral and unchristian" (p. 5). The Roman Catholic Church had changed so much and had lost so much of her political power, Hildreth explained, we should throw "the mantle of *forgiveness*, if not *forgetfulness*, over [her] enormities and corruptions of past ages" (p. 5). A great number of the "Romish religion" most certainly belong to Christ's Church, he continued, but the religion as a whole was "a gross corruption of Christianity" (p. 17).

Convers Francis (1795–1863), a Unitarian minister and later a professor at the Harvard Divinity School, returned to the thinking of Thayer and Pierce, in his presentation in 1833. Francis called the work of labelling the Pope the Man of Sin a fruitless task. Better to associate these biblical images with principles, Francis urged, than individuals. Much "popery" existed in Protestant sects which "should be equally held up to impartial reprobation." His complaint against the Church

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of Rome lay in its unfriendliness to man's progress and its lack of adapting itself to the needs of "an enlightened age."

The next Dudleian lecturer on anti-Popery, James Walker (1794–1874), agreed with Francis in debunking the favorite interpretation Protestant polemicists had given the Scriptural passages on the "Man of Sin." The future President of Harvard University ridiculed the idea that Christians were "at liberty to abuse one another to their hearts content provided that they [did] it in Scriptur[al] language." But he went on to relate the growth of the Roman Catholic Church in the United States and provided his audience with the awesome statistics. Moreover Walker reminded those present that America was bounded on the North by a country whose Catholic population held a four to one majority over Protestants, and on the south and west by a land where Roman Catholicism alone was tolerated. He called Protestants to rally as one man to "the defense of the sufficiency of the Scriptures, and the right of private judgment in the interpretation of the Scriptures."

The swelling Roman Catholic population in the United States would invoke considerable comment among the Dudleian lecturers. In 1841 David Damon, a Unitarian clergyman in West Cambridge, showed the imbalance of Catholic power in the world; the Church was declining in Europe, but rapidly rising in numbers and influence in America. "Is there anything to be anxious about?" he asked. "There is always something to be feared and something to be done by those who wish and intend to be free," Damon answered himself. Fortunately, the Catholic immigrants were Irish, a people blessed with humor, imagination, spirit, and an "honest, instinctive, hereditary love of liberty." Damon believed a heavy migration from Italy, Portugal, and Spain would be dangerous, but maintained that with the Irish, their "attachment to the Romish Church and priesthood must evaporate" in the face of American democratic education and influence; in fact, Damon believed the idea of *encouraging* the immigration of Irish to the United States, in order to save them from starvation and convert them to Protestantism, was a very good one.

Edwards Amasa Park (1808–1900), a graduate of Brown University and Andover Seminary (later a distinguished member of the faculty of the latter school), also showed concern over America's Catholic population explosion. After a rather comprehensive indictment of the Catholic Church in the lecture for 1845, entitled "In-

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tellectual and Moral Influence of Romanism," Park gave his reason for his incisive remarks. He believed "our beloved land [was] threatened with serious evil from the inroads of the papal church." The church, perfected in its organization by the "work of ages" and "thousands of minds," would have influence wherever it formed a part of society, and "this influence was particularly injurious to a republic" (pp. 485–486). Park spelled out exactly what he meant:

> The danger is that these uneducated masses of laymen will be bought and sold by their leaders to political demagogues. The very existence of such a multitude who may be disposed of in the gross, is a temptation to a species of chicanery which a free government is not fitted to endure. (p. 487)

But the Dudleian lecturer quickly admonished his hearers: "I am no alarmist. I have strong confidence in the Protestant mind. It will at last prevail over Papal discipline" (p. 488).

In 1849 George W. Blagden (1802–1884) stated as his main theme in a colorless lecture that the errors of popery were better ascribed to common human nature than to the results of Romanism. More decisive and important lectures in content and style were given by the next two Dudleian lecturers, George W. Burnap (1802–1859), who spoke on "The Errors and Superstitions of the Church of Rome," in 1853, and Rollin Heber Neale (1808–1879), in 1857.

Burnap, a Unitarian clergyman of the First Independent Church in Baltimore, Maryland, continued a familiar theme: The Pope's power internationally had declined, but America's Catholic minority at work within the country's political institutions could possibly establish his power here. Dudley himself would be surprised, Burnap explained, to see that a convent had arisen in sight of Harvard Yard, that a Catholic college had been founded in the heart of Massachusetts, and that the Roman Catholic population in America had soared through immigration (p. 48). A population of two millions exerted great political power, he declared; when it began to demand its own school system, or, in Burnap's words, as a "sectarian interest" it interfered with the system of public education, then the Dudleian lecture became "a word in season more than it was before" (p. 49).

Burnap attacked what he considered to be the three fundamental errors of Rome: 1) Its ultraconservatism, 2) Its corporate spirit, i.e., "a disposition to sacrifice everything to the interests of a gigantic and perpetual corporation," and 3) Its unfriendliness to the dissemination

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of the Holy Scriptures (pp. 49f). But Burnap saw hope for the Catholic Church in the multitudes who were coming to American shores. Here the Church would be radically transformed, since in the United States she had

> no past to back her authority, and she must stand or fall as do other forms of Christianity, by her utility alone. All that she teaches, and all that she does, must be subjected to the cool reason and keen-eyed utilitarianism of the American mind. Nothing she can do or say will carry back this great nation one step towards the errors and superstitions of the ages that are gone, and she must quietly submit . . . and suffer such modifications as her proximity to Protestantism must inevitably bring about. (pp. 62–63)

Neale, a Baptist clergyman and a member of the Board of Overseers at Harvard, speaking four years later, agreed with Burnap's analysis. Although he felt the Catholic Church would make some converts in America, Neale believed this warranted little anxiety. The first generations of Irish, he remarked, will remain in the Church of Rome, but what about later generations? Breathing the air of freedom they will not listen to talk of Papal infallibility or priestly authority. Conversions from Catholicism and modifications of the religion will take place.

Neale's lecture on anti-Popery would be the last one for nearly a generation. The whole lecture series was allowed to lapse in order to permit the Dudleian fund to accumulate. When the lecture on anti-Popery was resumed in the academic year 1891–1892, American opinion of Roman Catholicism, of course, at Harvard, in New England, and among Protestant liberals, had changed to a large degree. The turnabout was so apparent at Harvard that in 1890 a Roman Catholic Bishop, the president of Catholic University in Washington, D.C., the Right Reverend John J. Keane, was invited to give the Dudleian lecture on revealed religion. *The Christian Register*, a Unitarian newspaper commenting upon the event, wished the President of Harvard might also be asked to speak in turn at Catholic University, and announced that the occasion "would not cause more amazement — not to use any stronger word — to Roman Catholics of our day, than the founder of the lecture at Harvard would have experienced, had he gone forth from his tomb in Roxbury to be a listener in Appleton Chapel." [5]

Indeed, attitudes had been so transformed in the intervening gen-

[5] *The Christian Register*, LXIX (1890), 695–696.

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erations that fifty-eight members of the Faculty of Arts and Sciences at Harvard petitioned the Corporation to remove the third lecture, even at the cost, if necessary, of forfeiting the whole series. Their request was refused by the Corporation, who suggested that cancellation of the lecture would be a breach of trust. They were confident that a worthwhile historical presentation could be given without hurting severely the sensibilities of Roman Catholics.[6]

Ephraim Emerton (1851–1935), the first Winn Professor of Ecclesiastical History at the University, presented the Dudleian lecture on anti-Popery in 1891. Following the Corporation's suggestion, Emerton avoided excessive controversy by presenting a historical account of the papacy, an approach previously used by several of the Dudleian lecturers. In this manner it had been easier to refer to "popish errors" with greater disinterest than by attacking particular doctrines or features of the Church of Rome. Emerton, interpreting his history as he related it, extolled the virtues of Protestantism, especially its hostility to any form of mechanical religion, and its appreciation of the right of diversity. Rome on the other hand, had always employed "an elaborate mechanical system of intermediary agencies" between God and man, and emphasized the absolute necessity of uniformity (pp. 253, 254, 256). Above everything, however, Emerton believed the chief sin and weakness of the Catholic Church was its claim to be universal (p. 258).

It was exactly on such claims that Brooke Herford (1830–1903) would address his Harvard audience, in 1895, in a lecture called, *Liberalism's Answer to the Claims of the Romish Church*. Herford was

[6] Professor Francis J. Child had led the list of petitioners. The Corporation had declared in part that

> The language used by the Chief Justice, who was a just and sincere man, is language characteristic of the time when animosities among religious sects were bitter and intense; and if he were to draw the clause to-day, it would be couched in different terms and would breathe a very different spirit. No lecturer could with propriety use such language, adopt such views, or be inspired by such a spirit, as is disclosed by the expressions of the Chief Justice in drawing the third clause of his will. At the present time this subject should be and doubtless will be treated historically. Great changes have taken place in the opinions of theologians, scholars, and historians, not only in regard to the attitude to the Catholic Church, but also in regard to natural and revealed religion and the ordination of ministers; and the opportunity may well be taken in delivering this third lecture to soothe and allay the animosities and bitterness of the past, and deal with these questions in a broad, scholarly, and magnanimous spirit.

Cf. Harvard University Bulletin, VI (1892), 342.

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one of the preachers to the University. Having been born and educated in England, Herford consented only with some reluctance when called upon to deliver the Dudleian lecture. Unitarians and Catholics had suffered together in England and Herford had grown up with an admiration for Catholics as allies (p. 4). But he thought one could separate the exorbitant claims of the Church's hierarchy from the piety of its laity. Surprisingly, Herford lowered the intellectual level of his lecture by relating a number of spicy folk tales about Roman Catholics, e.g., laymen surreptitiously baptising children, and so on (pp. 14f). A number of Roman Catholics who heard Herford's lecture later rebutted much of his argument.[1]

The two Dudleian lectures on anti-Popery which in succession followed Herford's were Crawford Howell Toy's (1836–1919), "Pope Leo XIII," in 1899, and Alexander Viets Griswold Allen's (1841–1908), "The Catholic Church and the Modern Sense of Nationality," in 1904.

Toy, Hancock Professor of Hebrew and other Oriental Languages at Harvard, cited as Rome's greatest error the dogma of the Church's absolute control over the individual. He quoted Pope Leo XIII in order to show that the Catholic Church's attempt to control voluntary organizations, philosophical thought, and politics was still a living reality (pp. 66, 67, 68).

Allen, a professor of church history at the Episcopal Theological School in Cambridge, presented a lengthy essay on what he thought were the two forces which broke down the sovereignty of the Church of Rome — nationality and individualism (p. 36). The power of the Church had fallen so far that she had been forced to proclaim papal infallibility as "a basis of authority or means of regaining it" (p. 63).

When Arthur Cushman McGiffert (1861–1933) presented the last Dudleian lecture in 1909, he noted the historical distance between Dudley's bequest and contemporary thought. "The spirit of toleration has taken hold of us," declared the great historian of church doctrine in his lecture, "Modernism and Catholicism" (p. 24). The modernists were dreaming of an ideal Catholicism, he explained, a Catholicism that would carry them back to Jesus himself. In this pursuit they

[1] For two such rebuttals, *Cf.* Bertrand L. Conway, *et al.*, "Catholicism vs. Science, Liberty, Truthfulness," *The Catholic University Bulletin*, II (1896), 356–387; and David Moyes, "Reply to Dudleian Lecture," *New-York Freeman's Journal*, December 28, 1895.

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were co-partners with Protestant Liberals who were also seeking this simple Christianity. McGiffert saw in this a great ray of hope; notwithstanding Dudley's idea that union would ever be impossible, he stated that herein lay "the great promise of the future — the promise of a wider unity and a more general coöperation than [had] yet been known, and so of the speedier and better accomplishment of the common task" (pp. 45, 46).

Thereafter, the third lecture was terminated, for the Harvard Corporation was finally persuaded that it no longer served any purpose.[8] The lecture's incongruity and intolerance at Harvard could itself no longer be tolerated. Still, the remaining subjects of the Dudleian quadriga were continued. The names of the scholars who gave them reveal how radically time had altered tradition. For instance, in 1940 Abba Hillel Silver of the Temple in Cleveland, Ohio, spoke on "The Prophetic Conception of the Ministry," and in 1947 the Reverend John LaFarge, S.J., the editor of *America*, lectured on "Two World Concepts."[9] The great democratic influences of America which, as several Dudleian lectures had prophesied, broadened the narrow outlook of the "popish" immigrants of our land, also transformed to a goodly degree Harvard and the New England Protestantism it represented.

[8] The third lecture was again included in the *Harvard University Catalogue* for 1956–1957 as the Dudleian lecture on "Protestantism and Catholicism," but this subject was not treated in that academic year. *Cf. Harvard University Catalogue 1956–1957* (Cambridge, 1957), p. 995.

[9] John La Farge, "Two World Concepts, Being the Dudleian Lecture for the Academic Year 1946–1947, Harvard University. Delivered in Andover Chapel, April 14, 1947," *Harvard Divinity School Bulletin*, XIII (1948), 27–41; and Abba Hillel Silver, "The Prophetic Conception of the Ministry, Being the Dudleian Lecture for the Academic Year 1939–1940, Harvard University. Delivered in Andover Chapel, April 16, 1940 . . . ," *Harvard Divinity School Bulletin*, VI (1941), 19–33.

A COMPLETE CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF THE DUDLEIAN LECTURES ON ANTI-POPERY

1757 — Wigglesworth, Edward (1693–1765). *Some Thoughts upon the Spirit of Infallibility, Claimed by the Church of Rome: Offer'd at the Anniversary Dudleian-Lecture, at Harvard-College in Cambridge, May 11, 1757.* Boston: John Draper, 1757.

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1761 — Foxcroft, Thomas (1696–1769). "The Pope's Supremacy, an Usurpation; Shewn in a Sermon Preached at Harvard College in Cambridge, May 13, 1761, Being the Day of the Annual Dudleian Lecture." MS.

1765 — Mayhew, Jonathan (1720–1766). *Popish Idolatry: A Discourse Delivered in the Chapel of Harvard-College in Cambridge, New-England, May 8, 1765. At the Lecture Founded by the Honorable Paul Dudley, Esquire.* Boston: R. & S. Draper, Edes & Gill, and T. & J. Fleet, 1765.

1769 — Mather, Samuel (1706–1785). "Popery a Complete Falsehood: or, An Attempt, to Clear and Evidence that It Is So, in a Dudleian Lecture, Had at Harvard College in Cambridge, New England, on May 10, 1769: By Samuel Mather, A.M., Pastor of a Church of Boston." MS.

1773 — Cooper, Samuel (1725–1783). *A Discourse on the Man of Sin; Delivered in the Chapel of Harvard College, in Cambridge, New England, September 1, 1773: At the Lecture Founded by the Honorable Paul Dudley, Esq.* Boston: Greenleaf's Printing Office, 1774.

1777 — Wigglesworth, Edward (1732–1794). *The Authority of Tradition Considered, at the Lecture Founded by the Hon. Judge Dudley, in Harvard College, November 5, 1777.* Boston: Thomas & John Fleet, 1778.

1781 — Gordon, William (1729–1807). "The Doctrine of Transubstantiation Considered and Refuted in a Discourse Preached at the Dudleian Lecture, Cambridge, September 5, 1781." MS.

1785 — Willard, Joseph (1738–1804). "Persecution Opposite to the Genius of the Gospel. A Discourse Delivered in the Chapel of Harvard College, September 7, 1785, at the Lecture Founded by the Honorable Paul Dudley, Esquire, by Joseph Willard, President of the College." MS.

1789 — Haven, Jason (1733–1803). "The Doctrine of Merit, and Supererogation as Held, and Applied in the Romish Church, Considered in a Discourse Delivered, at the Dudleian-Lecture, in the Chapel of the University, in Cambridge on the 2nd Day of September, 1789 by Jason Haven, A.M., Pastor of the First Church in Dedham." MS.

1793 — Lathrop, John (1740–1816). *A Discourse on the Errors of Popery: Delivered in the Chapel of the University of Cambridge, September 4, 1793, at the Lecture Founded by the Honorable Paul Dudley, Esquire.* Boston: S. Hall, 1793.

1797 — Bridge, Josiah (1740–1801). "Discourse upon the Errors of Popery Delivered at the Dudleian Lecture, September 6, 1797, by the Revd. Josiah Bridge of Sudbury." MS.

1801 — Stearns, Charles (1753–1826). "Copy of a Sermon Preached at the University in Cambridge, September 2, 1801, by Charles Stearns, A.M., Pastor of the Church in Lincoln." MS.

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1805 — Thacher, Thomas (1756–1812). *A Discourse on the Errors of Popery, Delivered in the Chapel of the University in Cambridge, May 8, 1805, at the Anniversary Lecture, Founded by the Hon. Paul Dudley, Esq.* Cambridge: William Hilliard, 1805.

1809 — Allyn, John (1767–1833). "A Lecture on Popery Delivered in the Chapel of Harvard College, May 10, 1809, at the Anniversary Lecture Founded by the Hon. Paul Dudley, Esq." MS.

1813 — Kirkland, John Thornton (1770–1840). "Dudleian Lecture, May 12, 1813, on the Errors of the Romish Church." MS.

1817 — Thayer, Nathaniel (1769–1840). "Errours of Popery and Protestantism Proceed from the Disuse or Perversion of Reason. A Discourse Delivered in the Chapel of the University in Cambridge, May 14, 1817, at the Anniversary Lecture Founded by the Hon. Paul Dudley, Esq., by Nathaniel Thayer, Minister of Lancaster." MS.

1821 — Pierce, John (1773–1849). *The Right of Private Judgment in Religion, Vindicated Against the Claims of the Romish Church and All Kindred Usurpations. In a Dudleian Lecture Delivered before the University in Cambridge, 24 October, 1821, by John Pierce, A.M., Minister in Brookline.* Cambridge: Hilliard and Metcalf, 1821.

1825 — Jenks, William (1778–1866). "The Grand Apostasy and Antichristian Influence of Papal Rome Considered, in a Sermon Delivered, at the Lecture Founded by the Hon. Paul Dudley, Esq. in the University at Cambridge, May 11, 1825." MS.

1829 — Hildreth, Hosea (1782–1835). *The Kingdom of Jesus Not of This World. A Dudleian Lecture, Delivered before the University in Cambridge, May 13, 1829.* Cambridge: E. W. Metcalf and Co., 1829.

1833 — Francis, Convers (1793–1863). "Popery and Its Kindred Principles, Unfriendly to the Improvement of Man. A Dudleian Lecture Delivered before the University in Cambridge, May 8, 1833, by Convers Francis, Minister of the Congregational Society in Watertown." MS.

1837 — Walker, James (1794–1874). "Reaction in Favour of the Roman Catholics. A Discourse Delivered before the University in Cambridge at the Dudleian Lecture, May 10, 1837." MS.

1841 — Damon, David (1787–1843). "Dudleian Lecture Delivered in the College Chapel, Wednesday the 12th of May, 1841, by the Revd. David Damon of West Cambridge." MS.

1845 — Park, Edwards Amasa (1808–1900). "Intellectual and Moral Influence of Romanism. A Dudleian Lecture Delivered before the University in Cambridge, May 14, 1845," *Bibliotheca Sacra*, II (1845), 451–488.

1849 — Blagden, George Washington (1802–1884). "Dudleian Lecture by George W. Blagden, D.D., Delivered May 9th, 1849." MS.

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1853 — Burnap, George W. (1802–1859). "The Errors and Superstitions of the Church of Rome. Being the Dudleian Lecture Delivered in the Chapel of Harvard College, on Wednesday, May 11th, 1853," *The Christian Examiner and Religious Miscellany*, LV (1853), 46–63.

1857 — Neale, Rollin Heber (1808–1879). "Dudleian Lecture by Rollin Heber Neale Delivered in the Chapel of Harvard College, May 13th, 1857." MS.

1891 — Emerton, Ephraim (1851–1935). "The Dudleian Lecture for the Year 1891," *The Andover Review*, XVII (1892), 238–259.

1895 — Herford, Brooke (1830–1903). *Liberalism's Answer to the Claims of the Romish Church.* Boston: H. Ellis, 1895.

1899 — Toy, Crawford Howell, LL.D. (1836–1919). "Pope Leo XIII," *The Christian Register*, LXXIX (1900), 65–69.

1904 — Allen, Alexander Viets Griswold (1841–1908). "The Catholic Church and the Modern Sense of Nationality. The Third Dudleian Lecture by Alexander Viets Griswold Allen, Professor of Church History in the Episcopal Theological School in Cambridge, April 6, 1904." MS.

1909 — McGiffert, Arthur Cushman (1861–1933). "Modernism and Catholicism," *Harvard Theological Review*, III (1910), 24–46.

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