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CONTENTS

Oberlin Perfectionism. Article I. 1
B. B. WARFIELD

The Anointing of the Sick in the Epistle of James 64
EDGAR M. WILSON

The Coming of the Pilgrims 96
MARCUS A. BROWNSON

I Corinthians XI. and the Ordination of Women as Ruling Elders 113
SAMUEL T. LOWRIE

Abraham Kuyper—A Modern Calvinist 131
JAN VAN LONKHUYZEN

Reviews of Recent Literature 148

Survey of Periodical Literature 172

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BOOKS REVIEWED

BALDWIN, C. S., *God Unknown* 155

EGGLESTON, M. W., *The Use of the Story in Religious Education*.. 171

GRUBER, L. E., *Creation Ex Nihilo, The Physical Universe a Finite and Temporal Entity* 157

HEAGLE, D., *Do the Dead Still Live?*..... 154

JACKSON, F. J. F., AND K. LAKE, *The Beginnings of Christianity, Part I* 159

LEMME, L. VON, *Christliche Glaubenslehre* 167

MAXSON, C. H., *The Great Awakening in the Middle Colonies*... 163

MOULTON, R. G., *The Modern Readers Bible for Schools: New Testament* 170

REU, M., *Catechetics: or Theory and Practice of Religious Instruction* 171

SHELDON, H. C., *Pantheistic Dilemmas and other Essays in Philosophy and Religion* 156

TRUYOLS, A. F., *Breve Introducción a la Critica Textual del A. T.* 157

TURTON, W. H., *The Truth of Christianity*, Ninth Edition..... 156

VAN DER VAART SMIT, H. W., *Professor Visscher's Rectorale Rede* 148

VISSCHER, H., *Van den Eeuwigen Vrede tusschen Wetenschap en Religie* 148

WORK, M. N., *The Negro Year Book*..... 171

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The Princeton Theological Review

JANUARY, 1921

OBERLIN PERFECTIONISM

I. The Men and the Beginnings.

Oberlin College[1] had its origin in what seemed a wild dream that formed itself in 1832 in the mind of John J. Shipherd, home-missionary pastor of the little Presbyterian church in the village of Elyria, Ohio. As the scheme floated before his imagination, it was perhaps not very dissimilar to one of those communistic enterprises which were springing up throughout the country in the wake of the excitement aroused by Robert Owen. To that extent Shipherd may be accounted a brother spirit to John H. Noyes. But he had not the courage of conviction, to call it by no harsher name, which drove Noyes on in his reckless course. When he came to draw up the Oberlin "Covenant," he faltered. He provided only that "we will hold and manage our estates personally, but pledge as perfect a community of interest as though we held a community of property." By so narrow a margin Oberlin appears to have escaped becoming a decent Oneida Community: or rather, we should say, by so narrow a margin Oberlin appears to have escaped the early end which has befallen all communistic enterprises which wish to be decent; for communism and decency cannot exist together.[2]

Apart from this one point, the persistency of Shipherd's

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[1] Compare: J. H. Fairchild, *Oberlin, Its Origin, Progress and Results,* 1871, and *Oberlin, the Colony and the College,* 1883; W. G. Ballantyne, *Oberlin Jubilee, 1833-1883,* 1884; D. L. Leonard, *The Story of Oberlin,* 1898.

[2] Cf. D. L. Leonard, *The Story of Oberlin,* 1898, pp. 87 ff. for some account of Shipherd's communistic leaning.

purpose and the energy of his will were incapable of faltering. By the end of 1833, he had some nine square miles of virgin forest in hand; the beginnings of a colony already settled on it, pledged to high thinking and hard living (not only no alcohol or tobacco, but also no coffee, no tea, no condiments); a large boarding-school building erected; efficient teachers at work in it, and a body of pupils, which numbered forty-four by the end of the session, gathered at their feet. There was of course only an "Academy" at first. But Shipherd's plan embraced also from the beginning a "College" and a "Theological Seminary"; and already early in 1834, there was a Board of Trustees in being, operating under a charter, couched in broad terms, which spoke of an "Oberlin Collegiate Institute." And by the autumn of that year there was a freshman class ready to enter at the opening of the next session (in the spring) "the collegiate department" of this Institute. Summer was term-time at Oberlin, winter vacation. Late in November, accordingly, Shipherd started out, armed with a commission from the Board of Trustees to obtain the means to make the step forward now become necessary. What he sought was money and a President. But like Saul, seeking the asses, he found much that he was not looking for. He found a whole Theological Seminary,—President, professors, pupils and endowment—all complete; and he brought it all back with him to Oberlin in the spring of 1835.

Shipherd always contended that he was supernaturally guided in this quest. And Asa Mahan, the President whom he found, fully agreed with him. Up to the end of his long life, Mahan constantly insisted that he was supernaturally called to the Presidency of Oberlin College, not in the providential sense in which this phrase is ordinarily employed, but with as immediate a supernaturalism as that with which Saul or David was designated king over Israel.[3] Shipherd, having money and a President to find, naturally should have gone east where money and Presidents were to be found.

[3] Cf. Asa Mahan, *Autobiography*, 1881, p. 190.

But he discovered himself going south instead. "An irresistible impression" drove him without any clear intelligence justifying his action, in the wrong direction. So he reached Cincinnati instead of New York, and found—Mahan; who, everybody in Cincinnati told him, was the very person he was seeking. He thought so too; and with the more confidence that he could see now that he had been divinely guided to him. Mahan had a whole Theological Seminary ready for removal to Oberlin. There had been an abolitionist organization among the students of Lane Theological Seminary, which the Trustees of that Institution had endeavored to suppress. The result was that the students had withdrawn from the Seminary, practically in a body; and, housed near by, were endeavoring to continue their theological education independently, with only the aid of John Morgan, who had been tutor in the preparatory department at Lane and had withdrawn with the students. Mahan had been the single member of the Board of Trustees who had taken the students' part; and he now proposed that they, with Morgan, should go with him to Oberlin, thus completing at a stroke the three-storied structure proposed for that institution.

Excited by these bewildering occurrences, Shipherd, taking Mahan with him, proceeded east to complete his mission. He now, however, no longer sought money and a President, but money and a Professor of Theology. The office was offered on the way to Theodore G. Weld, the young abolitionist agitator, who had had much to do with the students' revolt at Lane and who was their idol. He pointed them rather to Charles G. Finney; and to Finney, then pastor of the Broadway Tabernacle Congregationalist Church, New York, accordingly they went. They found him depressed in body and spirit, with a feeling that the bow of his strength was broken and his evangelistic days were over;[4] and quite ready to listen to their proposal if only the

[4] Preface to his *Sermons on Important Subjects* (1834) 1836, p. iv: "My health has been such as to render it probable that I shall never

necessary financial provision could be made. This was managed with the help of his friend, Arthur Tappan, who was always ready to multiply good works. One condition, however, was made by all—Tappan and Finney and Mahan and the Lane students alike. There was to be no color line drawn at Oberlin. The whole enterprise was near to wrecking on this condition. It was only with the greatest difficulty and in the end by a majority of only one vote, and that on an ambiguously worded resolution, that the Trustees were brought to comply with it. It was however thus complied with; and so Shipherd was able to bring his Theological Seminary to Oberlin in the spring of 1835.

The end of woes, however, was not yet. The New York backers of the enterprise failed; and it found itself plunged into the greatest financial straits. The students who had come from Lane proved a little difficult—some of them perhaps quite impossible—as from their antecedents it was to be anticipated they would.[5] His colleagues found Mahan himself something more than a little difficult.[6] Finney

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be able to labor as an evangelist again." Preface to his *Lectures on Revivals of Religion* (1835), 2d ed. 1835, p. iii: "I am now a Pastor, and have not sufficient health to labor as an Evangelist."

[5] When Asa Mahan, *Autobiography*, p. 231, speaks of the lugubrious tone of their Christianity, some discount may properly be made on account of his natural zeal against a "miserable-sinner Christianity." Though they were "from among the brightest converts" of the great revivals, he says, "their common experience was represented in the words: 'Where is the blessedness I knew, when first I saw the Lord?'" Speaking of their tone of mind while still at Lane (pp. 239 ff.), he says: "Several of the most talented among them" refused to go to church saying they could "derive no benefit from the discourses of Dr. Beecher or any other pastor in the city." "They understood the whole subject." They did go to chapel, "and there listened to one of the feeblest preachers I ever knew," and openly said that feeble as they were, his sermons were as useful to them as any others in the city could be. "Of those young men," he remarks, "every one, so far as I could learn, afterwards made shipwreck of the faith. Only one or two of them entered the ministry at all, and they soon left it, under the influence of some of the absurdities that then obtained."

[6] D. L. Leonard, *The Story of Oberlin*, 1898, p. 40: "Certain faults and infirmities of his wrought not a little damage." Again, p. 244 f.: "His spirit was radical, positive and aggressive, and while he made

bristled with eccentricities.[7] Fads were exaggerated into fanaticisms, foibles into gospels. There were some who, worn out with the wrangle, left—"in a very unhappy frame," as the historian says.[8] Most stayed on, and rasped along. Meanwhile Finney and Mahan, with the valuable assistance of John Morgan and Henry Cowles—who completed the theological faculty—were preaching, with the greatest power and effect, the duty, the privilege, the possibility of a holy walk. The circumstances in which they found themselves imposed this particular topic upon them as, in a very distinct sense, their peculiar message; and they delivered it with great elaboration and persistency. As they pressed on in their more and more intensified exhortations, it came about that they were preaching just the duty and attainability of a life of perfect holiness, though they themselves had not faced the fact.

It required to be forced on their recognition by pressure from without. This came in the summer and autumn of 1836 as the second year of the Theological Seminary was drawing to a close. Under the exhortations of their preceptors the students perceived that precisely what was required of them was perfection. They put the question; and at length—though not until the ensuing winter—received the affirmative answer. We are assisting here at the birth of Oberlin Perfectionism. Once born, it proved a very vigorous and very exacting child. Its exposition and de-

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many warm friends and admirers, others not a few were stirred to disfavor and antagonism. . . Certain serious defects attended his career, which in particular his associates in the faculty found it increasingly difficult to endure. After long forebearance and as a last resort it was determined to draw up a paper setting forth the facts in the case, to be signed by all and presented to the Trustees."

[7] For example, Leonard, as cited, p. 35: "With the advent of Mr. Finney it began to be taught that a strict Graham diet was the only one either hygienic or truly Christian, while meat and all condiments were to be eschewed." Compare pp. 209 ff.

[8] Leonard, as cited, pp. 35, 261, 442. J. P. Cowles is alluded to, whose views, we are told, "were at some points so opposed to those of his associates, and who felt constrained to speak and act just as he felt, that his resignation was requested." He left Oberlin in 1839.

fence absorbed a very large part of the energies of the staff of theological instructors. It was Mahan who took the lead and made himself first and last its chief expounder. Finney, however, was first on the field. Spending the winter of 1836-1837 in New York, as was his custom during his early years at Oberlin, and preaching there a series of *Lectures to Professing Christians*—his new engrossment—he preached two of them on "Christian Perfection," the first public proclamation of Oberlin Perfectionism. A semi-monthly newspaper—*The Oberlin Evangelist*—the first number of which appeared on the first of January, 1839, was established under the editorship of Henry Cowles, for the main purpose of propagating the new doctrine. In it there were at once printed certain articles on the all-absorbing topic, out of which books by Finney, Mahan and Cowles were soon gathered together.[9] Wherever Oberlin was heard of, it was Oberlin Perfectionism which was heard of first.[10]

The Oberlin Professors, we see, did not bring perfectionism to Oberlin. They brought an ultraistic temper[11] and the "New Divinity." And the "New Divinity," here too, as it had previously done in Central and Western New York, begot perfectionism out of its own loins. Oberlin was only an extension of Western New York into the wilds of Northern Ohio, and it repeated in its religious history, as it reproduced in its mental quality, the characteristic

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[9] An address of Mahan's published in the first number, was utilized as the core of a small book by him, called *Christian Perfection* (early in 1839), which at once became the chief vehicle of the doctrine.

[10] Asa Mahan, *Autobiography,* p. 261: "The college early became, principally through its President and Professor of Theology, the visible representative of the doctrine of the Higher Life."

[11] What was understood at the time by the phrase "religious ultraism," then very current, may be conveniently read in an admirable printed sermon of W. B. Sprague's bearing that title (Albany, 1835). Cf. also D. R. Goodwin, "On Religious Ultraism," in *The Literary and Theological Review,* vol. III, 1836, pp. 56-66, completed by "Radical Opinions," same journal, pp. 253-265.

features of its stock. John Morgan[12] and Henry Cowles,[13] were not Western New York men. But they had both fallen under influences of the same general character, the one in contact with Lyman Beecher at Cincinnati, the other under the instruction of N. W. Taylor at Yale; and had received the same stamp. The situation was dominated in any case, however, by Finney and Mahan, both Western New York men, both "New Divinity" men, and both men of aggressive spirit and radical temper. Their previous lives, though springing out of the same soil, had run on very different lines, and it is rather remarkable to see them converge at Oberlin in a common end.

The details of Finney's early life which are current seem to rest altogether on his own recollections. He does not profess that these were complete, and there is some reason to suspect that they were not always altogether accurate. The main facts which he gives us[14] are that he was born in Warren, Litchfield Co., Connecticut, August 29, 1792; that two years afterwards the family removed to Brothertown, Oneida Co., New York; whence, however, while Finney was still so young a child that he retained no recollection of it, they were compelled, by the settlement of certain tribes of Indians there, to move to Hanover (subsequently renamed Kirkland), then a part of the large township of Paris, in the same county. There the boy grew up and went to school, until he was about sixteen years of age (Finney says he does not remember the exact date), when the family moved again,—to Henderson, Jefferson Co., New York, a

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[12] Born at Cork, Ireland, 1802; graduated at Williams College, 1826; taught at New York: Preparatory School Teacher at Lane. Cf. Calvin Durfee, *Williams Biographical Annals,* 1871, p. 429.

[13] Born at Norfolk, Connecticut, 1803; graduated at Yale College, 1826, and Divinity School, 1829; pastor for seven years in Northern Ohio. Cf. D. L. Leonard, *The Story of Oberlin,* pp. 279 ff.; *The New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopaedia,* and *Appleton's Cyclopaedia of American Biography, sub nom.*

[14] *Memoirs of Rev. Charles G. Finney, written by Himself,* 1876, pp. 4 ff.; P. H. Fowler, *Historical Sketch of Presbyterianism within the Bounds of the Synod of Central New York,* 1877, p. 258.

hamlet a little south of Sackett's Harbor. At this new home he taught school for something like four years. Then, when he was "about twenty years old," or "soon after he was twenty years of age," he went back to his ancestral home, Warren, Connecticut, and spent some four years there and in New Jersey, in study and teaching. Returning thence to his parents, he soon afterward entered the law-office of Benjamin Wright at Adams, New York, and began the study of law. This, he says, was in 1818.

It is a little difficult to form a vivid picture of the actual life of the boy within this framework. It was a raw frontier life; and there seem to have been few cultural and no religious ameliorations afforded him by his home associations. There may be some reason to believe that his father, like Lyman Beecher's, pursued the trade of a blacksmith;[15] and it is certain that the household, like that in which Beecher was bred, was without church connections.[16] Indeed, Finney not only represents the household as without religion, but broadens out the representation until the impression is conveyed that no "religious privileges were accessible to him in the community." This is a, perhaps not unnatural, exaggeration. Looking back upon his youth, barren of religious impressions, he transferred to his surroundings much that belonged only to himself, and thus transmuted his fault into his misfortune. Even in the frontier districts in which he lived not only Christian people but Christian churches could be found by those who desired to be associated with them; and not only unlettered itinerants and absurd exhorters but also learned ministers and faithful pastors could be met with by those who sought

[15] David W. Bartlett, in the sketch of Finney in his *Modern Agitators, or Pen-Portraits of Living American Reformers,* 1855, p. 152, says that as a boy Finney "found considerable time to wield the sledge at his father's anvil," taking thus "his first lesson in moulding the hot iron to a desired shape." His authority for the statement is not given.

[16] *Memoirs,* p. 4: "My parents were neither of them professors of religion, and I believe among our neighbors there were very few religious people." Compare Lyman Beecher's *Autobiography,* edited by Charles Beecher, vol. I, p. 78.

them out. The particular region in which Finney's boyhood was spent was indeed peculiarly well supplied with opportunities for religious culture. Clinton was but a short two-miles away, and Clinton was already a center of religious influence. There seems also to have been an organized religious society in his own hamlet with so excellent a minister as P. V. Bogue at the head of it.[17] The difficulty with Finney's early religious training was not that he lacked opportunity but that he lacked desire for it.

Things naturally were different when the family left this favored region (about 1808) and made a new home for itself in the backwoods of Jefferson County. There was

[17] See the "Journal of the Rev. John Taylor, on a Mission through the Mohawk and Black River Country, in the year 1802," printed in E. B. O'Callaghan, *The Documentary History of the State of New York,* vol. II, 1850, p. 1112. "Most of the churches in this part of the world are on the presbyterian plan. The church at Clinton, is, however, congregational. Mr. Norton has a church containing 240 members and this people is considered to be the most harmonious, regular, and pious of any in the northern part of the State of New York. In this town, or rather parish, is an academy, which is in a flourishing state. A Mr. Porter, an excellent character, and a preacher, is precentor. They have one usher, and about 60 scholars. This institution promises fair to be of great service to this part of the country. Piety is very much encouraged in it and some young gentlemen have become preachers who have received education in it. There are in the town a few Universalists, and one small Baptist church, but not a sufficient number to have any influence. In the Society of Paris, of which Clinton is a part, Mr. Steele is pastor; he is said to be a good and reputable man—he has a respectable congregation. In Hanover, a society of Paris, Mr. Bogue is Pastor." Cf. Fowler, as cited, p. 180. The church at Clinton was organized in 1791 by Jonathan Edwards the younger; Asahel Strong Norton was installed pastor of it in 1793 "and remained there for forty years, upheld by grace and the support of an unwavering faithfulness, an unerring judgment, an unspoiled character, and a blameless life" (Fowler, p. 90). For a biographical sketch of Bogue see Fowler, pp. 464, f. After a successful ministry at Winchester, Conn. (from 1791), he was employed in New York by the Missionary Society of Connecticut (from 1798), "and then accepted a call to Hanover, (now Kirkland) Oneida County, where he was equally successful for a number of years, and after that took charge of a church at Vernon Center." This appears to extend Bogue's pastorate at Kirkland through most of Finney's residence there.

practically no settled ministry at that time in this region;[18] and the young school-teacher passed some four years here without easy access to the stated means of grace. Returning thence to civilization and religious privileges he was able to sit, however, Sabbath after Sabbath, in the choir-gallery of good Peter Starr's church at Warren, Connecticut, unmoved to any spiritual response by his pastor's faithful preaching.[19] Meanwhile changes were taking place in Jefferson County. A revival had swept through that region in 1815.[20] Settled churches were being established. A Presbyterian church at Sackett's Harbor which in 1816 had called to its pastorate Edward Finley Snowden, a man of the highest quality, was formally organized in the early months of 1817.[21] A Congregationalist Church, soon to become Presbyterian, was organized at Adams.[22] When Finney returned to his father's house in 1816, or somewhat later, it was no longer to a community in which the stated means of grace were inaccessible, and no longer to a household to which the grace of God was a stranger. A brother

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[18] Fowler, as cited, p. 180: "That region also suffered long for the want of means of grace. A minister who visited it in 1816, relates: 'To the north as far as the St. Lawrence and east to Champlain, there are probably not six gospel ministers'—an extent of country including the quarter of the State of New York. . . . And a little later, a missionary writes, 'we could not hear of any minister in the St. Lawrence country, and there are very few on the Black River.'"

[19] *Memoirs,* pp. 6 f.: G. Frederick Wright, *Charles Grandison Finney,* 1891, p. 4.

[20] Fowler, p. 180.

[21] For biographical notice of Snowden, see Fowler, pp. 647 f., and J. F. Hageman, *History of Princeton and its Institutions,* 1879, vol. ii, p. 94 ff. Cf. W. B. Sprague, *Annals,* vol. iii, p. 341. He was dismissed by the Presbytery of Oneida, to take charge of the church at Sackett's Harbor in 1816 but the formal organization of the church did not take place until Feb. 17, 1817.

[22] In the *Minutes* of the Presbyterian General Asssmbly for 1819 these two churches stand side by side in the Presbytery of St. Lawrence: Sackett's Harbour, Samuel F. Snowden, and Adams North Congregational Church, Edward W. Rosseter. We quote from the *Minutes* of 1819, since there are no statistical tables in those of the immediately preceding years.

had given himself to God during his absence.[23] If he himself still knew nothing of the grace of God, that could only be because he did not wish to know anything of it. We are glad to be told that he was not in any sense vicious:[24] he was, however, in every sense godless. It was not that he had no contact with religion. If he had not a praying mother, he had a praying sweetheart who did not cease to bear him on her heart before God;[25] and it is obvious from his own narrative that he was repeatedly more or less affected by the religious appeal. If he did not know God it was because he refused to have God in his knowledge. He was not ignorant of Christianity; he was, as a contemporary puts it "a great opposer of the Church before his conversion."[26] Or, as the historian phrases it, "he was without godliness and with the spirit of a sceptic and scoffer."[27]

When Finney, yielding to the persuasions of his invalid mother who wished him to remain near her, gave up his

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[23] In his *Lectures on Systematic Theoolgy*, Ed. of 1851, p. 429, Finney relates this incident: "I well recollect, when far from home, and while an impenitent sinner, I received a letter from my youngest brother, informing me that he was converted to God. He, if he was converted, was, as I supposed, the first and only member of the family who then had a hope of salvation. I was at the time, and both before and after, one of the most careless of sinners, and yet on receiving this intelligence, I actually wept for joy and gratitude that one of so prayerless a family was likely to be saved."

[24] Hiram Mead, *The Congregational Quarterly*, January 1877, p. 3: "It is a remarkable fact, which he has not thought worthy of notice, that in spite of his lack of religious advantages, he never became reckless or vicious. As a young man, he was spirited, and, no doubt, sometimes rough and hilarious; but, considering his associations, he was exceptionally conscientious and high-minded."

[25] G. F. Wright, as cited, p. 37, tells us that Finney's sweetheart, (her home was at Whitestown, only a few miles from Kirkland) "had been deeply interested in praying for Finney's conversion in the days of his impenitence."

[26] E. H. Snowden in the *Baltimore Literary and Religious Magazine*, May 1838, p. 236. Snowden (son of S. F. Snowden, mentioned above) had been a pastor at Brownsville where he says both Finney and Burchard had labored—disastrously to the church. Cf. Finney's *Memoirs*, p. 111ff.

[27] D. L. Leonard, *Story of Oberlin*, p. 128.

purpose of further pursuing his literary education, and entered the law-office of Benjamin Wright (afterwards Wright and Wardwell) at Adams, in 1818 (he was then twenty-six years old), he seemed to have come to his own. He was peculiarly endowed for the work of an advocate, and we are not surprised to learn that he loved his profession and was successful in its practice from the very first. An indelible impression was left upon his mind by his legal studies, and his habits of thought and modes of public speech were fixed for life during the four short years of his practice at the bar. He was not to be left, however, to the peaceful prosecution of his chosen profession. He was already suffering under a certain amount of religious uneasiness; and the circumstances of his life in Adams did not permit him to escape from the daily appeal of religion to him. Religion had always been within his reach—the difference was only comparative. "Up to this time,"[28] he says, " I had never enjoyed *what might be called* religious privileges": "I had never lived in a praying community *except* during the period when I was attending the high school in New England": "At Adams, for the first time, I sat *statedly, for a length of time,* under an educated ministry:" "I had never, until this time, lived where I could attend a *stated* prayermeeting." The qualifications, which have been thrown up to attention by italicizing them, deserve the most marked emphasis. It is only by regarding them that we obtain a view of the true state of the case. What happened to Finney at Adams was that he was no longer permitted to neglect religion. The young pastor of the Presbyterian church there, George W. Gale, was a man of force and a pastor of parts. He never permitted this fine young lawyer, who was scoffing at religion, but was clearly not easy in his mind about it, to escape beyond its influence. He made him leader of the choir and so secured his constant attendance at the church. He was in the habit, Finney naïvely says, "of dropping in at our office frequently and seemed anxious to know what impression

[28] *Memoirs,* pp. 6 ff.

his sermons had made on my mind,"—apparently not dreaming that that was not vanity on Gale's part, but good pastoral work. Finney found himself going not merely to church but to prayer-meeting. He says in his old age that he does not recollect having ever attended a prayer-meeting before: and now he wished to do so, partly from curiosity, and partly from an uneasiness of mind on the subject which he could not well define.[29] He got a Bible, the first he had ever owned; and took to reading it, at first under cover of interest in Biblical law, but soon with deeper concern. He did not easily yield; he was a harsh critic of his pastor's sermons and of the prayers of Christians. But Gale's zeal did not flag; and we may be sure he saw clearly enough the signs of the coming end.

Precisely how the end came, we are not quite sure. Finney tells us that he "was brought face to face with the question whether he would accept Christ."[30] On a Sabbath evening in the autumn of 1821, he says, "I made up my mind that I would settle the question of my soul's salvation at once."[31] So closely is his account confined to his own subjective experiences that the reader is tempted to suppose that there were no objective occurrences by which they were brought about. In point of fact Finney's conversion took place in a great revival; and it was currently supposed that his final step was the result of the exhortations of Jedediah Burchard.[32] Ever since his return to the West he had been

[29] Tract on *Prevailing Prayer.*

[30] *Memoirs,* p. 11.

[31] P. 12.

[32] For example, Joseph I. Foot (*Literary and Theological Review,* March, 1828, p. 70) when speaking of the fanatical teaching of John Truair, continues: "Over the field where Truair had recently sown the seeds, the Rev. J. Burchard soon passed, whose subsequent labors in the vicinity are said to have brought forth the Rev. C. G. Finney." A more favorable opinion of Truair is expressed by Fowler, as cited, pp. 644 ff., and as favorable an account of Burchard as could be given may be found in the same work, pp. 278 ff. Burchard was at the time still a layman, resident at Sackett's Harbor, and zealously holding lay services there and at Adams.

living in the presence of revival conditions. The revival of 1815 already mentioned as sweeping over this region, had been followed by others without intermission. Sixty-five converts were added to the little church at Adams in 1819, at the opening of Gale's ministry there. Seventy were added to the church at Sackett's Harbor in 1820. In 1821 the whole region was stirred to its depths; from eight hundred to a thousand converts were reported from Jefferson County—no fewer than seventy or eighty from Finney's home hamlet, Henderson. In Adams itself one of the churches received forty-four new members and the other sixty or seventy.[33] It was in these stirring scenes that Finney's conversion took place. He gives us a very detailed account of his experiences in it.[34] The most notable feature of these experiences is their supernaturalism; a supernaturalism not wholly in keeping with his strenuous subsequent insistance on the "make yourself a new heart" of the "New Divinity"; there is imbedded in them a most poignant experience of express inability.[35] The account of them, written in his old age, is more or less adjusted to his subsequent modes of thought,[36] and closes with a couple of odd paragraphs in which he "improves" his conversion by rep-

[33] Fowler, as cited, p. 190, drawing the details from *The Utica Christian Repository,* of the time. The general fact is safeguarded by the report of the Presbytery of St. Lawrence itself, which mentions revivals as occurring at Watertown, Sackett's Harbor, Adams, first and second, Lorraine, and Rodman.

[34] *Memoirs,* chapter 2.

[35] Lyman H. Atwater, *The Presbyterian Quarterly and Princeton Review,* Oct. 1876, p. 706 remarks on this, while G. F. Wright, p. 9 seeks to explain it away.

[36] G. F. Wright, as cited, p. 6, speaking of interpreting Finney's conversion says: "The difficulty of such an interpretation is also somewhat increased by the fact that, in the Memoirs by himself, Finney has accompanied his narrative by numerous doctrinal disquisitions, in which those familiar with the controversies of the time readily detect the results of subsequent years of reflection interjecting their later theology in the narrative of early experience." "It is extremely improbable," he declares, "that the theological system defended in his later life burst upon his mind at the outset in such complete form as his own narrative would imply."

resenting it as impressing then and there indelibly on his mind his later doctrines of justification *in foro conscientiae* rather than *in foro Dei,* and of its issue in sinlessness. "I could not feel a sense of guilt or condemnation, by any effort that I could make; my sins were gone; and I do not think I felt any more sense of guilt than if I had never sinned. . . . I felt myself justified by faith; and, so far as I could see, I was in a state in which I did not sin. Instead of feeling that I was sinning all the time, my heart was so full of love that it overflowed—I could not feel that I was sinning against God, nor could I recover the least sense of guilt for my past sins."[37] He adds: "Of this experience I said nothing that I recollect, at the time, to anybody; that is, of this experience of justification."

Finney emerged from his conversion a new man: the "sceptic and scoffer" had become the believer and zealous propagandist. His devotion to the legal profession fell away at once with his old man; he assumed immediately the new profession of bringing men to Christ. A judicial case on which he was engaged came up for trial the morning after his conversion. "I have a retainer from the Lord Jesus Christ to plead His cause and I cannot plead yours," he said to his astonished client. And at once he went out on the streets to compel them to come in. It is not possible to obtain a connected view of his activities during the two years between the outstanding dates of his conversion in the autumn of 1821 and his licensure by the Presbytery of St. Lawrence on Dec. 30, 1823. His biographer says that "about as much mystery hangs over the first year and a half of Finney's life subsequent to his conversion as that which shrouds the corresponding period of the apostle Paul's renewed life."[38] The comparison, to be sure, is not very apt; but it is true that although we know many details of Finney's activities during this period and its general character is clear, our knowledge of it remains confused.

[37] *Memoirs,* p. 23; cf. 18.

[38] G. F. Wright, as cited, p. 19.

The account Finney gives of himself after his conversion loses itself in unordered details; and his dates give us no guidance, being all wrong. He makes it perfectly plain, however, that he at once gave himself to active Christian work, which centered in the church at Adams, but reached out also at least to his old home at Henderson; there he had the happiness of bringing his parents to Christ. From another account,[39] we learn that he "actively engaged in the same schoolhouse labors" which were being carried on by Jedediah Burchard, as a layworker, from his center at Sackett's Harbor.

In the midst of these activities, he was taken under the care of Presbytery of St. Lawrence with a view to the gospel ministry, at a meeting held at Adams, June 25, 1823, and was "directed to pursue his studies under the direction of Rev. Messrs. Gale and Boardman."[40] It would not have been easy to find better men for this service.[41] They were both men of sufficient learning, great force of character, and skill in dealing with men. The whole work apparently, however, fell into the hands of Gale, who was also Finney's pastor,[42] and with whom he was already in consultation. There was no mental sympathy between the two young men—Gale was now in his thirty-fourth year and Finney in his thirty-first: each was conscious of native power, and was tenacious of his opinions; and the so-called instruction appears to have degenerated into a constant wrangle. Finney brought to Gale the unordered Pelagianism of the man in the street, strengthened and sharpened by the habits

[39] Fowler, as cited, p. 190.

[40] Fowler, p. 258; G. F. Wright, p. 20.

[41] There are biographical sketches of both in Alfred Nevin's *Encyclopaedia of the Presbyterian Church*, 1834, *sub nomm.*, and in Fowler, as cited, pp. 190, 467 and 552 respectively. For Gale see also Martha F. Webster, *Seventy-five Significant Years; The Story of Knox College, 1837-1912*, 1912, pp. 1 ff.

[42] *Memoirs*, p. 46: "They appointed my pastor to superintend my studies." On p. 140 accordingly he calls Gale simply, "my theological teacher," and on p. 153, with meticulous care, explains that Gale had "by direction of the Presbytery attended somewhat to my theological studies."

of thought picked up in the law-courts; and he used Gale merely as an anvil on which to beat his own views into shape. His attitude at first was one of mere denial; he rejected with decision, not to say violence, the evangelical system which Gale sought to inculcate. The positive construction naturally came more slowly. "My views took on a positive type but slowly. At first I found myself unable to receive his peculiar views; and then gradually formed views of my own in opposition to them, which appeared to me to be unequivocally taught in the Bible."[43] We do not know when his views were fully formed. When they were, they had run into the mold of the "New Divinity" in the special form in which it was being taught at the moment in New Haven. There are some who think this result purely accidental: Finney, a great original thinker, reproduced for himself without any connection with him whatever, what N. W. Taylor was teaching with such revolutionary effect in New Haven.[44] So far as the fundamental principle and general substance of his thought are concerned no doubt this is the true account to give of its origin. Pelagianism, unfortunately, does not wait to be imported from New Haven, and does not require inculcating—it is the instinctive thought of the natural man. But Finney's thought ran not merely into the general mold of Pelagianism, but into the special mold of the particular mode of stating Pelagianism which had been worked out by N. W. Taylor. The historian of New England Theology feels compelled therefore to say that "independent as it was, and vigorously as its author had impressed upon it the marks of his own pronounced individuality," Finney's theology "may be dismissed in the one word 'Taylorism.'"[45] There were "vari-

[43] *Memoirs,* p. 54.

[44] For example, A. T. Swing, *The Bibliotheca Sacra,* July 1900, 465: "What in New England had been gradually evolved from Old Calvinism through two generations of theological reformers was substantially wrought out independently of them by President Finney's rational revolt (*Memoirs,* pp. 7, 42-60), which was so closely connected with his conversion as to be practically inseparable from it."

[45] Frank H. Foster, *A Genetic History of New England Theology,* 1907, p. 467.

ous underground currents," he says,[46] which "set from New Haven westward, and some of them bore theological ideas into the region where Finney was." We do not need, however, to raise question as to the channels of communication by which Taylorism was brought to Finney. Intercourse between Connecticut and Western New York was constant; Finney received part of his education in Connecticut and his was the common case; all the ministers of his acquaintance were trained in the east and came from the east and maintained connection with the east; and Taylorism was, at the moment, the vogue. What we need more particularly to ask ourselves is only, how far at this early date Finney's views had crystallized into distinctly Taylorite shape. According to his own representation in his *Memoirs* they had already done so, at least in general, at the opening of his ministry; and certainly we cannot trace any other type of teaching in any account we have of his work. We know no other Finney than the Taylorite Finney.

On the 30th of December 1823, only six months after he had been taken under the care of the Presbytery, Finney was licensed to preach the Gospel at a meeting of the Presbytery of St. Lawrence held at Adams. He tells us that the Presbytery dealt gently with him and avoided raising questions on which he differed from it. Having now become a minister, he entered at once upon his ministerial labors in the northern part of Jefferson County—Evans Mills and Antwerp—as a missionary in the employment of the Female Missionary Society of the Western District of New York. As such a man naturally would be, he was successful in his labors from the start. He was ordained on his field, July 1, 1824, at a meeting of the Presbytery at Evans Mills; and seems to have contemplated settling at that place in a permanent pastorate. He was drawn off, however, into further evangelistic labors, and prosecuted them unbrokenly in Jefferson and St. Lawrence counties up to the autumn of 1825. During these two years he

[46] P. 453.

lived the ordinary life of a frontier missionary, witnessing the same kinds of incidents—some of them bizarre enough —making the common experiences, but reaping more than ordinarily rich a harvest. According to his representations the matter of his preaching was constantly the "New Divinity"—pressed on his hearers with the pungency of expression, extremity of statement, and polemical vehemence, which belonged to his natural temperament.

This period was brought to a close, and the greatest episode of Finney's life inaugurated, by an unforeseen occurrence. He visited the Synod of Utica, of which he was a member, in October 1825,[47] and on beginning his return journey home was waylaid by G. W. Gale, his "theological teacher," as he calls him here,[48] and induced to turn aside to preach at Western. Gale had been compelled by ill health to resign his charge at Adams in 1823, shortly before Finney left that place, and was now engaged on a farm at Western in laying the foundations of what was to be an eminently successful and indeed famous Manual Labor Institution, the parent of many less successful similar ventures. This preaching at Western broadened out into seven years (1825-1832) of probably the most spectacular revival activity the country has ever witnessed. That Finney felt himself to have taken a decisive step forward in entering upon this work,—to have advanced to a new stage in his career—may be indicated by his transferring his presbyterial membership from the presbytery of St. Lawrence to that of Oneida.[49] He had turned his back on frontier work: henceforth his labors lay in the towns and cities of this rich and populous region, with their established churches

[47] G. F. Wright, as cited, p. 46, erroneously says "October 1826." Fowler, as cited, p. 202, says "the last of September, 1825." Finney himself (*Memoirs* p. 140) says it was in October.

[48] *Memoirs*, p. 140.

[49] In the *Minutes of the General Assembly*, for 1825, Finney is listed as a W. C. of the Presbytery of St. Lawrence. In the *Minutes* for 1828, he is listed as a W. C. of the Presbytery of Oneida. These lists were at that time printed only every three years: there are none therefore for 1826 and 1827.

and organized religious activities,—and beyond. In his *Memoirs* he marks the transition by pausing to note that "at this place commenced that series of revivals, afterward called 'The Western Revivals.'" Lyman Beecher calls them by the more designative name of "the Oneida denunciatory revivals."[50] They may have owed the feature which won them this designation, and much else about them that brought them into disrepute, in part at least to the circumstance that they were an invasion of the backwoods into civilization. Here was this young man, but two years a minister, but four a Christian, with no traditions of refinement behind him, and no experience of preaching save as a frontier missionary, suddenly leading an assault upon the churches. He was naturally extravagant in his assertions, imperious and harsh in his bearing, relying more on harrowing men's feelings than on melting them with tender appeal. "Force," says the judicious observer whom we are here drawing upon—"force was his factor, and 'breaking down' his process."[51] And in exercising this force he did not shrink from denunciations which bordered on the defamatory, or from the free use of language which can be characterized no otherwise than as coarse and irreverent.

All this was no doubt to be expected in the circumstances; and it was to be expected also no doubt that Finney should give himself of set purpose to stir up a commotion; and, having the assistance of a band of able coadjutors, that he should succeed in doing so to an incredible extent. The whole region was stricken with religious excitement, and nothing was permitted to stand in the way of fanning this excitement into ever hotter flames. Parishes were invaded without invitation, churches divided, opposing ministers "broken down," or even driven from their pulpits, the people everywhere set and kept on edge. Finney was under no illusions as to the nature of this excitement or as to its dangers. He did not confound it with a movement of grace

[50] *Autobiography,* Edited by Charles Beecher, vol. ii, p. 345.
[51] Fowler, as cited, p. 264.

It was only an instrument which he used to attract popular attention to the business he had in hand. It served him in other words as a means of "advance publicity." "It seems sometimes to be indispensable," he says,[52] that a high degree of excitement should prevail for a time, to arrest public and individual attention, and to draw people off from other pursuits to attend to the concerns of their souls." This function served, the excitement is so little of further value that it becomes noxious; it now draws the mind off from the religion to prepare the way for which it is invoked, and if it were long continued, "in the high degree in which it is often witnessed," it could end in nothing but insanity. Nevertheless Finney permitted himself to play with this fire; and it is a question whether his chief work in this region consisted in much else than in kindling it. Certainly the characteristic feature of these "Western Revivals" lies in the immensity of the religious excitement engendered by them; and it is matter of discussion until to-day whether their chief results are not summed up in this effect. That many souls were born again and became ultimately the support and stay of the churches of the region, nobody doubts. As little does anybody doubt that grave evils also resulted, the effects of which have been overcome only with difficulty and through the lapse of time. There is room for difference only in the relative estimate placed on these two opposite effects.

One reason why many were converted in these revivals was that there were very many to be converted; and the character of this large unconverted multitude accounts, no doubt, in part also for their accessibility to a revival of this type. The churches were in a depressed state and this meant both an abnormally low condition of Christian life within them, and an abnormally large mass of indifference or worse without them: an abnormal reaction was to be expected, and was indeed inevitable. Asa Mahan tells us,[53]

[52] *Views of Sanctification*, 1840, p. 19.
[53] *Autobiography*, 1881, p. 221.

that, observing these things, he had formed the distinct impression, before the revival came, that they must have a great and general revival of religion, or the churches would soon become extinct. "My reasons for this conviction," says he, "were two-fold: the general and embittered opposition to religion itself, and the appalling neglect of religious services, on the part of the unconverted, outside the churches, on the one hand; and the utter worldliness and indifference to the interests of souls and the cause of religion itself on the part of professors of Christianity, on the other." "No one," he adds, "not personally acquainted with the facts as they were can conceive how appalling these two aspects of the moral and religious state of the community then appeared." The harvest was ripe and waiting for the sickle. It must be borne in mind, also, that a very large proportion of those swept into the churches by the excitement of the revival were not really converted, as their subsequent history only too clearly proved. Joseph Ives Foot, writing in 1838, is constrained to say:[54] "During ten years hundreds and perhaps thousands were annually reported to be converted on all hands; but now it is admitted, that his (Finney's) real converts are comparatively few. It is declared even by himself that 'the great body of them are a disgrace to religion;' as a consequence of their defections, practical evils, great, terrible, and innumerable, are in various quarters rushing in on the Church."

It is very true that Finney could not conceal the instability of his converts from himself. Later he found a reason for it. It was because he had brought them only into traditional Christianity, and not into perfectionism. "While I inculcated the common views," he says,[55] meaning the common views as to an as yet imperfect sanctification, "I was often instrumental in bringing Christians under

[54] *Literary and Theological Review,* March 1838, p. 39. For Foot see W. B. Sprague, *Annals of the American Pulpit,* vol. iv, 1858, pp. 669 ff., and the *Memoir* by his brother, George Foot, mentioned by Sprague.

[55] *Lectures on Systematic Theology,* ed. 1851, p. 619.

great conviction and into a state of temporary repentance and faith"—it is thus that he speaks of his entire evangelistic work up to 1836!—"but," he continues, "falling short of urging them up to a point where they would become so acquainted with Christ as to abide in Him, they would soon relapse again into their former state. I seldom saw, and can now understand that I had no reason to expect to see, under the instruction that I then gave, such a state of religious principle, understanding and confirmed walking with God, among Christians as I have seen since the change in my views and instructions." There lies in this passage an affecting acknowledgment of the failure of his early evangelistic labors to produce permanent results. One of the odd things connected with it, however, is that Finney fancies that, had he preached perfectionism, the effect might have been different—meaning that the perfectionism of his converts would have protected them from sinning. In point of fact, though he did not himself preach perfectionism, his preaching made perfectionists, as more than one witness testifies;[56] and his preaching of perfectionism could scarcely have done more than that. Yet the results were as we have seen. Jedediah Burchard roundly asserts that all revivals produce a crop of perfectionists, having in mind of course, the type of revival known to him. Finney does not go as far as that, but is willing to allow that revivals—again of course revivals such as he fomented—are commonly accompanied by a certain amount of what he would call fanaticism. In a tract written in his old age, called *Hindrances to Revivals,* he declares that he has sel-

[56] Take for example the following words of Joseph I. Foot (*Literary and Theological Review,* March 1838, p. 70): "These doctrines with a corresponding system of measures were driven like a hurricane through the churches. . . . Hundreds and thousands . . . were led to believe themselves converted, and were immediately driven into the church. . . . Many of his (Finney's) spiritual progeny, under the abilities of his system [that is, under his teaching of a Pelagian ability of will], and the several influences which acted upon them, soon manifested their fatherhood [Pelagian] and declared themselves to be perfect. . . ."

dom seen a revival in which a bitter, denunciatory, fault-finding spirit did not make its appearance sooner or later, and that to a considerable extent. His account of this phenomenon is that when the Spirit of God is poured out on a people, Satan pours himself out on them too.

The phenomenon, however, will admit of another explanation, especially when we learn that in propagating these revivals everything was bent to the production of the excited state of feeling that was aimed at, and all ordinary Christian duties were in abeyance—absorbed in the one duty of exaltation of feeling. Thus, for example, Josephus Brockway[57] tells us that it was noted by all during the revival excitement at Troy in 1826-7, that the whole charitable work of the churches fell away and even the Sabbath Schools were neglected: all manifestations of Christian love stopped: there was nothing, he says, but "a machine put in motion by violence and carried on by power." Even the Bible was thrust aside. "For a long time, during the high state of feeling," he writes,[58] "(when, indeed, feeling was made a substitute for every Christian duty), the Bible must not be introduced at all, into any social meeting, from one month's end to another. And while the exhortation was often reiterated, 'Come, brethren, pray now, but don't make any *cold* prayers,' is was evidently held, although I do not say it was publicly expressed, that reading of the Bible was too cold a business for a Revival spirit. No time must be wasted in reading or singing, but the whole uninterruptedly devoted to praying with this faith and particularity, so vastly important." We are witnessing here a sustained effort to push excited feeling on to the breaking point.

To the breaking point, of course, it came, all over the region which the revivals covered; and despite those who had been brought into a sure hope of eternal life—absolutely a large number, let us believe—the last stage of the region as such was worse than the first. It is the calm judgment

[57] *A Delineation of the Characteristic Features of a Revival of Religion in Troy in 1826 and 1827*, 1827, p. 47.

[58] *Ibid*, p. 28.

of a man of affairs and of letters, seeking to put on record an observed social and religious phenomenon, which we have in the following statement of facts by the editor of the *New York Commercial Advertiser*:[59] "Look at the present condition of the churches of Western New York, which have become in truth 'a people scattered and peeled.' The time has not come to write the ecclesiastical history of the past ten years. And yet somebody should chronicle the facts now, lest in after times the truth, however correctly it may be preserved by tradition, should not be believed. . . . The writer entertains no doubt that many true conversions have occurred under the system to which he is referring. But as with the ground over which the lightning has gone, scorching and withering every green thing, years may pass away before the arid waste of the church will be grown over by the living herbage." If any corroboration of this testimony were needed, it would be supplied by that of the workers in these revivals themselves. James Boyle writes to Finney himself December 25, 1834:[60] "Let us look over the fields where you and others and myself have labored as revival ministers, and what is now their moral state? What was their state within three months after we left them? I have visited and revisited many of these fields, and groaned in spirit to see the sad, frigid, carnal, contentious state into which the churches had fallen—and fallen very soon after our first departure from among them." No more powerful testimony is borne, however, than that of Asa Mahan, who tells us—to put it briefly—that everyone who was concerned in these revivals suffered a sad subsequent lapse: the people were left like a dead coal which could not be reignited; the pastors were shorn of all their spiritual power; and the evangelists—"among them all," he says, "and I was personally acquainted with

[59] William L. Stone, *Matthias and His Impostures*, 1835, pp. 314 ff. The "system" to which Colonel Stone is referring is the revival system in practice in Western and Central New York. For Stone, see *Appleton's Cyclopaedia of American Biography, sub nom.*

[60] Cited in the *Literary and Theological Review*, March 1838, p. 66.

nearly every one of them,—I cannot recall a single man, brother Finney and Father Nash excepted, who did not after a few years lose his unction and become equally disqualified for the office of evangelist and that of pastor."[61]

Thus the great "Western Revivals" ran out into disaster. Although it belongs to Finney's earlier missionary labors it is a typical instance of their effects which Ebenezer Hazard Snowden gives us from his own parish. "Both Mr. Finney and Mr. Burchard," he says, "made special efforts in Brownsville, where I was afterward settled. Mr. Wells, the pastor, who was before beloved by every man, woman and child, was as a result obliged to give up his charge about the time Mr. Finney was there. Such a course was pursued as exasperated a great portion of the respectable members of the congregation, and they immediately set up an Episcopal church which they have attended ever since."[62] As a consequence of such occurrences Finney's ministrations became no longer acceptable, and his preaching no longer effective in the very region in which he had once swayed men like a wind among the reeds. Over and over again, when he proposed to revisit one of the churches, delegations were sent him or other means used, to prevent what was thought of as an affliction. P. H. Fowler[63] quite uninten-

[61] *Autobiography,* 1881, pp. 227 f.

[62] *Baltimore Literary and Religious Magazine,* May 1838, pp. 236 f. —Snowden adds about Burchard: "Mr. Burchard's meeting there was equally disastrous in its results. He assumed the airs of a commander and would turn off about so many every day, and announce those to be converted. Some of those who thus became members never entered the church afterward. Some became perfectionists, and of the remainder, many were expelled. One of the elders remarked to me, that the church lost much of its vitality at that time." Snowden, born in 1799, brought up in Oneida Co., graduated at Hamilton College, 1818, admitted to the bar at Utica, joined his father's church at Sackett's Harbor about the time Finney was joining the church at the neighboring town of Adams: he was pastor at Brownsville in 1836-7. See the *Biographical Catalogue of Princeton Theological Seminary,* 1909, *sub nom.* p. 56; and especially the *Necrological Report, presented to the Alumni Association, Princeton Theological Seminary, May 7, 1895,* 1895, pp. 294 f.

[63] As cited, p. 284.

tentionally supplies us with a pungent instance of the decay of Finney's acceptibility as a preacher in this region, of which he was himself cognizant. Finney came back in 1855 to Rome, the scene of one of his greatest triumphs in 1826.[64] Now, however, his preaching elicited no response. He has himself told us of it,[65] and attributes what seemed to him the otherwise inexplicable coldness of his reception, to the fault of the pastor. This Fowler declares to have been very erroneous and very unjust. He himself ascribes it to a change in fashions in preaching. Finney preached, he says, just as he did in 1826, with the same ability, earnestness, force. But this kind of preaching was *passé*—and "his old friends in Utica, where considerable religious interest existed, deemed it unwise to invite him there." This kind of preaching was not *passé*, however, in other regions. It was still capable of oppressing men's souls elsewhere. But not again here—even after a generation had passed by these burnt children had no liking for the fire.

The offence of Finney's preaching attached both to its manner and to its matter; and it attached not to his preaching only but to his whole manner of conducting revivals, and not to his person only but to the whole bevy of assistants who gathered around him in prosecuting them.[65a] It be-

[64] *Memoirs*, p. 159.

[65] *Memoirs*, p. 434.

[65a] Marquis L. Worden, (in J. Hepworth Dixon's *Spiritual Wives*, vol. ii, p. 82) tells us who some of these were: "Revivals prevailed in the neighborhood and region about Manlius, and through the country, in which the New Measure Evangelists, such as Luther Myrick, Horatio Foote, and James Boyle led the way." How Foote preached we shall let Josephus Brockway (*A Delineation*, etc., 1827, pp. 57 f.) tell us. He is speaking of his preaching in the Troy revivals, 1826-7. "I went to Mr. Foote, a would-be minister, who was no small occasion of offence and dispute, nor ought I, perhaps, to be delicate in saying, he was no improper object of contempt. He preached what some called a sermon, in which he attempted to show that no man could get to heaven without living a perfect life. I went to him with objections to his sermon, showing them to Elder Cushman as I went. One of his positions was, 'That man's hope ain't worth a groat that isn't founded on obedience.'—To which I objected, that man's hope is good for nothing that is not founded on the merits of

longed to the movement itself and constituted its characteristic. We have seen Lyman Beecher using the epithet "denunciatory" in describing these revivals, and it may provisionally serve as well as another word to intimate their peculiarity. It was as if the day of judgment had come and the instruments of vengeance were abroad, with whips of scorpions, lashing the people into the Kingdom of God. Everywhere, naturally, there was wailing and gnashing of teeth. The denunciation indulged in was constant and unmeasured. It was not confined to the preaching: denunciatory praying was practiced as diligently as denunciatory preaching. Diverted from their ostensible purpose as petitions to the Almighty, prayers were employed merely as means of exciting the audience. Sometimes the effect aimed at can only be characterized as direct hysteria. At others, usurping the place of preaching, the prayer became an assault on the hearer; and that not merely with a more or less general reference, but, under the protection of the form of petition, with a particularizing of the precise individual intended and a detailed description of his faults, which would scarcely have been tolerated in preaching.

Christ, and evinced by obedience. Another of his statements was, 'Sinners never can be saved, and whoever has preached that sinners can be saved, has preached what is not true.' To which I objected that Christ came to save sinners, and there was none in our world to be saved, but sinners. . . ." Foote's teaching is of course just Pelagian Perfectionalism in its purity—and it was preached in the Troy revival as part of its official presentation. Finney has the grace, it is true, to be a little ashamed of it; but he will not repudiate it. "In the midst of the revival," he writes in his *Memoirs,* (p. 204), "it became necessary that I should leave Troy for a week or two, and visit my friends at Whitesboro. While I was gone, Rev. Horatio Foote was invited by Dr. Beman to preach. I do not know how often he preached; but this I recollect, that he gave great offence to the disaffected members of the church. He bore down upon them with the most scorching discourses, so I learned." He wishes to roll the responsibility of inviting Foote over on Beman: but he himself endorses him. Foote appears in the *Minutes of the General Assembly* from 1825, when he is a Licentiate of the Presbytery of Cayuga, to 1854, when he is a stated supply at Redford and resides at Ripley, Ohio. He disappears from the *Minutes* without ever having held a settled pastorate.

People were "prayed at" rather than "prayed for," with the mind obviously set more on moving them than on moving God.[66]

We are observing here only one item in a system of practices which formed the characteristic feature of these revivals, and which soon came to be known collectively as "the new measures."[67] These "new measures" of course were much spoken against; but all opposition to them was sternly stamped out. There was no more highly esteemed minister in this region than William Raymond Weeks, who was at the time serving the Congregationalist Church at Paris Hill.[68] A Pastoral Letter issued by the ministers of the Oneida Association of which he was a member, warning the members of the churches under its care against the new practices, was composed by him;[69] and naturally also, in writing to his friends in the east, he expressed with some decision (for that belonged to his character) his opinion of the evils he saw being thus thrust upon the people. As a

[66] Asahel Nettleton (*Letters of the Rev. Dr. Beecher and Rev. Mr. Nettleton on the "New Measures" in conducting Revivals of Religion,* 1828, p. 35) gives the following as the substance of what had been communicated to him on this subject by men on the ground. "There are various errors in the mode of conducting revivals in this region, which ought to be distinctly pointed out. That on the prayer of faith. The talking to God as a man talks to his neighbor is truly shocking—telling the Lord a long story about A. or B., and apparently with no other intent than to produce a kind of stage effect upon the individual in question, or upon the audience generally. This mouthing of words, these deep and hollow tones, all indicate that the person is speaking into the ears of man and not of God. I say nothing of the petitions often presented; but the awful irreverence of the manner!"—On the "particularity" used with reference to individuals in public prayer, see Brockway, as cited, p. 22 ff.

[67] Sprague, *Annals* etc., vol. iv, pp. 473 f.: "His situation was now rendered very unpleasant by the introduction of what were technically called the 'new measures' in connection with revivals of religion: and he therefore removed. . . ."

[68] Biographical notice in W. B. Sprague, *Annals,* etc. vol. iv, pp. 473 ff.; P. H. Fowler, as cited, pp. 673 ff., 85, 261, 274; *Appleton's Cyclopaedia of American Biography, sub nom.*

[69] *Pastoral Letter of the Ministers of the Oneida Association to the Churches under their care, on the Subject of Revivals of Religion.* 1827.

result not only was he driven in the end out of his pulpit, but his memory has been sedulously defamed ever since. Fifty years after, Finney was still speaking with undeserved contempt of him,[70] and he and Henry Davis,[71] President at the time of Hamilton College—whose crime also was "opposition to the revivals"—seem to be the only ones among the multitude of ministers who have worked in Central New York discussed by P. H. Fowler in his history, whom he has dealt with with obvious injustice. The Pastoral Letter which was the head and front of Weeks' offending, is not only a perfectly inoffensive but an eminently judicious document, expressed in entirely temperate language. It is absolutely free from personalities, and equally free from rasping particularizing. Framed in general terms, it merely enumerates the kinds of practices, which may possibly be met with in revivals of religion, that lovers of God and their own souls would do well to avoid. It might be read through without divining that it was directed against any particular movement: and one would suppose that its serious and quiet cautions would be accepted by all as an excellent road-book for the wayfarer through a troubled land. That the participants in "the Western Revivals" were quick to declare that their own portrait was depicted may cause us some surprise; and more, that their resentment was occasioned not by their looking upon the portrait drawn as a caricature of them, but by the painter's intimation that he himself considered it ugly. We clearly have, in this calm enumeration of things to be avoided in revivals, a trustworthy outline sketch of how "the Western Revivals" were being carried on.

The phrase "new measures" soon however, acquired a sense of rather narrower compass, in which it embraced only those of the new practices which might be conceived as means employed to produce the effect sought.[72] As these

[70] *Memoirs*, p. 144.

[71] Biographical notice in Sprague, as cited, p. 244 ff.; Fowler, as cited, pp. 505 ff.; Appleton, as cited, *sub nom.*

[72] Besides the *Pastoral Letter of the Oneida Association* and the

came to be more fully known, they astonished, distressed, appalled the friends of revivals everywhere; and most of all, as was natural, those who felt themselves to stand in particularly close connection with the churches of Central New York—such as the clergy of Connecticut. Asahel Nettleton, the most esteemed "revival minister" of the day, took the lead in an effort to abate the evil.[73] Others—notably Lyman Beecher,[74]—joined themselves to him. Many—Griffin, Porter, Nott, Tucker, Cornelius—visited Troy where Finney was then holding revival services, that they might observe "the new measures" for themselves. They came away more shocked than before. Letters were written.[75] And finally a conference was arranged—"the New Lebanon Convention," held July 18-26, 1827—in which the "Eastern brethren" endeavored to bring their "Western brethren" to reason.[76] The attempt was in vain;

Letters of Drs. Beecher and Nettleton, consult on "the New Measures" especially: Andrew Reed and James Matheson; *A Narrative of a Visit to the American Churches by the Deputation from the Congregational Union of England and Wales,* 1835, vol. II, pp. i, ff. (by Reed); C. Hodge, *Biblical Repertory and Theological Review,* Oct. 1825, pp. 601-607; Albert B. Dod, *Ibid,* pp. 626-674; and J. W. Nevin, *The Anxious Bench,* 1843. Finney tells us (*Memoirs,* p. 288) that he made little or no use of "the Anxious Seat" until the Rochester Revivals of 1831. G. F. Wright (pp. 100 ff.), while properly recognizing its use as falling in with Finney's dogmatic scheme, errs in supposing that the opposition to it turned on a notion in the minds of Finney's opponents that "there was little natural connection between the means used for the persuasion of men and their conversion." A simple reading of their discussions will show that their objections turned on quite other considerations.

[73] See Bennet Tyler, *Memoir of the Life and Character of Rev. Asahel Nettleton, D.D.,* 1844, chapter xii, (p. 248-270), "His opposition to the new measures."

[74] See *Autobiography,* edited by his son, Charles Beecher, 1865, vol. ii, ch. 12: "New Measures," pp. 89-108.

[75] See especially, *Letters of the Rev. Dr. Beecher and the Rev. Mr. Nettleton, on the "New Measures" in conducting Revivals of Religion; with a Review of a Sermon by Novanglus,* 1828.

[76] Finney gives an account of the New Lebanon Convention from his point of view in the sixteenth chapter of his *Memoirs* (pp. 202 ff.); G. F. Wright devotes to it a chapter in his *Life of Finney* (pp. 39 ff). It will be found described from their point of view in the *Lives* of Nettleton and Beecher, as referred to above.

and the fundamental reason why it was in vain is not difficult to discern. The axe was not laid to the root of the tree. The "new measures" were not arbitrary practices due to nothing but a coarse and depraved taste, the correction of which might be easily managed and need work no great change in principle. They belonged to the very essence of the revival as conceived by its promoters. It was in them that its heart expressed itself. They were in a word the natural and inevitable effect of the doctrine on which the revival was based. For what was new in this revival was not merely the particular " "measures" by which it was prosecuted—that might be a merely surface phenomenon —but the particular doctrine on which it was founded, of which the measures employed were only the manifestation. This was a Pelagian revival. That was its peculiarity: and everything else connected with it was merely the expression of this.

That it was "the new measures" rather than the Pelagianism of the "Western Revivals" which in the first instance at least offended the Eastern brethren is no doubt due in part to the general fact that it is always external things which first meet the eye. The external things in this instance were shocking in themselves; and their rooting in a doctrinal cause was often felt but vaguely or not at all. Pelagianizing modes of thought, derived from the same general source from which Finney had himself drunk—the "New Divinity" taught at New Haven,—were moreover widely diffused among the New England clergy themselves. Men of this type of thinking might be offended by Finney's practices on general grounds, but could scarcely be expected, for that very reason, to assign them as to their cause to a doctrine common to his and their own thinking. And that the more that there were as yet no adequate means of ascertaining what the doctrinal basis of Finney's preaching was. Only his actual hearers were in any real sense informed of his teaching. When a little later he began to publish lectures and sermons the scales fell from men's

eyes. The discerning had no difficulty then in seeing the correlation between his practices and his doctrines, or in clearly understanding that the phenomena of his revivals which gave most offence were merely the natural consequences of the fundamental fact that they were Pelagian revivals.

Accordingly Albert B. Dod is found writing:[77] "We recollect that it was matter of surprise to many, when the conjunction took place between the coarse, bustling fanaticism of the New Measures and the refined intellectual abstractions of the New Divinity. It was a union between Mars and Minerva,—unnatural and boding no good to the church. But our readers will have observed that there is a close and logical connection between Mr. Finney's theology and his measures. The demand created for the one by the other and the mutual assistance which they render are so evident, that we will spend no time in the explanation of them." And Charles Hodge:[78] 'That the new measures and the new divinity should have formed an intimate alliance can surprise no one aware of their natural affinity. . . . No better method could be devised to secure the adoption of the new doctrines than the introduction of the new measures. The attempt has accordingly been made. The cold, Pelagian system of the new divinity has been attached to the engine of fanaticism." These writers, it will be observed, do not assert that such practices as are summed up in the "new measures" may not exist—have not existed—apart from a determinate Pelagian system: what they affirm is that it is in such practices that a Pelagian system naturally expresses itself if it seeks to become aggressively evangelistic, and that in them we may perceive the Pelagian system running out into its appropriate methods. Joseph Ives Foot describes Finney's revivals therefore frankly from this point of view.[79] "These doctrines, with a correspond-

[77] *The Biblical Repertory and Theological Review,* October 1835, p. 656.

[78] *Ibid,* p. 614.

[79] *The Literary and Theological Review,* March 1838, p. 70, article

ing system of measures, were driven like a hurricane through the churches. To resist this operation was to resist God. Conscientious Christians gave place till they should see what it was. Timorous ones were attached to his triumphal car, while the bold and the ignorant seized the reins and the whip; and hundreds and thousands under these various influences, were led to believe themselves converted and were immediately driven into the church. These services were called revivals; and thus the very name of the operations of divine grace was brought under suspicion." It is from the same point of view that Charles D. Pigeon writes with a somewhat broader reference:[80] "We look upon the course of Mr. Finney as particularly instructive. He of all others has taught the New Haven theology in its greatest purity and has ventured to push the principle to its legitimate results. Those parts of New York which have been the scene of his labors are giving and will long continue to give the most instructive lessons as to the nature of that system of doctrine and its influence on individual character and religious institutions." And it is still from the same point of view that Samuel J. Baird places at the head of the very instructive chapter in which he gives an account of "the Western Revivals" the descriptive title of "Practical Pelagianism," and brings the chapter to a close with these words:[81] "Such were the fruits, widely realized in Western New York, from the New Haven theology. They were its legitimate and proper results. The good taste, common sense and piety of many of the disciples of that school may revolt from these exhibitions, and pause before adopting them in their full development. But the practical system of Finney, Burchard, Myrick and their compeers was deduced from the theology of New Haven, by a logic which no ingenuity can evade."

It will not have escaped observation that the writers we

entitled, "Influence of Pelagianism on the Theological Course of Rev. C. G. Finney, developed in his Sermons and Lectures."

[80] *The Literary and Theological Review*, March 1838, p. 70.

[81] *A History of the New School*, 1868, pp. 217-234.

have last quoted assume that "the Western Revivals" were already generally understood to have been far from successful, as judged by their ultimate fruits. That indeed was the case. We have already seen that Finney himself came in the end to a recognition of this unhappy fact. It will cause no surprise that he should become wearied with this unfruitful work. Already in 1832 he was looking back upon this portion of his career as a closed page of doubtful success, and was consciously seeking a new phase of activity. He was yet to do a great deal of evangelistic work; but, although he threw the circle of his labors wider and wider, even across the seas, he thought of himself as no longer an evangelist—he had become a pastor.[82] His own account of the change is as follows.[83] "I had become fatigued, as I had labored about ten years as an evangelist, without anything more than a few days or weeks of rest during the whole period. . . . We had three children, and I could not well take my family with me, while laboring as an evangelist. My strength, too, had become a good deal exhausted; and on praying and looking the matter over, I concluded that I would accept the call from the Second Free Church and labor, for a time at least, in New York." By this action Finney became a part of a movement then making in the Presbyterian churches of New York to reach the people by the establishment of "free" churches, that is, churches with no pew-rentals and otherwise adapted to attract and hold the unchurched masses.[83a] In this way he gave to his pastorate a genuinely evangelistic character.

The church over which he was settled was a Presbyterian church, and Finney had always been a Presbyterian. It was in the Presbyterian Church that he was converted, licensed,

[82] *Memoirs*, p. 94: "I have been a pastor now for many years, ever since 1832." How completely Finney felt he had broken with his past we have already seen (above p. 3 and note 4).

[83] Pp. 318 f.

[83a] An interesting "History of the Free Churches in the City of New York," by one of the prime movers in their establishment, Louis Tappan, may be read in the appendix to Reed and Matheson's *Narrative of a Visit to the American Churches*, etc. 1835, Vol. II, 341-353.

ordained; it was under its authorization that he had pursued his whole work as an evangelist, and the region in which he had pursued his chief revivalistic enterprises was a distinctively Presbyterian region: and now he was settled as pastor over a Presbyterian church. But Finney was nothing less than a Presbyterian. The church of which he was pastor—as were all the Free Presbyterian Churches—was under the care of the Third Presbytery of New York, an "elective-affinity" Presbytery, as little Presbyterian as anything could be which was willing to bear the name. Still, there was friction over matters of discipline and the like; and Finney felt uncomfortable in his harness. His friends accordingly built a new church for him—the "Broadway Tabernacle"—which they organized as a Congregationalist church. Of this church he took charge in the autumn of 1834. He did not take his dismission from the Presbytery, however, until the spring of 1836, after he had been at Oberlin for a year, and was on the point of returning thither for his second session.[84] What led him thus tardily to sever his connection with a church with which he had so little in common we can only conjecture. Perhaps the process of writing his theological lectures at Oberlin quickened his consciousness both as to the significance of matters of faith in church relations and as to the complete dissonance of his own beliefs with those of the Presbyterian Church of which he was still an accredited teacher.

He had not been left without pointed reminders of the falseness of the position which he occupied. So soon as his *Sermons on Various Subjects* (1834) and *Lectures on Re-*

[84] The records of the Third Presbytery of New York concerning Finney's case tell that, "on the 14th of February 1832 the Second Free Church (Chatham Street Chapel), composed chiefly of members from the First Free Church, was organized, and on the 28th of September the Rev. Charles G. Finney was installed pastor. . . On the 2d of March, 1836, Dr. Finney was released" (S. D. Alexander, *The Presbytery of New York, 1738 to 1888,* 1887, p. 107). This Second Free Church became a Congregationalist Church June 13, 1836, and Asa Mahan tells us (*Autobiography,* pp. 227) that Finney's immediate successor in the pulpit made shipwreck of his faith.

vivals of Religion (1835) had been published this had become glaring and created an open scandal. He was called upon publicly to withdraw from a church in which he was so patently out of place. Albert B. Dod, for example, in July 1835, closes his review of his *Sermons* with an expression of thanks to him "for the substantial service he has done the church" in them, "by exposing the naked deformity of the New Divinity," and then adds: "He can render her still another service, and in rendering it perform only his plain duty, by leaving her communion and finding one within which he can preach and publish his opinions without making war upon the standards in which he has solemnly professed his faith."[85] In closing, in the following October, his review of the *Lectures on Revivals,* Dod returns to the subject and insists on Finney's duty to leave the church. "It is an instructive illustration of the fact that fanaticism debilitates the conscience," he now says,[86] "that this man can doubt the piety of any one who uses coffee, and call him a *cheat* who sends a letter to another, on his own business, without paying the postage, when he remains, apparently without remorse, with the sin of broken vows upon him. In this position we leave him before the public. Nor will we withdraw our charges against him, until he goes out from among us, for he is not of us." We know nothing, of course, of the effect of such challenges on Finney's action; but it is to be noted that he withdrew from the Church immediately (within six months) after they were made. Perhaps it should be added as illustrating the lightness with which Finney regarded the obligations of his doctrinal professions, that, according to his own account, he had originally incurred those obligations without informing himself of what he was committing himself to. In describing his licensure,[87] he records: "Unexpectedly to myself they asked me if I received the confession of faith of the Presbyterian church. I had not examined it,—that is, the large work containing

[85] *Biblical Repertory and Theological Review,* July 1835, p. 527.
[86] *Ibid,* October 1835, p. 674.
[87] *Memoirs,* p. 51.

the catechism and confession. This had made no part of my study. I replied that I received it for substance of doctrine, so far as I understood it. But I spoke in a way that plainly implied, I think, that I did not pretend to know much about it. However, I answered honestly, as I understood it at the time." Amid the curiously interlaced qualifications and explanations of this statement, it only emerges that Finney was not unaware of the character of his action. Under its cover, he for a dozen years flouted the doctrines he had been placed by it under obligation to propagate.

During all these dozen years Finney had been a wanderer on the face of the earth, doing the work of an evangelist. Even during the four years of his stay in New York, he did not stay in New York. He had accepted the pastorate offered to him there as a means toward securing a more settled mode of existence; and in impaired health and depression of spirits he was obviously still longing for peace and a quiet life. It was in this mood that the proposal to go to Oberlin found him; and it was in this mood that he accepted it. He was in the prime of life, and the event shows that his amazing vigor was unimpaired. His real career was indeed just opening before him; forty years remained to him in which he was "Oberlin's central spiritual force and most eminent representative."[88] The pulpit, the lecture hall, the press, were now the instruments with which he wrought, and with all alike he wrought with the hand of a master-workman. It is possible, to be sure, to exaggerate here. "In intellectual insight into the deepest realities of religion, in originality of treatment and in logical power,"

[88] D. L. Leonard, *The Story of Oberlin,* 1898, p. 60, cf. p. 278 f.: "Beyond comparison his was the chief personal force upon the colonial tract. The pulpit was the throne from which Sunday after Sunday, for more than a generation, he swayed vast audiences. . . . For forty years his lectures on theology were given, and in addition, 1852-1858, he filled the chair of intellectual and moral philosophy. For fifteen years, 1851-1865,, he was Oberlin's executive head. . . . Through his sermons, lectures and letters published in *The (Oberlin) Evangelist,* and elsewhere, a vast influence was wielded. Some of his books sold literally by the hundred thousand."

writes Albert Temple Swing,[89] "President Finney is to be ranked side by side with Edwards: they are the two greatest American theologians." This is only one of those provincial judgments which Oliver Wendell Holmes satirizes when he says that every village has, somewhere on its lawns, the biggest tree in the world. We must manage to see over the rim of the dell within the limits of which our experiences are wrought out. But certainly it must be recognized that Finney was "the greatest mind and the regulating force in the development of Oberlin theology."[90] He was blessed with coadjutors of a high order of talent. But it was to him that, above all others, Oberlin owed the measure of greatness which it achieved.

The contrast between the pictures of the religious conditions obtaining in Central and Western New York during the first quarter of the nineteenth century, received from the accounts which Finney and Asa Mahan respectively give of their early years, is nothing less than startling. The two lives ran on very closely parallel lines. Both men spent their early boyhood in Oneida County—in hamlets only a few miles distant from one another. The later youth of both was passed in the wilder West. Yet the religious conditions in which the two grew up are described by them very differently. All the religious advantages which Finney represents himself as lacking, Mahan represents himself as possessing. He was born and bred in a pious household, and surrounded on all sides by religious influences. His father, to be sure, was not, in his son's judgment at least, a thoroughly consecrated man. But his mother was a deeply religious woman with an aura of devoutness hanging always about her. It was a Bible-reading, praying family, in which the religious books that to Finney were inaccessible lay always at hand. The Church was at the door, and the ministrations of the sanctuary were constantly enjoyed: if there was formal preaching only an alternate Sabbaths,

[89] *The Bibliotheca Sacra,* July, 1901, p. 480 f.

[90] Frank Hugh Foster, *A Genetic History of the New England Theology,* 1907, p. 453.

service was held every Sabbath; and when sermons were not preached by ministers, they were read by laymen. The house was the resort of itinerant ministers, and the whole neighborhood was full of Christian people ready to give Christian succor. One rubs his eyes and wonders if this can be the same country-side in which Finney found little that pretended to be religious, and nothing that pretended to be religious that was not also absurd. To such an extent, it seems, does varying personality color the aspect of surroundings, and even by a process of selection mould them into harmony with itself.

Mahan was a few years Finney's junior, and, although he found his way into the ministry at a somewhat younger age than Finney, he had had a shorter—and a far less stirring and notable—ministerial experience than Finney, when they came together at Oberlin. He was born November 9, 1799,[91] at Vernon, Oneida County, New York, a hamlet some sixteen miles west of Utica and about half that distance from Kirkland, Finney's boyhood home, with which it had easy communication over the famous "Genesee Turnpike."[92] Here he was bred in what he calls[93] " 'the strictest sect' of the Calvinistic faith," and was surrounded both in his home and in the church life into which he was carried as a matter of course, with constant religious influences. These had no more effect upon him, however, than that he grew up a boy of good habits and excellent character. When he was about twelve years of age the family removed to the West—to Orangeville, Wyoming County, four miles from Warren and some forty miles southwest of Rochester. The change of residence, however, brought no essential change

[91] So Mahan himself repeatedly says (e.g. *Out of Darkness into Light*, 1874, p. 1; *Autobiography*, 1881, p. 1). On the other hand the Encyclopaedias (*Appleton's Cyclopaedia of American Biography, Johnson's Universal Cyclopaedia, The New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopaedia of Religious Knowledge*) uniformly give the date as 1800.

[92] For this turnpike and its significance see in O'Callaghan's *Documentary History of the State of New York*, vol. II, p. 1142, 1165 f. For the state of things west of Utica in 1792, see p. 1131.

[93] *Out of Darkness into Light*, p. 9.

in the boy's inner life or his external carriage. He lived in his new home, too, as a member of a religious household would be expected to live, taking part in all the religious activities of the community; but withal, he was still destitute of religious experiences of his own. He was known, however, as a young man of sterling character and irreproachable conduct. And so it came about, that when his own schooling was completed, he was "on account of his well-known attainments and moral reputation,"[94] "selected to teach school in one of the most Christian, moral and intelligent districts in all the region round." Here, when he had entered by a few months into his eighteenth year (1816), he was led during the progress of a revival, to give his heart to God.[95] His conversion, as he describes it, was as distinctively supernaturalistic as Finney's: "if not miraculous, yet altogether supernatural," is the somewhat odd phrase with which he describes it, drawing at the same time a parallel between it and that of Colonel Gardiner, understood by him to be the result of a miraculous intervention.[96] He represents himself[97] as praying that he 'might be kept from ever returning to that state of alienation from God in which his life had been spent" hitherto. And, "I had no sooner pronounced these words," he says, "when I was consciously encircled 'in the everlasting arms.'" This was a prayer for "perseverance" and it seems to be implied that it was granted and that a pledge was given him of its granting, in a tangible response.[98]

[94] *Out of Darkness into Light*, p. 28.

[95] P. 9.

[96] *Autobiography*, p. 50.

[97] *Out of Darkness into Light*, pp. 1-13.

[98] On p. 28 however he seems to assign his attainment of assurance of "perseverance" to a somewhat later, though apparently not greatly later, date: "At length I attained to a full assurance that I was not only then an accepted servant of Christ, but should have grace to continue such even unto the end. In this assurance I have done service for Christ up to this period. Not a stain of doubt rests upon my mind that I am His for eternity." On this basis he rejects the "moment by moment" teaching of most Higher Life teachers and declares that according to Scripture we are "to exercise present faith" both for "present" and for "future sanctification."

Whatever else may be said of this, it was not, any more than Finney's, a conversion according to the Pelagianizing prescriptions of the "New Divinity."

For some months after his conversion, Mahan tells us,[99] his "spiritual state was rather of a *negative* than *positive* character"; by which he appears to mean that his thoughts were rather on the privileges that his new relation to God had brought him than on service. That, however, was soon corrected; and he gave himself with diligence not only to prepare himself for the ministry but to improve his opportunities to bring souls to Christ. In consequence, not only did he have trophies to show, in the favorable situation in which he was at the time, but having removed for his next winter's teaching to a very ungodly neighborhood, he built up a church there of from thirty to fifty members.[99a] As years passed on, however, he lost the "inward peace and joy in God which his first love had induced,"[100] and passed into a condition which he speaks of as "twilight," and in which he continued for no less than eighteen years—in fact up to his discovery of "perfection" as the proper state of the Christian, at Oberlin, in 1836. "Twilight" is merely his name, accordingly, for the condition of the "ordinary Christian." He does not think of denying that this "semi-twilight of a semi-faith" is a "genuine form of Christian experience," as genuine a form of it as "the sunlight" itself.[101] In both states alike he had sin, and understood that every deliberate sin committed deserved death. But the two states were characterized by different "sentiments and expectations" with reference to sin.[102] In the one he expected to sin: in the other he had no expectation of sinning. And, he adds,[103] "in each, my experience fully accorded with my faith"—a sentence which contradictorily to the preceding

[99] P. 18.
[99a] P. 20.
[100] P. 90.
[101] *Autobiography*, p. 281; cf. *Out of Darkness into Light*, p. 98.
[102] P. 284.
[103] P. 285.

statement, seems to assert the enjoyment in the later state of actual "perfection." It was "in the twilight" then that he lived out his life up to his great experience at Oberlin. He soon set his heart, however, on the ministry and began active preparation for it. There were two years of preparatory study; then four years at Hamilton College from which he was graduated in 1824; and then three years at Andover Seminary, from which he was graduated in 1827. Henry Davis was President of Hamilton College during his time; at Andover he came under the instruction of Leonard Woods and Moses Stuart—from the latter of whom he learned at least how to deal with the seventh chapter of Romans so that it would interpose no obstacle to his later theories. He paints the general conditions at Andover in almost as dark colors as John Humphrey Noyes does a few years later. He does not hint at any improprieties of conduct: "There was nothing morally impure about it." But he found no great spirituality: "Never was I in an atmosphere less morally and spiritually vitalizing than that which encircled me during those three years."[104]

Leaving Andover, he became a candidate under the charge of the Presbytery of Oneida, occupying himself meanwhile in "agencies and miscellaneous ministerial duties," as he puts it.[105] Soon, however, he found himself back in the West, and "commenced work in the city of Rochester, with the expectation of organizing a new church there."[106] "Just as the organization was being effected," however, he "was suddenly stricken down by an attack of inflammatory rheumatism in both knees and ankles and his left wrist." He was taken to his father's house in Orangeville, ("where," says he, "my youth had been spent"); but even in his illness he could not be idle. He found the church there in a most deplorable state.[107] He

[104] *Autobiography*, p. 144.

[105] P. 155.

[106] P. 167.

[107] This was probably in 1828. The church at Orangeville after a period of vacancy had enjoyed the service of a Stated Supply in 1826,

caused himself to be carried to it Sunday after Sunday in a chair, and preached from the chair "for about three months." The result was a revival in which he had the happiness of seeing his own father brought to Christ. "Among the converts was my aged father. He had professed religion from my childhood, but was manifestly a total stranger to the grace of God."[108] When he was able to undertake regular work again, he became "pastor-elect of the Congregational church at Pittsford, near Rochester,"[109] and duly appears in the Minutes of the General Assembly for 1830 as a member of the Presbytery of Rochester and pastor at Pittsford.[110] His tenure of this charge was, however, very brief. He had already left it in time to be reported to the General Assembly of 1831 as without charge; and by August 1831 he had removed to Cincinnati to take the oversight of a new venture, called then the Sixth Presbyterian Church, but soon afterward to become the Vine Street Congregationalist Church. He "commenced his labors with this church," he tells us,[111] "on August 29th, 1831 and resigned May 1, 1835"—serving it therefore somewhat less than four years. The church consisted at the beginning of only sixteen members "who lived in the city and worshipped with us"; but towards the end of his stay with it, it was largely increased: seventy-four were added on examination in 1834, and in the course of eight months' time upwards of a hundred. Throughout the whole period of Mahan's stay with it, it worshiped in a hired hall, "and," he adds, "a

and was vacant again in 1827 and 1828, obtaining a Stated Supply in 1829 (*General Assembly Minutes,* pp. 63, 182, 284, 460).

[108] *Autobiography,* p. 168.

[109] Pittsford, Monroe Co., N. Y., eight miles southeast of Rochester.

[110] His record in the *Minutes* runs thus: 1829 (his first appearance), candidate of the Presbytery of Oneida: 1830, pastor at Pittsford, Presbytery of Rochester; 1831, W. C. Presbytery of Rochester; 1832, S. S. Sixth Church at Cincinnati; 1833, W. C. of the Presbytery of Cincinnati (the Sixth church vacant); 1834, S. S. Sixth Church, to which are assigned 134 members—the only statistics of the church's membership in the entries; 1835, Asa Mahan's name no longer appears, and Herman Norton is given as pastor of the Sixth Church.

[111] *Autobiography,* p. 163.

very plain one at that." He was never really settled over it as its pastor, and even his service to it as "stated supply" does not seem to have been uninterrupted.[112]

These details have been recited in order that the extent and nature of Mahan's ministerial experience before going to Oberlin in 1835 may be estimated. From his graduation at Andover in 1827 to his arrival at Oberlin some eight years had elapsed, but little more than half of these had been spent in the actual care of a church, and for barely a single year had he sustained the office of pastor. In determining the value of his experiences, such work as he did at Rochester in gathering together the nucleus of a church, and at Orangeville in leading a revival movement, must not be underestimated. Immediately on settling in Cincinnati, also, he was elected a Trustee and a member of the Prudential Board of Lane Seminary, and this brought him into active participation in the broader work of the church; and indeed thrust him at once into the focus of the most hotly debated national question of the day—that which concerned slavery. With it all it must be said, however, that his ministerial experience had been exceedingly small and very narrow.

Meanwhile he had not maintained intact the faith in which he was bred. That was, he tells us—speaking of course from the New England point of view,[113]—" 'the straitest sect' of the Calvinistic faith." From the very beginning of his personal religious life, however, this hereditary Calvinism had begun to crumble. Of the imputation of Adam's sin,[114] he declares that "subsequently to his conversion, he never for a moment entertained that sentiment"; and he adds[115] that he "quite early" adopted the "universal atonement."[116] In a broader statement, he informs us that

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[112] In the *Minutes* of 1833 Mahan is listed as without charge and the church as vacant.

[113] *Autobiography*, p. 320.

[114] P. 199.

[115] P. 200.

[116] In later life he distinguished between *three* opinions on the ex-

from the commencement of his ministry he "rejected the Old School and Hopkinsian theories, and adopted and became a zealous advocate of that of divine efficiency." Perhaps his drift had not gone much further than this when he went to Oberlin. His going to Oberlin marks, however, the beginning of a completer revolution in his faith, a revolution which he represents, in a statement which defines it by the widest limits, as carrying him "from the extreme bounds of Calvinism"—that is the way he expressed the faith in which he had been bred—"to the quite opposite pole of the evangelical faith"—which is his description of his ultimate point of view.[117] This ultimate point of view he describes again as "the antipodes of all the peculiarities of the Calvinistic faith."[118] His mind here is chiefly on the question of liberty and ability, and, accordingly, he expresses elsewhere the revolution in faith which he suffered as "changing fundamentally his life-long and fondly cherished beliefs, and repudiating utterly the doctrine of necessity and adopting that of liberty."[119] What he means is that he rejected the whole conception of natural and moral inability and adopted in its stead a doctrine of plenary ability;[120] or, to put it more sharply, that he now took up with the notion that obligation is limited by ability, a notion which, he rightly says, compelled an entire reconstruction of his theology.[121] It seems to be clear

tent of the Atonement, e.g., *Christian Perfection* (1839) p. 26 f.:—(1) *Limited* Atonement, "Christ died for a part only of the human race—the elect," (2) *General* Atonement,—"Christ died for no individuals of our race in particular, but for all in general," (3) *Special* atonement, "Christ died for everyone in particular"—so much for each that it might seem to him that it was for him alone that he died. It is the third that Mahan makes his own. But he modified it so as to escape universal salvation by saying that although Christ died for each, he avails only for those who accept him. We do not get the full flavor of this fervent individualism of Christ's death until we recall that the theory of atonement held is the Rectoral!

[117] *Autobiography,* p. viii.

[118] P. 320.

[119] *Autobiography,* p. 204.

[120] Pp. 203-4.

[121] P. 214.

enough that this fundamental step was already taken before going to Oberlin; so that he began his work there, like Finney and his other colleagues, as a zealous preacher of the "New Divinity." There is no reason to doubt therefore the accuracy of James H. Fairchild's representation,[122] that all the "founders" of Oberlin, including John J. Shipherd, and not only Finney, but Mahan and Morgan and Cowles, held to "New School views," in the sense that they insisted upon "the doctrine of human ability." "These men," he says, and obviously very truly, "were all earnest preachers of human ability, and the personal, voluntary responsibility of the sinner for everything about him that can be reckoned as sin."

It is Fairchild also who reminds us[123] that the gathering of a body of such men as these in a place like Oberlin, necessarily concentrated the immense personal power which they represented, specifically on the cultivation of the spiritual life. Out in the wide world their energies had been intensely directed to the conversion of sinners: here, in this narrow sphere, where "there was only here and there a sinner to be converted," they were naturally diverted to the perfecting of the saints. Men were set to the intensive cultivation of their Christian life; and the preachers pressed upon them with all the insistence that had been employed in the whirlwind revivals from which they had come, the duties of examining themselves whether they were in Christ and of immediate completion of their entire consecration to His service. "It was not a rare thing," says Fairchild, "for a large portion of the congregation, after a searching sermon by Prof. Finney or Pres. Mahan, to rise up in acknowledgment that they had reason to apprehend that they were deceived as to their Christian character; and to express their determination not to rest until their feet were established upon the Rock." It is almost incredible that the preachers did not realize from the beginning that what they were demanding from their hearers was sheer perfection;

[122] *The Congregational Quarterly,* April 1876, p. 237.

[123] As cited, p. 238.

and that what they were preaching was mere perfectionism. Perfection was men's duty, and all that was duty was practicable—for obligation and ability are co-extensive. But we must remember that these were somewhat reckless men, who made it a virtue not to count costs; and who were accustomed to tear every passion to tatters and to lash every dawning emotion into excesses with unmeasured invective; pursuing their conceived ends without regard to the inevitable consequences of the means employed. There is no reason why we should not believe them when they tell us that they were unaware that they were demanding perfection of their hearers as an achievable duty, until their eyes were opened to it by their hearers themselves. One of the odd circumstances connected with the situation was that Finney and Mahan knew perfectly well what perfectionism was. They had lived with it in Central and Western New York: their companions in their evangelistic work there had preached it in their presence: their followers had often rushed headlong into it. They themselves had kept their skirts free from it; partly, no doubt, because of their engrossment with the prior matter of conversion; more, no doubt, because of the mystical and antinomian form taken by "the New York Perfectionism," which was abhorrent to them as preachers of righteousness. But they could not help knowing that perfectionism lay at their door; and yet they drove on, preaching an essential perfectionism without, they say, being aware of it.

Perfectionism lay at their door even in the literal, physical sense. Oberlin was not so isolated as to be insensible to what was going on in Central and Western New York, or even in its own immediate neighborhood, in the Western Reserve of Ohio. Its settlers were recruited from the class in which "New York Perfectionism" was prevalent; and they did not shed their memories or break off their lines of communication when they came to Oberlin. The students of theology, to whom the appeals of the preachers were most frequently addressed, were themselves the products—Mahan

says the best products—of "The Western Revivals," and could not fail to be familiar with their constant accompaniments. Even if we lacked direct evidence of contact, therefore, we could not assume that Oberlin perfectionism arose wholly apart from connection with the wide-spread perfectionist movement which preceded it. In point of fact direct evidence is not lacking. We know that, in the quarters in which perfectionist tendencies first showed themselves at Oberlin, not only was the earlier movement known, but the Putney literature was read and an impulse derived from it to repeat the experiences described in it. It served, for instance, "to raise the question of obligation as to the degree of holiness which Christians might obtain,"[124] in the summer of 1836 (the second session of the Theological Seminary), for a body of young men associated in a missionary society and earnestly engaged upon their spiritual culture in preparation for their prospective work. They rejected with decision the antinomian features of the teaching they found in this literature; but, under its influence, they advanced, along the lines of the "New Divinity" common to it and themselves, to a full conviction of the duty and possibility of completely putting away sin. A fervid consecration meeting was held by them, in which they solemnly bound themselves not to grieve their Master by any further sinning. "They left the meeting"—so one of their number records,[125]—"feeling that they were pledged to a life of entire obedience, chiefly from the side of duty—the obligation and the possibility of it." Very naturally, and very truly, a report went around that "the missionary society had all become Perfectionists." We gather that the step they had taken met, for the moment, with but imperfect—certainly not with universal—sympathy, although it was the only logical outcome of the searching preaching to which they were listening day by day. It was a straw, however, showing which way the wind was blowing; and by the time

[124] Fairchild, as cited, pp. 238-239.

[125] We are quoting from D. L. Leonard, *The Story of Oberlin*, p. 238.

the session then in progress ended, the wind was blowing a gale.

The preaching itself was growing ever more fervid and insistent. Mahan represents himself as burdened in spirit over the low state of Christian living, and earnestly seeking light on the great problem of Christian attainment. One day, he visited one of his associates, and they together sought guidance in the Word. The conversation turned on the passage, "The love of Christ constraineth us." "While thus employed,"[126] he says, "my heart leaped up in ecstacy indescribable, with the exclamation, 'I have found it.'" What he had found was that Christ is all in all. "All in all; for in Him is to be had not merely our justification, but also our sanctification: the one is as truly a gift of grace, as exclusively a work of God, as the other, and is to be had on the same condition."[127] "The highway of holiness was now for the first time distinct in my mind . . . ." We may perhaps express what he found in the two words, "Jesus only." In Him, he perceived, we obtain all we need; and we must go to Him for it all, and receive it all by a direct act of faith. He had known hitherto what to do when a sinner asked, What shall I do to be saved? He would say, Go to Christ in faith. But he had not known that precisely the same answer is to be given to the believer who wishes to be delivered from his low plane of living. He had been accustomed to instruct such "to confess their sins, put them away, renew their purpose of obedience, and go forward with a fixed resolution to do the entire will of God."[128] He now saw that that was "a fundamental mistake." We are not only to be justified by the faith of Christ; but to be sanctified also by 'the faith that is in Him.'" We cannot be justified by faith, and be sanctified by "resolves": "we must cease wholly from man and from ourselves, and trust Christ universally." Along with this new light on Christ as all in all, he now saw also the necessity

[126] *Christian Perfection* (1839) ed. 7, 1844, pp. 181 ff.
[127] *Autobiography*, pp. 322 f.
[128] *Out of Darkness into Light*, p. 140.

of the work of the Spirit. And he considers it remarkable that "the doctrine of Christ as our 'wisdom, righteousness, sanctification and redemption' and the 'promise of the Spirit,' as the great central truth of the Gospel," should have been presented to his mind at one and the same time."[129] Of course, however, they necessarily go together because they are only two aspects of the supernaturalness of salvation.

For exactly what happened to Mahan in this great experience—this experience which he always looked back upon as pivotal for his life,—was the rediscovery of the supernaturalness of salvation. In this aspect of it, it was a reaction from the emphasis which, as a preacher of the "New Divinity," he had been placing on "ability," and a return to what he calls "universal" dependence on the grace of Christ. He says himself[130] that the teaching stands in contrast with his talk, "in his ignorance," of "human ability to do all that is required of us," and with the consequent "trust he had put in his own resolutions." This seems a confession that in teaching according to the formulas of the "New Divinity" he had been walking in a Pelagian path: and, so far as there was now a reaction from that bad way of thinking, he had turned his face to the light, and ceasing from self-sufficiency had put his dependence in God. This reaction, most commendable in itself, was nevertheless, as actually experienced by him, at once insufficient and excessive. He still reserved faith entirely to man; he wished to exclude human effort only from the walk in Christ. And like all Christians of his class he could not conceive of truly concursive activities. He operated with an unconditioned either—or: either works or grace; either effort or trust. As he had formerly allowed no place for faith in sanctification, so now he did not wish to allow any place for effort in sanctification. He seems not to be able to understand that we must both "work and pray," as the popular maxim puts it;

[129] P. 147.
[130] P. 141.

both believe and labor; he wishes us to "cast all the responsibility" on Christ after a fashion which smacks more of mysticism than the Gospel.[131] Meanwhile the reader is filled with amazement that this discovery of the supernaturalness of salvation should have seemed something new to Mahan. Bred in " 'the straitest sect' of Calvinism," did he have to wait for this moment to learn that Christ is all in all; that in Him we have by faith all that we can need; that He is made to us sanctification as well as justification —yes, all that is included in redemption?

Naturally this great discovery did not remain inoperative in Mahan's life. In the act of so learning Christ, he so experienced Christ,—and this constituted his "second conversion," in which he seemed to himself to rise into a higher plane of Christian living, and passed, as he loves to express it, from "twilight" into the full light of Christian experience. It is interesting to observe, as he explicitly tells us, that when he communicated his new experience to Finney, it found a ready welcome with him, and was repeated in his experience. "When my associate, then Professor Finney," he relates in one characteristic account,[132] "became aware of the great truth that, by being 'baptized with the Holy Ghost,' we can 'be filled with all the fulness of God,' he of course sought that baptism with all his heart and soul, and very soon obtained what he sought." Finney also received therefore at this time "the second blessing"; and not Finney only; the doctrine, the experience, was contagious. Of course it was carried at once also into the preaching and gave it an added insistence, an increased ardor. These men and their preaching—whatever they or it had been before—now became definitely perfectionist, though that was not

[131] In his *Autobiography*, pp. 286 ff., he tells us that the great difference between the two points of view which had been successive in his life turned on sanctification. In the one justification is held to be by faith, while sanctification is by hard labor; in the other both justification and sanctification are purely of faith, both are wrought by God alone and when we claim either by faith—"our responsibility is at an end."

[132] *Out of Darkness into Light*, p. 180.

yet recognized. Mahan explains their position by the use of the contrasting adverbs "theoretically" and "practically."[133] They had become "practically" perfectionists, he says, but not yet "theoretically" so. By this he does not seem to mean here primarily that they had become perfect and did not yet know it—although it is not clear that that too does not lie in his meaning—but that they had adopted and were preaching perfectionist doctrine, but had not yet come to see clearly that this was what they had done. The way he expresses it at large is this: "The redemption of Christ was then presented to my mind as full and perfect redemption. I felt that in Christ I was 'complete,' that in Him every demand of my being was met, and perfectly met. In this light I presented Him to others." But it was only "by subsequent reflection that I became aware that the principles which I had practically adopted necessarily involved the doctrine of Christian perfection." We are not now concerned with the defects of Mahan's logical processes. The discovery of the supernaturalness of salvation does not involve exclusion of the consumption of time in the realization of all that is included in it. But we have now merely to note that this was not perceived; and accordingly what Mahan and his colleagues had come to believe and were now fervidly preaching was the possibility and duty of the immediate enjoyment of all that Christ had bought for His people, at least in the spiritual sphere, without remainder. That is perfectionism.

With the leaven of perfectionism already working among the students and preaching of this character proceeding with ever increasing insistence, the end might easily have been foreseen. During the autumn of 1836 a series of revival meetings were held at Oberlin, by which the whole community, citizens and students, was profoundly moved. At most of these Mahan was the preacher; and at one of them, held just after the close of the academic session, he preached a powerful sermon, enforcing with great urgency

[133] *Biblical Repertory*, October 1840, p. 425-6.

the topic now always in his heart and on his lips, the duty of a higher consecration. A young man in the audience, just graduated from the theological department,—Sereno Wright Streeter was his name,[134]—rose and asked with solemn earnestness that his religious instructors, Finney and Mahan, would tell him plainly to what extent he might hope to be delivered from sinning; whether he could expect to receive really entire sanctification on faith. "When we look to Christ for sanctification," he asked,[135] "what degree of sanctification may we expect from Him? May we look to Him to be sanctified wholly or not?" "I do not recollect that I was ever so shocked and confounded at any question before or since," says Mahan.[136] "I felt for the moment that the work of Christ among us would be marred, and the mass of minds around us rush into Perfectionism." An answer, definite and decided, could not be avoided; but it could be postponed—especially as the end of the session had arrived which brought with it the time for the scattering of both teachers and taught. No answer was attempted, therefore, at the moment, but a promise was given that the matter would be carefully canvassed and an answer returned in due season.

Thus the Oberlin teachers were compelled fairly to face the question of Perfectionism. They gave themselves diligently to its solution. Finney was accustomed at this time to spend the winter—vacation-time at Oberlin—in New York, preaching in the "Broadway Tabernacle." On this occasion Mahan accompanied him. They explored the Scriptures together; and, says Mahan,[137] "after looking carefully at

[134] See *General Catalogue of Oberlin Seminary*, 1898, *sub nom.* He was graduated with the first theological class that was graduated and ordained at Oberlin October 10, 1836.

[135] Mahan, *Christian Perfection*, p. 188. The exact form of the question is given differently in the various reports, but the substance always remains the same. Cf. Mahan's *Autobiography*, p. 323; Fairchild, as cited, pp. 239 f.; Wright, *Life of Finney*, p. 204; Leonard, as cited, pp. 236 ff.

[136] *Christian Perfection*, p. 188.

[137] *Christian Perfection*, p. 189.

the testimony of Scripture, in respect to the provisions and promises of divine grace, we were constrained to admit, that but one answer to the above question could be given from the Bible; and the greatest wonder to me is, that I have been a 'master of Israel' and have never before 'known these things.' " But they did not confine themselves to the appeal to Scripture. They sought guidance also from those who had been perfectionists before them. It was naturally on the Methodists that their glance was first cast and lingered longest—for were not the Methodists the type of evangelical perfectionists? Finney found their idea of sanctification unacceptable, because it seemed to him "to relate almost entirely to states of sensibility," and he elsewhere[138] declares with decision that their notion that less is required of us under the Gospel than was required under the law is inadmissible. Nevertheless, he pronounced Wesley's *Plain Account of Christian Perfection*—the acquaintance of which he made at this time—though marred by some expressions (he thinks merely expressions) to which he should object, "an admirable book," which he wishes every member of his church would read.[139] By the side of Wesley's *Christian Perfection* he places the *Memoirs of James Brainerd Taylor*—which he also hopes "every Christian will get and study." He had read the most of it he says, "three times within a few months." This same collocation of Wesley and Taylor meets us also incidentally in a passage of Mahan's: he speaks of "such men as John Wesley and James B. Taylor, who believed that by the grace of Christ applied to 'cleanse them from all sin,' they had 'been made perfect in love.' "

What is odd about this is that it was just these two books which John Humphrey Noyes read in the autumn of 1834 —two years earlier—when he was making his way also to perfectionism. And Finney repeats the same gossip which Noyes repeats, to the effect that Taylor's biographers

[138] *Memoirs*, p. 340.

[139] *Lectures to Professing Christians*, ed. 1880, pp. 358 f.

had suppressed the most perfectionistic passages in his letters. We have seen that perfectionism did not show itself among the students of Oberlin apart from influences derived from the earlier perfectionism of New York, or apart specifically from the teachings of J. H. Noyes. It was much more a matter of course that Finney and Mahan did not arrive at their perfectionism in ignorance of these prior movements. We are scarcely prepared, however, for the emphasis which they seem to place on their knowledge of them; or for what seems very much like a tendency to apologize in part at least for them. "I have read their publications," says Finney,[140] "I have had some knowledge of them as individuals." He cannot give assent to "many of their views"; he repudiates the imputation to him of their "peculiarities;" especially he turns with reprobation from their "antinomianism." But he adds at once that they are not all antinomians,—"some of their leading men" are not; and although "there are still a number of important points of difference between them and the orthodox church," the points of agreement are very numerous.[141] Similarly Mahan sees in all the perfectionist movements of the recent past a divine preparation for what was to come in them; and adopting them, along with the Methodists, as their own, adds:[142] "Some outside the Methodist denomination had 'entered into rest' before we did." It is not merely misery that loves company; and the desire to discover precedents is ordinarily strong enough to lead us to take them where we can find them. It is meanwhile clear enough that Finney's and Mahan's sense of solidarity with perfectionists as such was strong. It was strongest, of course, with the Methodists, from whom they derived most—among other things the terms by which they expressed their new doctrine. "The terms by which we designate it," says Mahan,[143] "were those by which it had been presented since the times of

[140] P. 346.

[141] *Views of Sanctification*, 1840, pp. 134 ff.

[142] *Out of Darkness into Light*, 1875, p. 195.

[143] *Autobiography*, p. 367.

Wesley and Fletcher, namely, Christian Perfection, Entire Sanctification, and Full Salvation." The *thing* expressed by these terms they would not admit they got from the Methodists. What they offered they got direct from the Scriptures,—though this affirmation naturally can be overpressed. "I gave myself earnestly," says Finney,[144] "to search the Scriptures and to read whatever came to hand upon the subject, until my mind was satisfied that an altogether higher and more stable form of Christian life was attainable and was the privilege of the Christian. . . . I was satisfied that the doctrine of sanctification in this life, and entire sanctification, in the sense that it was the privilege of Christians to live without known sin, was a doctrine taught in the Bible, and that abundant means are provided for the securing of that attainment." The doctrine thus described as derived from the Scriptures has in any case somewhat close affinities with the Methodist doctrine.[145]

No sooner was the Oberlin doctrine of perfection conceived than it was published. Finney was the first to publish it. He was in New York during the winter months of 1836-1837 for the purpose of preaching in the "Broadway Tabernacle." Preoccupied with the subject of the Christian walk, he delivered to his congregation a series of *Lectures to Professing Christians,* which were printed as they were delivered in the *New York Evangelist,* and soon afterward (1837) were gathered into a volume.[146] Two of these lectures were devoted to the subject of "Christian Perfection." In this first exposition of Oberlin perfectionism there are naturally seen lying in the background all the characteristic traits of Finney's theological thinking.

[144] *Memoirs,* pp. 340 f.

[145] The Methodist books were very diligently read, not only the fundamental treatises of Wesley and Fletcher, but such biographies as those of Hester Ann Rogers and William Carvosso (cf. J. S. Fairchild, *The Congregational Quarterly,* April 1876, p. 242); and the Methodist commentators—particularly Adam Clarke—were very much deferred to (cf. Finney, *Views of Sanctification*). Along with them the support of other perfectionists like Robert Barclay, was welcomed.

[146] *Lectures to Professing Christians* (1837) Oberlin, 1880.

All virtue consists in disinterested benevolence; nothing is sinful but voluntary action; we have no obligation beyond our ability—we can do all that we ought to do, and what, for any reason whatever, we cannot do, we no longer, in any sense whatever, ought to do: it is such conceptions as these which form the substructure. On this basis a perfectionism is developed which already bears the fundamental character that ever afterwards marked the Oberlin doctrine. What is taught is a perfection that consists in complete righteousness, but in righteousness which is adjusted to fluctuating ability. Enoch Pond, in reviewing the lectures, rejoices to find that the perfection taught—in contrast with the Wesleyan doctrine of a so-called "evangelical perfection"—requires the perfect fulfilment of the law of God.[147] But, as W. E. Boardman—discriminating later the "Oberlinian" from the Wesleyan doctrine—points out, what is really distinctive of "Oberlinian" perfection is the "view of the claims of the law as graduated to the sinner's ability."[148] This teaching is already here. But the more fundamental idea that perfection is the fulfilment of the law is more dwelt upon. The lectures are thus given the aspect of insisting on perfect righteousness, and point is given to this insistence by an open polemic against the Wesleyan conception. "No part of the obligation of the law is discharged," it is said:[149] "the Gospel holds those under it to the same holiness as those under the law." The definition of Christian Perfection is given crisply as "perfect obedience to the law of God;" and this is explained as requiring that "we should do neither more nor less than the law of God prescribes." "This," it is added,[150] "is being, morally, just as perfect as God."

When Finney undertakes to show that this perfection is attainable in this life, his argument runs on the familiar

[147] *The Biblical Repository,* January 1839, pp. 44 ff.
[148] *The Higher Christian Life,* 1859, p. 41.
[149] P. 342.
[150] P. 341.

lines.[151] He pleads that God wills our perfection; that all the promises and prophecies of God respecting our sanctification have perfect sanctification in view; that this is the great blessing promised throughout the Bible; and the very object for which the Holy Spirit is given. Every one of these propositions is true; and none of them is to the point. The whole point at issue concerns the process by which the believer is made perfect; or perhaps we would better say, whether it is by a process that he is made perfect. Avoiding the hinge of the argument, Finney endeavors to impale his readers on dilemmas. "If it is not a practicable duty to be perfectly holy in this world, then it will follow that the devil has so completely accomplished his design of corrupting mankind, that Jesus Christ is at fault, and has no way to sanctify His people but by taking them out of the world." "If perfect sanctification is not attainable in this world it must be either from a want of motives in the Gospel, or a want of sufficient power in the Spirit of God." It would be a poor reader indeed who did not perceive at once that such dilemnas could be applied equally to every evil with which man is afflicted—disease, death, the uncompleted salvation of the world. If it is not a practicable thing to be perfectly well in this world, then Jesus Christ has been vanquished by the Devil and has no way to make His people well except by taking them out of the world. If freedom from death is not attainable in this world, then it must be due to want of sufficient power in the Spirit of God. If the world does not become at once the pure Kingdom of God in which only righteousness dwells, then we must infer either a want of sufficient motives in the Gospel or a want of sufficient power in the Son of God. There have been people who reasoned thus: the point of interest now is, that it was not otherwise that Finney reasoned—and that accounts for many things besides his perfectionism. It is a simple matter of fact that the effects of redemption, in the individual and in the world at large, are realized, not

[151] Pp. 346 ff.

all at once, but through a long process: and that their complete enjoyment lies only "at the end."

A certain lack of logical coherence is discernable in other features of these lectures also. Finney was too good a Pelagian readily to homologate Quietistic conceptions: it is not for the Pelagian to say, "Cast thy dreadful doing down:" doing is with him rather the beginning, and middle, and end of all things. Yet we have already seen Mahan imbuing him with his newly-found notion (borrowed ultimately from the Wesleyans) that sanctification is to be attained immediately by an act of faith, and indeed also with his mystical Quietistic explanation of how this sanctification is brought about by faith. We noted at the time that it was interesting to observe this, and the interest seems to us to be enhanced when we observe the doctrine enunciated —so far as it is enunciated—in the context of these lectures. Finney the Pelagian denies that Christ in His Spirit can work on man otherwise than by bringing motives to action to bear on him—in a word by persuading him himself to act. Whatever man does, then, in the way of obeying the law—perfect obedience to which constitutes his perfection —he must himself do: it cannot be done for him or in him or through him by another; no other can affect him otherwise than by presenting motives to action to him. We should like to know then exactly what Finney means when he rebukes those who seek sanctification "by their own resolutions and works, their feelings and prayers, their endeavors and activity, instead of taking right hold of Christ by faith, for sanctification, as they do for justification."[152] What he says is that we may—must—attain to sanctification—or, as entire sanctification is meant, to perfection, that perfection which is perfect obedience to the law of God—immediately by an act of faith, without any resolution or effort on our part to obey the law, or apparently, any activity on our part in obeying it. "Faith," he says, "will bring Christ right into the soul and fill it with the

[152] P. 362.

same spirit"—note the small s—"that breathes through Himself." We greately wonder how "faith" does all this, and note only that it is faith that does it, not Christ: Christ supplies only the model to which faith conforms us. For light on this dark question, however, we shall have to go elsewhere.

Finney's inconcinity is not occasional merely but constant. Take another instance.[153] He is arguing that the power of habit need not inhibit perfection, since it does not inhibit conversion. The power of habit is a thing that may be overcome. As he argues this point, however, he raises in our minds a previous question—the question whether God can save at all. The answer he supplies is Yes, sometimes; and sometimes, no—at least "consistently with His wisdom," a phrase which does not vacate but only locates His inability. Of man in his natural state we must recognize, he says, that "selfishness has the entire control of the mind, and the habits of sin are wholly unbroken." And this condition of course presents an obstacle to salvation—an obstacle, he says, "so great, in all cases, that no power but that of the Holy Ghost can overcome it." It is indeed, he adds, "so great in many instances, that God Himself cannot, consistently with His wisdom, use the means necessary to convert the soul." Men then, it seems, may be so set in their wickedness that no "power"—the term is misleading; God uses no power in the transaction except the power of persuasion—which God, being wise, is willing to use upon them will avail for their salvation. Finney says this is the actual case "in many instances." These men, clearly, then, are unsalvable. God, so long as he remains the wise God, cannot save men so sunk in sin. We have thus reached the astonishing conclusion that men may be too sinful to be saved. They are saved, or they are not saved, according to their determination in sin. Moderately sinful souls can be saved, very sinful souls are beyond the possibilities of salvation. This no doubt is good Pelagian doctrine: it is

[153] P. 283.

not Paul's doctrine or Christ's. We are surprised to find it here where Finney had started out to prove that evil habits cannot inhibit the attainment of perfection, because they do not inhibit the attainment of conversion. We have ended by proving that "in many instances" they can and do inhibit the attainment of conversion; and that, whether we are converted or not does not depend therefore on God who in many cases is helpless in the face of our sinfulness, but on the degree of our sinfulness.

In his *Lectures on Systematic Theology,*[154] Finney makes the following remarks concerning the lectures we have been considering. "These lectures were soon spread before thousands of readers. Whatever was thought of them, I heard not a word of objection from any quarter. If any was made, it did not, to my recollection, come to my knowledge." He is often inexact in his historical statements; and perhaps we should not wonder that he is inexact here too. In point of fact the lectures received the normal attention of reviewers; and it is difficult to believe that the strictures made on them were not at the time brought to the author's attention. *The Christian Spectator,* the organ of Finney's own party, gives them, it is true, only passing mention. But this passing mention is not without its significance. Its object is apparently to read Finney a lecture, as the *enfant terrible* of the "New Divinity" party, and to serve notice on him that he was expected to keep within the bounds and to content himself with repeating the shibboleths appointed for him. "On the subject of *Christian Perfection*" we read,[155] "we think Mr. Finney is not always sufficiently guarded, and though we do not believe he means anything more than we should fully admit,—the possibility and duty of obedience to God in all things commanded—yet we fear he may be liable to misconstruction and injure the consciences of many weak but pious persons." The note of irritation here is unmistakable: in the sequence of

[154] Ed. 1, vol. ii, 1847, p. 170; ed. 2, 1851, p. 571.
[155] *Christian Spectator,* June 1837, p. 342.

obligation, ability, actualization, could not Finney, like the rest of them, be satisfied with the first two without pushing on inconsiderately to the third? So far then from there having been no word of objection to the teaching of the lectures spoken from any quarter, they were objected to from all quarters. And, naturally, the reviewers "from the other side" did not content themselves with passing mention but subjected them to reasoned criticism. This was done, for example, by Joseph Ives Foot in a trenchant article in the *Literary and Theological Review,*[156] which was given the uncompromising title of "Influence of Pelagianism on the Theological Course of Rev. C. G. Finney, developed in his Sermons and Lectures." It was done also by Enoch Pond in a prudent article published in *The Biblical Repository.*[157] And although it was not done in a subsequent article on current works on Perfectionism published in the same journal by N. S. Folsom,[158] it was made plain that that was only because the writer considered that it had been already sufficiently done by Pond. Pond as a good New Englander goes so far with Finney that he is glad to allow "the attainableness" of perfection by the Christian, or, as he phrases it, "its metaphysical attainableness;" but like the *Christian Spectator* he wishes to stop right there and deny that it is ever "attained actually." On the ground of the current New England doctrine, which postulated "natural ability" for all that can be required, the whole question reduced itself thus for him to one of mere fact, and he argues it on that understanding.

Princeton. B. B. WARFIELD.

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[156] March 1838, pp. 38 ff. See particularly pp. 52 ff.
[157] January 1839, pp. 44 ff.
[158] July 1839, p. 143.

THE ANOINTING OF THE SICK IN THE EPISTLE OF JAMES, AND ITS BEARING ON THE USE OF MEANS IN SICKNESS

Modern Faith Healing, or, to adopt the term current in recent years, "Divine Healing," while claiming to be based on a large number of passages of Scripture, has in reality but three main foundations. These are first, the promises of health and healing made to the Israelites (e.g. Ex. 15:26; Deut. 7:15); second, the description of the suffering Saviour in Isa. 53:4, viewed in the light of Matt. 8:17, "Himself took our infirmities and bare our diseases;" and third, the directions for anointing the sick found in Jas. 5:14, 15. The first is supposed to show Divine Healing in operation under the old covenant, the second to link Divine Healing with the atonement, and the third to show Divine Healing in operation under the new covenant. Numerous other passages there are to which appeal is made but none of them have the importance of the three mentioned above. The omission of these three would make a scheme of Divine Healing practically impossible.

The present article is concerned wholly with the third of these passages. While it is rather an inquiry into the meaning of the passage than an argument against Divine Healing, the course of the inquiry has been suggested in large part by the interpretations which the advocates of Divine Healing have put upon the passage.

Following the Revised Version the passage reads thus:[1] "Is any among you sick? Let him call for the elders of the church; and let them pray over him, anointing him with oil in the name of the Lord: and the prayer of faith shall save him that is sick, and the Lord shall raise him up; and

[1] James v: 14, 15—*ἀσθενεῖ τις ἐν ὑμῖν; προσκαλεσάσθω τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους τῆς ἐκκλησίας, καὶ προσευξάσθωσαν ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἀλείψαντες ἐλαίῳ ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι τοῦ Κυρίου. καὶ ἡ εὐχὴ τῆς πίστεως σώσει τὸν κάμνοντα, καὶ ἐγερεῖ αὐτὸν ὁ Κύριος· κἂν ἁμαρτίας ᾖ πεποιηκώς, ἀφεθήσεται αὐτῷ.* There are no variations in the text of the passage which call for comment. *Τοῦ Κυρίου*, vs. 14, if rejected in accordance with B etc. must be supplied in thought.

if he have committed sins, it shall be forgiven him." In the consideration of this perplexing and much discussed passage let us take up first the purpose of the anointing. Other questions will of course come into the discussion, for it is impossible to treat one aspect of the matter without involving others also; but for the present let the anointing take the chief place and let other matters be considered only as they bear on it.

That the sick mentioned in this passage are the physically sick and that the healing is physical healing are points hardly open to question.[2] The Roman Catholic view,[3] which finds in this passage a warrant for the practice of "extreme unction," which thus admits that the sickness is in the body but that the remedy is for the soul, is too evident a wresting of Scripture to call for much discussion. It transforms

[2] A very interesting and satisfactory discussion of this point will be found in *The Anointing of the Sick and Numbering of the Sacraments,* by F. W. Puller. This reply to the Roman Catholic position is in a way more effective because, first, it is indirect. The author is arguing in favor of the revival of anointing in the Church of England, and in doing so has to clear the passage of misinterpretations. Second, his own sacramental theology has points of similarity with Rome. And third, he not only appeals to the Scripture but also traces the history of these verses since apostolic times.

[3] The Douay Version (new edition 1876 with approbation of Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster) gives the following translation and explanatory notes: 14. Is any man sick among you? let him bring in the priests of the church, and let them pray over him, anointing him with oil in the name of the Lord. 15. And the prayer of faith shall save the sick man: and the Lord shall raise him up: and if he be in sins, they shall be forgiven him. 16. Confess therefore your sins one to another; and pray one for another that you may be saved. For the continual prayer of a just man availeth much.—Notes. 14. *"Let him bring in* etc. See here a plain warrant of Scripture for the sacrament of extreme unction, that any controversy against its institution would be against the express words of the sacred text in the plainest terms. 16. *Confess your sins one to another.* That is to the priests of the church, whom (ver. 14) he had ordered to be called for, and brought in to the sick; moreover to confess to persons who had no power to forgive sins, would be useless. Hence the precept here means, that we must confess to men whom God hath appointed, and who, by their ordination and jurisdiction, have received the power of remitting sins in his name."

directions for the attainment of health into a preparation for death.[4]

Is the anointing recommended for its medicinal value? That such is the case is often taken for granted and the conclusion is drawn that the use of means in one case is an implied sanction of their use in every case. The conclusion is certainly legitimate if the premise is correct.. In favor of this view can be quoted the opinions of a number of commentators,[5] though even weightier authority can be adduced for the view that there is here no reference to

[4] "Then let the elders being called pray for the sicke and anoint him with oyle, not that he may die, but that he may miraculously be restored to health, as ye apostle here plainly speaketh" (Nicholas Hemminge *"A learned and fruiteful commentairie upon the Epistle of James the Apostle,"* 1577).

[5] The following among others look upon the anointing in Jas. 5:14 as a remedy: J. Brown (d. 1787), *Commentary on Bible;* F. T. Bassett, *Epistle of James;* McClintock and Strong, *Cyclopaedia,* art. "Oil" by J. H. Worman, "a fitting symbol, perhaps also an efficient remedy"; McCl. and Strong, art. "Anoint"; E. H. Plumptre in *Cambridge Bible;* Hastings' *Dict.,* art. "Medicine," refers to Jas. 5:14 under "Methods of treatment," "External applications"; Davis' *Dict.,* art. "Anoint," "The Christian places reliance not in the natural means in themselves, but in God who works through the means and renders them effectual (Jas. 5:14)"; Wayland Hoyt, *Homiletic Review,* Mch. 1902, p. 263; J. W. Conley (with hesitation), *Divine Healing and Doctors,* pp. 14-15; Schaff-Herzog, *Encyclop.,* art. "Oil" by E. Layer, oil used in Scripture for "healing wounds (Isa. 1:6, Mk. 6:13, Jas. 5:14, Luke 10:34)"; Weiss, *Bib. Theol.,* Vol. I., p. 263,—"miraculous help of God upon the use of the simplest means of healing"; Huther (in Meyer), "Probably James mentions the anointing with oil only in conformity with the general custom of employing oil for the refreshing, strengthening and healing of the body, since he refers the miracle not to the anointing, but to the prayer. . . ."; J. R. Dummelow, *Commentary,* "In order to understand this passage, round which much controversy has raged, we must remember that it was, and is, a Jewish custom for a sick man to make his confession to some rabbi or rabbis. Elaborate rules to guide those who receive such clinical confessions are found in the Talmud. St. James is telling his readers that this custom was to be continued by Christian Jews, and that the confession of the sick man was to be made to the clergy ('presbyters') of the Church. They would then (1) pray over him for the pardon of his sins, and (2) anoint him with oil (the recognized remedy, Isa. 1:6, Mk. 6:13, Luke 10:34). By these means he would obtain forgiveness of his sins, and (if it were God's will) recover from his sickness."

the use of means.[6] This difference of opinion is not of recent date only but goes back into past generations. The idea that we have here a medical prescription falls into line with the current use of medicines by nearly all Christian people. It supplies at once a justification for their conduct. There is reason to believe however that many people give entirely too much weight to this consideration when forming their opinion concerning this passage. They believe in the use of means on the grounds of general reasonableness, and they feel that to give up the interpretation which sees a remedy in the anointing would be the same

[6] The following writers do not regard the anointing as a remedy, though they do not all agree as to its purpose: Calvin, symbolical—connected with the gift of healing temporarily granted to the church; Nicholas Hemminge (1577); Richard Turnball (1592); Thomas Manton (1644; reprint 1844), "An extraordinary sign of an extraordinary and miraculous cure"; Bernard Jacobi (1838); J. Adam (1867); R. Johnstone (1871); R. Wardlaw; J. Wesley; P. J. Gloag; Bengel; A. A. Hodge, *Pop. Lectures on Theol. Themes* (by inference); Meyer (referred to by Huther in Meyer's *Commentary on James*. Meyer's note on Mk. 6:13—he opposes the ideas that healing is through the oil as a remedy or that anointing is merely a symbol—is as follows: "The anointing is rather, as is also the application of spittle on the part of Jesus himself (7:33; 8:23; John 9:6), to be looked upon as a conductor of the supernatural healing power, analogous to the laying on of hands in verse 5, so that the faith was the causa apprehendens, the miraculous power the causa efficiens, and the oil was the medians, therefore without independent power of healing, and not even necessary, where the way of immediate operation was, probably in accordance with the susceptibility of the persons concerned, adopted by the Healer, as Jesus also heals the blind man of Jericho without any application to spittle 10:46"); Alexander, *Com. on Mark* 6:13; Neander; J. B. Mayor does not make it clear whether he regards the anointing as in any degree a means of cure. The healing he regards as miraculous (*Ep. of James,* Introd. cxvi, cxxiv, cxxx, clxxvi, pp. 165, 226); Zahn, (*N. T. Introd.* p. 122): "The correspondence between Jas. 5:14 and Mk. 6:13 indicates a close connection with the earliest days of Christianity. We have nothing to do here with the sacramental use of oil in the Ancient Church; James stands, like Jesus, on the soil of Judaism. cf. Spitta 144 f." "In particular the confidence with which healing efficacy is attributed to prayer, without leaving a place for the physician, as in the parallel passage Sir. xxxviii. 9-15, points to high antiquity."

Except where specified the above references are to commentaries on the Epistle of James.

as admitting that the general position of the advocates of Divine Healing is correct. In much the same way many Protestants shrink from the explanation that Peter is in any sense the "rock" on which Christ built His church, thinking (wrongly) that in admitting this to be the case they would be conceding the truth of the Roman Catholic position generally.[7]

We may thus state as the first argument for holding that we have in the anointing a reference to the use of medical means, the reasonableness of the supposition that the apostle should recommend the use of means. This argument however scarcely amounts to more than saying that the almost universal use of means in sickness among mankind makes it necessary for us to fairly consider whether or not means are intended in the passage before us. But if there are any direct indications of the purpose of the anointing, any argument drawn from the customs of men at large will not have much weight in comparison.

A second argument in favor of the medical interpretation is that oil in ancient times was a common remedy. It is spoken of in the Bible (Isa. 1:6, Luke 10:34), and outside of the Bible is often met with. Philo, Pliny, Galen, Celsus and Arataeus recommend it, and Josephus tells us that a bath of oil was recommended to Herod in his last illness. In analogy to this the apostles are made out to be men "using simple natural means" joined with prayer in cases of sickness.[8] This is a strong point in favor of this interpretation. It would be much stronger if it were true that medical anointing was the only anointing practiced in those times. But the fact that anointing was so common and in use for such a variety of purposes deprives the argument of much of the force which it would otherwise have. We are hardly justified in saying more than that the ancient use of oil in sickness raises a probability that the case before us is one of medical anointing. But the actual de-

[7] Matt. 16:18. See discussion in Broadus, *An American Commentary on the New Testament*, Vol. I.

[8] Plumptre in "Cambridge Bible."

cision of the question must rest on more definite considerations.

A third argument in favor of the same interpretation is found in the use of the word ἀλείψαντες translated "anointing." "There is a word used for anointing with oil in the Scripture—χρίω—which has a peculiar, separate, religious, non-medical meaning. There is another word used in the Scripture for anointing with oil which has an entirely medical meaning—ἀλείφω. The remarkable thing is, it is this last word, and not the first which is used in this passage in St. James—so entirely sanctioning the use of medical means together with prayer."[9] An examination of the passages of the New Testament in which these words occur shows that these statements, while containing some truth,

[9] Wayland Hoyt, *Homiletic Review,* March 1902, p. 263.

To the same effect Leonard Woolsey Bacon ("A Vindication of Divine Healing." *The Evangelist,* New York, May 18, 1899): "The sick man is advised to send, not to the heathen 'medicine man' with his incantations, but to the Christian elders; and what variety of gifts and functions there were among these, we may learn from I Cor. 12:4-11, 28-30. The double enumeration includes some gifts that are certainly not miraculous; but these are just as divine as the miraculous ones. It is significant that, twice over, the 'gifts of healing' are emphatically distinguished from the working of miracles. Natural talent or acquired skill for the treatment of disease is just as much a gift from God, to be used in His service, as speaking with tongues is.

"Well, when these good men, including the gifted healers, have come to the sick man, what then? First, they are to lose no time in rubbing him with oil. There are two New Testament words for anointing. One of them is chrio, from which we have chrism and Christ. This word and no other, is used of the sacred or religious anointing. The other word, aleipho, is never so used, but is applied to medical or cosmetic unctions. This use of oil made a great figure among the medical and sanitary processes of that time. Celsus speaks of it, writing on medical science not far from the time of James' epistle. It is mentioned as a part of the treatment used in the sickness of Herod the Great. The trainer of athletes in the gymnasium was called aleiptes, because he gave them their massage with oil; and the room where his work was done was called aleipterion.

"This is the sort of unction—an aleimma, not a chrism—which the Epistle advises. As plain as Greek words can make it, we have here a medical prescription, not a sacrament. When this is done and finished (observe the aorist tense) they are to gather about the sick man's bed and pray for God's blessing on their treatment."

are on the whole quite misleading. ἀλείφω is used in seven other passages of the New Testament beside this one. Five of these passages are distinctly non-medical: Matt. 6:17, "But thou when thou fastest anoint thy head and wash thy face"; Luke 7:38 and 46, The woman who was a sinner "kissed his feet and anointed them with the ointment"; "My head with oil thou didst not anoint, but she hath anointed my feet with ointment"; John 12:3 and 11:2, "Mary anointed the feet of Jesus"; "It was that Mary which anointed the Lord with ointment. . . ." In Mk. 16:1 where the women come to anoint the body of Jesus, it is probable that the anointing was an expression of "affection and respect" rather than an act of quasi-medical significance which it would be if it were part of the process of embalming.[10] The remaining passage is Mk. 6:13 which is to be discussed further on. In the only unquestioned reference to medical anointing (Rev. 3:18), where anointing the eyes is used figuratively for spiritual illumination, a compound of χρίω, ἐγχρίω is found. No argument therefore for the interpretation of the anointing in James as a medical performance can be drawn from the use of ἀλείφω elsewhere in the New Testament. But it may be urged that ἀλείφω must be taken in some secular sense; and as "toilet anointing" is excluded by the context, we are shut up to medical anointing. In reply it may be said that the use of ἀλείφω in the New Testament for a religio-symbolical anointing is not a matter of surprise. Following the general usage of the Greek version of the Old Testament which was in use in the days of the apostles, the Septuagint, we might have

[10] "That they might anoint him is usually understood of embalming for the preservation of the body, which would imply the absence of all hope as to his resurrection. But as embalming in the proper sense was not a Jewish practice, and was the work rather of physicians than of women (Comp. Gen. 50:2), and as the aromatic substances here mentioned were suited only for external application, it is on the whole most probable that they intended merely to express affection and respect by outward unction, just as another Mary had done during the Lord's life-time (14:8)" (J. A. Alexander, *Com. on Mark*)—See also Edersheim, *Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah*, II, 318.

expected to find χρίω instead of ἀλείφω in a connection like the present. But first, χρίω in the Septuagint is so thoroughly associated with the idea of consecration—separation to a sacred use—of the object or person anointed, as to make its use in the case of the anointing of the sick very questionable. The sick can hardly be said to be set aside to a sacred use when they are anointed for healing. And second, the name "Christ"—the "Anointed" of God—derived from χρίω, had been given to our Saviour, and this fact seems to have affected the use of χρίω. In the few passages of the New Testament where it occurs we find it restricted to the anointing of Christ or of Christians by God.[11] According to this usage we find that the anointing represented by χρίω is an anointing "with the Holy Spirit and with power" (Acts 10:38); but on the other hand when anything so material as oil is used the verb employed is not χρίω but ἀλείφω.

The arguments thus far adduced in favor of recognizing the anointing as a remedy are unsatisfactory in themselves. Other considerations too lead to the same conclusion. The first of these is that there is nothing in the immediate con-

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[11] Trench's note on ἀλειφω and χρίω is as follows (*Synonyms of the New Testament* xxxviii): . . . "A distinction between the words is maintained . . .; namely, that ἀλείφειν is the common and mundane, χρίειν the sacred and heavenly word: ἀλείφειν is used indiscriminately of all actual anointings, whether with oil or ointment; while χρίειν, no doubt in its connection with χριστὸς, is absolutely restricted to the anointing of the Son, by the Father, with the Holy Ghost, for the accmplishment of His great office, being wholly separated from all secular and common uses. Thus see Luke 4:18; Acts 4:27; 10:38; 2 Cor. 1:21; Heb. 1:9; the only occasions on which χρίειν occurs. The same holds good in the Septuagint, where χρισις, χρίσμα (cf. I John 2:20, 27) and χρίειν are the constant and ever recurring words in respect of all religious and symbolical anointings; ἀλείφειν hardly occurring in this sense, not oftener, I believe, than at Exod. 40:13, and Num. 3:3."—This note, while in the main correct, is inaccurate. In 2 Cor. 1:21 the anointing is that of Christians and not that of Christ. Gen. 31:13 is another instance of the use of ἀλείφειν in the Septuagint for a religious anointing.—"The verb χρίω (answering to מָשַׁח) in LXX is employed generally, though not exclusively, of the anointing of things for sacred use" (Westcott on I John 2:20).

nection to suggest that the oil was to be used as a remedy. Everything is against such a supposition. The oil is to be applied by the elders of the church who might be utterly ignorant of nursing as well as of medicine. The phrase "in the name of the Lord" is naturally connected (as our English versions render) with "anointing" rather than with "pray." Bengel connects it with both. It is difficult to connect it with "pray" alone and to read in verse 13 "Let them pray" and in verse 14 "Let them pray in the name of the Lord.' Now "anointing in the name of the Lord" does not sound like a remedy. Paul does not say to Timothy, "Use a little wine in the name of the Lord for thy stomach's sake."[12] In addition to this the benefit of the entire procedure is ascribed simply to the prayer. "The prayer of faith shall save the sick." The whole context is thus against the idea of a remedy.

In the second place oil alone and no other remedy is prescribed and that for any and every case of sickness. This is not in accord with the medical practice of James' day. Oil though commonly used in sickness was not regarded as a panacea, and we may rest assured that it is not here recommended as such by James.

Third, the connection of this passage in James with Mark 6:13 where it is recorded of the Twelve that "they anointed with oil many that were sick and healed them," is against the interpretation which makes oil a remedy. Unfortunately the passage in Mark is almost as obscure as the passage in James, but this much we may safely say. The anointing in James and the anointing by the twelve are so similar in the circumstances which surround them, that we are almost compelled to seek for one explanation to cover both. An important part of the commission given to the twelve on the occasion mentioned in Mark was that of healing diseases. In accordance with this they "anointed with oil many that were sick and healed them." The directions in James seem to have been given in view of those early anointings by the

[12] I Tim. 5:23.

apostles. But whether or not there is any direct connection between the two, their similarity is too striking to be overlooked; and this is the more significant in view of the close connection in time between them. The Epistle of James was in all likelihood one of the first and probably the very first of the books of the New Testament to be written. It was probably written as early as A.D. 50 and may have been written still earlier.[13] This brings it to the period before the Council in Jerusalem, and makes it contemporary with the events recorded in the book of Acts before the fifteenth chapter. In other words James in all probability wrote the directions for anointing the sick within twenty years and perhaps within fifteen years of the time when the Twelve anointed those whom they healed. Such being the case, it would require strong reasons to justify the ex-

[13] 'Critics vary much between A.D. 45 and 62. In favor of the early date, before the Council of Jerusalem (A.D. 50) and the circumcision controversy to which there is no allusion in the epistle, are the following: Schenckenburger, Neander, Thiersch, Huther, Hofmann, Weiss, Beyschlag, Alford, Bassett, Plumptre. In favor of A.D. 62: Lardner, DeWette, Wiesinger, Lange, Ewald and those commentators who see in the epistle a polemical reference to Paul and his teachings, (Abridged from Schaff, *Church Hist.* I p. 270). Zahn places it A.D. 50 or shortly before. Mayor (*Com. on James,* Introduction) puts it between A.D. 40 and 50. He adds "this is pretty much the conclusion which has been arrived at by the majority of recent editors and others who have treated of the date and the epistle; so that we may say that it is now generally recognized as being the earliest portion of the New Testament." The whole introduction forms an exhaustive and satisfactory discussion of this and kindred subjects. Bacon (*Introduction to the New Testament*) following Davidson and others, makes the date about A.D. 90, the author unknown, and the superscription (1:1) a "mistaken conjecture." Mayor (also Bleek) has pointed out the extreme unlikelihood of a late writer who wished to palm off his letter as an epistle of James, adopting a simple and modest heading like 'James, a servant of God and the Lord Jesus Christ,' instead of 'James, Apostle,' or 'Bishop of Jerusalem,' or 'Brother of the Lord' etc. The same objection applies to the theory that the heading is a "mistaken conjecture," of a scribe some decades after the death of James. If such an one concluded, mistakenly or otherwise, that the anonymous letter in his hands had really been written by the great James of Jerusalem and needed a superscription, can we imagine his inventing one like this?

planation of anointing in one of these passages as medicinal and in the other as symbolical, and such reasons do not exist. We are therefore entitled to seek for an explanation of the anointing which will harmonize with both passages, and to use the details of both in guiding us in our search. As a matter of fact most writers on this subject do this very thing. They refer from one passage to the other and seek for an explanation which will cover both.[14]

Now if it is difficult to make out a medical anointing in James 5:14 it is practically impossible to do so in Mark 6:13 and as we have seen the two passages should be explained in the same manner. When the twelve were sent out by Jesus on their first preaching tour, the commission given them for this work was "heal the sick, cleanse the lepers, raise the dead, cast out demons."[15] Special power was granted to them for their mission, so that there can be no doubt that their healings on this occasion were purely miraculous. In Christ's directions to them nothing is recorded about anointing the sick. Still in view of the fact that the Saviour gave to His disciples so many and so minute details for this journey, it does not seem probable that He would omit a matter of such importance as the method of healing the sick. We need not suppose that the evangelists have recorded all the instructions given them. And the fact that Mark speaks of the anointing without comment is more intelligible if it were a part of the instructions of the Lord, than if it were something which the disciples added of their own motion. Now we can scarcely conceive of our Lord granting miraculous power to his disciples and at the same time bidding them to use medical

[14] Lange's commentary is an exception. It makes the anointing in Mk. 6:13 a blending of (1) means of awakening faith and (2) symbol of the impartation of the Spirit. That in James 5:14 it makes "a blending of the natural means of health with the saving energy of prayer as symbolized by it." The Roman Catholic church which is able to twist the passage in James to the support of its doctrine of extreme unction, finds great difficulty in doing the same with that in Mark. See Puller, pp. 10-12.

[15] Matt. 10:8.

means for the recovery of the sick, nor of the disciples receiving a commission to heal by the power of God, and feeling that it was necessary to supplement it by the use of remedies. We should note too that the expression in Mark is general as if this were the usual plan the disciples followed on this tour for all kinds of sickness, so that if we hold that we have here a medical use of oil, we are almost compelled to acknowledge that it was used as a panacea.

Other passages of Scripture besides Mark 6:13 in which mention is made of anointing shed scarcely any light on the purpose of the action contemplated by James. We find anointing as a part of the toilet (e.g. Matt. 6:17), numerous passages where it signifies the consecration of persons or things to a sacred use, and a few passages speaking of the use of oil as a remedy (e.g. Isa. 1:6). But in none of these do we find a close parallel to the directions in James.

For these reasons the view that the anointing in James is to be looked upon as having a medical character should be set aside, and that accepted which sees in it a symbol of the power of God which was invoked to heal the patient.

In estimating the significance of the rite we must keep in mind that the Jew was accustomed to a large measure of symbolic action in his worship in both Old and New Testament times.[16] Besides, as we have already noticed, Jewish anointing was not only symbolic and medicinal but was a part of the toilet as well, omitted only as a sign of mourning or for some similar reason.[17] To the Jews therefore it was an operation of very ordinary occurrence. Among Gentile nations anointing was also a common practice, so that Gentile converts would not regard it as an innovation; and to both Jewish and Gentile Christians the rite was indissolubly connected with their faith through the name given to the

[16] It is significant that our Lord in establishing a religion for all times and races should have made so sparing a use of symbolic acts, —only baptism and the Lord's supper, and the symbolism in both very simple.

[17] E.g., II Sam. 12:20, 14:2, Matt. 6:17.

Saviour. To us the word "Christ" is a proper name. To them it was simply "The Anointed One." Between this habit of mind and our own there is a great gulf. Anointing as a part of the toilet has disappeared. The application of oil to the person has become repugnant. It suggests a low state of civilization. What to the Jew in ancient times was a delight is to us only a source of unpleasantness if not disgust. Then too our Western and modern thought has little use for symbols and little patience with them. Instead of delighting in them we feel them to be a burden. How far removed we are from the Jewish point of view respecting anointing we may understand if we try to enter into the feelings of the writer of the 133rd Psalm, and realize the impossibility of our doing so.

> Behold, how good and pleasant it is
> For brethren to dwell together in unity!
> It is like the precious oil upon the head,
> That ran down upon the beard,
> Even Aaron's beard;
> That came down upon the skirt of his garments;[18]

This difference in mental attitude must be kept in mind in reference to the passage before us. The anointing with oil, while evoking in us a natural feeling of repugnance, would produce no such feeling in those whom James addressed. If an appeal were made to the power of God to raise up a sick person, it would seem perfectly appropriate to them that the sick should be anointed in the name of the Lord. No emphasis is laid upon the anointing.[19] The emphasis is on the prayer. 'Having anointed, pray.' The benefit to the sick man is ascribed to the prayer of faith alone. While it is quite too much to say that the anointing is not a part of

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[18] In India, where the use of oil for the toilet is common at the present day, the writer once listened to an exposition of this psalm, in which the speaker, an Indian preacher, apparently entered into the feelings of the psalmist with no sense of repugnance.

[19] The same is true of Mk. 6:13. If the anointing there was in accordance with Christ's direction, the fact that it is not recorded among other directions shows its subordinate place. If it was not recommended by Christ, much more is this the case.

the injunction,[20] we should bear in mind that the passage as it stands meant to the Christian in early times much the same as it would mean to us with the clause on anointing omitted.

We turn now to the question of the character of the directions given by James, whether permanent or temporary. Two views of the passage must be considered. The one is the view of the advocates of Divine Healing who see in this passage a permanent ordinance for the healing of Christians in every age. The other view is that the directions for anointing were temporary; that they were connected with miraculous cures, effected through miraculous powers bestowed on individuals or granted to the church as a whole, powers which continued in the church for only a limited time. In neither case can we make a completely satisfactory explanation of the passage. We must determine which explanation presents on the whole fewer difficulties and harmonizes best with the circumstances of the time and with other passages of Scripture. Three arguments may be brought forward to prove that the directions for anointing given by James are the Divine plan for the healing of men in all times and places. They are, the unrestricted language, the lack of any reference to miraculous powers, and the fact that the sick are directed to call the elders. We will consider these separately.

In favor of the interpretation that the directions are for all time it may be urged that the language is unrestricted and we have no right to restrict it. "Is any among you sick" is a question that may well apply to the present no less than to apostolic times. If our Saviour when on earth had wished to lay down a law of Divine Healing for His Church for all time, He might with propriety have used the

[20] "There is no injunction as to anointing with oil. It is assumed that they would do this, because it was customary in that time that there should be such anointings" . . . "After the elders had anointed the sick man, which any friend in that country would have done, then they should pray with him" (Chas. F. Deems, *Gospel of Common Sense*).

very words which James has used. This argument however is not conclusive. We need not enter into the question as to how far the writers of the New Testament had posterity in mind when they wrote. That they wrote primarily for their own generation is perfectly evident. It is also evident that their messages were adapted to the condition of their hearers. This of course is not denying that in the providence of God the New Testament is also designed for and adapted to the present generation in addition to that to which it was originally sent. We believe that it is so designed and adapted. But when the Apostle Paul wrote to the Corinthians urging them to "desire earnestly the greater gifts,"[21] that is, those most useful for edification rather than the more showy ones like the gift of tongues, he was dealing in an unrestricted way with a subject which has become restricted for us. We today can make most excellent use of Paul's precept and the principle which underlies it, but the full range of "gifts" which was open to the Corinthians is not open to us. Paul wrote to the men of his day in a manner adapted to the condition in which they were at the time. Similarly it is very evident that the language of James' epistle is governed throughout by the circumstances of those whom he addresses. If now in addressing them he had in view the special miraculous powers which were manifested in that age, he might use such unrestricted language with propriety. The real difficulty is to know whether or not he had this in mind in his directions concerning sickness. In the case of Paul we see him addressing the Christians in view of their gifts. In the case of James it is only an inference that he does so. We must therefore estimate the degree of probability that he addresses them in view of their special circumstances.

A second argument in favor of the supposition that the injunction was for all time and was not given in relation to miraculous manifestations in the church is the fact that there is no reference to any such powers in the passage, or

[21] I Cor. 12:31.

for that matter in the entire Epistle of James. However before laying too much stress on this it would be well to inquire whether the scope and purpose of the epistle call for any such reference. The Epistle deals especially with conduct. Its omissions in respect of miracles are not more remarkable than those in other respects. It says almost nothing about the Saviour.[22] Besides this several things must be taken into account. One is that miraculous powers were undoubtedly present in the churches to which James wrote, and it seems hardly probable that if this were the case, he would write without any regard to their presence. Attention has already been called to the probable early date of the epistle. Even if we adopt the later date A.D. 62, which is preferred by some authorities, the miraculous powers still continued at that time. Paul's first Epistle to the Corinthians describing such manifestations was probably written about the year 57.[23] These together with the miracles recorded in the book of Acts indicate the wide extent of the miraculous in the church of that day.

Another thing is that the anointing, in view of its use in Mark 6:13, points very strongly toward miraculous healing. We have already noticed that in the cures wrought by the disciples, anointing was practiced in connection with miraculous healing and that on a temporary mission. With reference to the design of the anointing we noted also that the similarity of the two cases in Mark and James almost compels us to give the same explanation to both. It would be too much to say that we are similarly compelled to explain the accompanying cures in the same way, but there is certainly a strong suggestion that such is the case. We may also note the similarity between the anointing in Mark connected with powers granted only for a time to the disciples and the anointing in James connected with powers granted only for a time to the church.[24]

[22] See Mayor, *Introd.* clxix.

[23] Lightfoot, *Biblical Essays,* p. 224.

[24] The following among others see a connection of this passage with miraculous powers: Bassett, Manton, Johnstone, Wardlaw, Deems, Wesley, Gloag, Calvin, Weiss.

Still another thing is that the illustration used to strengthen the faith of the Christians in God's power to heal is that of Elijah working a stupendous miracle. This point, while by no means conclusive in itself, has nevertheless some force. Such a reference to an Old Testament miracle would be especially appropriate in an argument concerning miraculous powers in the New Testament.

A third argument against the connection of the injunction with special miraculous powers and in favor of its general application is that the sick are directed to send not for those who had the gift of healing, but for the elders of the church, the ordinary permanent officers in control of its affairs. If the office of the eldership be permanent, why, it is asked, should not the directions for anointing the sick be permanent also?

This is the strongest argument in favor of the view under consideration. To it no one conclusive answer can be given. The considerations already adduced in reply to the other arguments are in part an answer to this one also, but the question why the sick were sent to the elders remains unsolved. It has often been suggested that among the elders would be found those who had the gift of healing.[25] This may perhaps be the solution of the matter but it has

[25] "Such powers were not, in those early times, confined exclusively to the apostles. They were evidently conferred on others, especially such as were 'ministers of the word'" (Ralph Wardlaw, *Lectures on Epistle of James*).—"Amongst them (elders) would be found some who had the gift of healing. Any one such man would know, upon coming into the presence of the sick man, whether or not he ought to pray for his recovery. This the apostle calls the gift of "faith" (Deems, *Gospel of Common Sense*).—"This single, conspicuous gift, which Christ committed to his apostles, (Mk. 6:13), remained in the church long after the other miraculous gifts ceased. It seems to have been designed to remain always; and St. James directs the elders, who were the most gifted men, to administer it. This was the whole process of physic in the Christian Church, till it was lost through unbelief" (John Wesley, *Notes on the New Testament*).—" . . . we have here a reference to the miraculous gift of healing practiced in the primitive church." "The great objection to the above view is that the sick man was enjoined to call not for those possessed with the gift of healing, but for the presbyters of the church. It is, how-

too much the appearance of an expedient to meet a difficulty.[26] Besides it meets the difficulty only in part. That "gifts of healing" would often be found among the elders is more than likely, but that practically every church had in its membership those who possessed such gifts, thus justifying James in making his unqualified recommendation, is a point which cannot be proved and is itself unlikely. If there were those present in the church who could relieve the sick, it seems far more likely that the sick would resort to them directly rather than through the elders. The early church was certainly not devoted to formalities of procedure. And it seems an unnecessary thing for James

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ever, highly probable that those would be selected as presbyters who were the most highly endowed with miraculous gifts" (Paton J. Gloag, *Commentary on James,* in Schaff Pop. Com.)—"The church is under the superintendence of elders, who, or some of whom, are possessed of miraculous gifts of healing" (Mayor, *Introd.,* cxv and cxvi).—"The elders . . . are supposed either themselves to possess miraculous powers of healing or to control the exercise of such powers on the part of others" (Ib. cxxiv).—"Those who possessed these gifts (*χαρίσματα*) in the largest measure would doubtless be themselves included in the Council of Elders (*τὸ πρεσβυτέρον* I Tim. 4:14). On notification of a case of sickness, the council would, we may suppose, consider whether it was a fit case for the exercise of the *χάρισμα,* and would depute some of their body to attend to the case and unite in prayer for the sick person (Matt. 18:20)" (Ib. 164).

[26] "Did he intend to be understood as saying, Call in the elders of the church, provided they, or any of them, have the gift of healing? Such is not the obvious sense of the passage. The direction to call in the elders implies that, as a general rule, the elders may be expected to do what is described, and with the expectation of the predicted result. This promise, by the way, is no warrant for the resort of persons from far and near to some person who is not an elder of their church, to avail themselves of the benefit of his supposed superior power in prayer. It may be suggested that, in the time of the Apostle James, the elders of the church were more generally marked by faith and special gifts than the same class of persons now. But this is not the impression one gets in reading the epistle. The state of society and of the churches presupposed by the writer is one calling for sharp rebukes. Instead of the faith of the Christians being extraordinary, he implies that it decidedly needs fortifying. The very passage under consideration is part of a section evidently designed to strengthen a deficient faith in the readiness of God to hear prayer" (L. E. Smith, *Bib. Sac.* 48:1. 1891).

formally to direct his readers to go to those who had the gift of healing.

Instead therefore of thinking of powers granted to individual men, should we not think of manifestations of Divine power granted to the church as a whole in answer to its prayers? There are two instances in the book of Acts which may serve to illustrate the present passage.[27] In one we see a church praying for boldness in a time of persecution and that signs and wonders might be wrought. In answer the place is shaken and the Holy Spirit is poured out. In the other Peter is delivered from prison by an angel through the continued intercessions of a church. May not these instances furnish us with a clue to the deliverance from sickness which James expected? If there were present some one to whom had been granted a "gift" of healing, he would naturally heal the sick without recourse to the elders. But in the ordinary course of events appeal would be made to the elders, who, representing the whole church,[28] would pray for the patient's recovery; and the "prayer of faith,"[29] that is, either the prayer to which had been granted an intimation that the healing was in accordance with God's will, or which rested on the general assurance that God was ready in those times to grant miraculous healing, should save the sick.

[27] Acts 4:31 and 12:5 and 12.

[28] Bengel.

[29] The prayer of faith which Elijah offered seems to have been of the former kind. In the account given in the Old Testament (I Kgs. 17:1) nothing is said of either prayer by the prophet or revelation from God as preceding the beginning of the famine, though the latter is certainly implied. At the close of the famine, if we are right in supposing that the time of Elijah's supplication was when he was waiting on Mount Carmel (I Kgs. 18:42-44), it had been preceded by an intimation from God that the time of famine was about over (I Kgs. 18:1). On the contrary the prayer for wisdom which James enjoins (Jas. 1:5-8) is a prayer of faith based not on any special intimation of acceptance but on the general promises of God.—James H. McConkey (*Prayer*, pub. 1905, pp. 110-112) holds that the prayer of faith is that to which assurance of answer is given, and that such assurance is given (or withheld) today as in apostolic times. The whole discussion is very suggestive.

As to the reason or reasons why the church today does not enjoy the miraculous gifts of earlier times, we have nothing to say in this connection. The discussion of so large a question is obviously impossible within the limits of this article. But this much may be said. The assertion that such powers have been lost through unbelief is one very easy to make and very hard to prove. The same may be said of the opposing statement that miracles are not needed today. There is great danger that on this subject one's opinions may be based on prepossessions rather than on facts.[30]

Turning now to the wider relations between this passage and other Scripture we may say that if James' injunction conveys a permanent ordinance for the church, we may fairly expect to find some confirmation of it, and certainly nothing contradictory to it in other parts of Scripture.[31]

All the more is this true if the alleged ordinance appear in one of the earliest books of the New Testament. But we find no other mention of any subsequent anointing for sickness in the New Testament, and the directions which Paul gives to Timothy (I Tim. 5:23) seem inconsistent with the idea that anointing for sickness was a general rule in the church. We cannot conceive the apostle Paul to have been ignorant of such a rule if one existed. Not to mention the divine revelations which were made to him so that he could speak of his gospel and apostleship as directly given by God,[32] there was no man in the church who by travel and association with Christians, both Jewish and

[30] See a striking article by A. Sydenstriker, *Chinese Recorder*, April 1900, entitled "Studies in Faith Cure."

[31] If the Epistle of James was written between A.D. 40 and 50, or even as late as A.D. 62, the directions for anointing the sick cannot be considered as the *culmination of* New Testament revelation in regard to healing, as A. T. Pierson seems to imply (*Forward Movements of the last Half Century*, p. 391, 7).—"The healing with oil which they (the elders) accomplished is mentioned but once elsewhere in the New Testament (Mk. 6:13) and is more of a forerunner of the later charismata than a sequence from them" (M. W. Jacobus, art. "James, Epistle of," in *Standard Bible Dictionary*).

[32] Gal. 1:1, 11, 12.

Gentile, was better informed than he on all matters pertaining to the church. Nor can we think of him as recommending to Timothy anything but the best method of recovery, and the character and position of both men forbid the assumption of a possible lack of faith in Timothy. It is evident that Timothy was in poor health. He had been ill repeatedly. Now if the rule laid down by James was for all the church and for all time, and was God's way for all Christians to be healed, how is it that Paul, writing to sick Timothy about twenty years later,[33] should say nothing about it, and should instead recommend, whether as medicine or diet,[34] the use of "a little wine"?

It is of course possible that Timothy had already called for his fellow elders and had been anointed. In that case Paul's message would show how free he felt to recommend the employment of means in such circumstances. It would also be evident that the anointing and prayer had not been effectual in securing relief, and in the absence of any suggestion from Paul we can scarcely think this to have been due to any fault in Timothy. In this case the fact that Paul makes no reference to the anointing is strange but not impossible. That Timothy had neglected the duty of calling the elders and being anointed, but that Paul knew that he would call them and hence made no reference to the matter is a supposition too far fetched to be worth considering. Either Timothy had been anointed or else there was no need for him to be anointed. The latter supposition seems much more probable.

What now is James' attitude toward the use of means in sickness? If the positions already taken be correct, this may be stated in a single word. He ignores means entirely. The question then presents itself whether in ignoring means

[33] A.D. 67—Lightfoot, *Biblical Essays*, p. 224.

[34] The suggestion that wine is here recommended as an article of diet is made simply for the sake of the argument, because it is the explanation of the passage commonly accepted by the advocates of Divine Healing. The idea in itself has nothing to commend it, being opposed alike to the ordinary usage of the word "wine" and the whole tenor of the passage.

he is implicitly opposed to their use. To this question no direct answer can be given. Several considerations however go to show that there is here no reflection on the use of means—much less any prohibition of the same.

1. The way in which this passage is usually counted as against the use of means is by considering it as a part of a biblical system of Divine Healing which excludes the use of means. But it should be carefully noted that in this case the condemnation of means rests mainly—not on this passage nor on any other, but—on certain inferences from the connection of Divine Healing with the atonement.[35]

[35] "Have we not, then, in these Scripture passages a sure foundation for the simple, glorious statement on which faith may stand, nay, lie down in everlasting rest, that the atonement of Jesus Christ covers our sicknesses, and furnishes solid ground for claiming, in His name, divine healing through simple faith, and when we are walking in holy obedience, which of course, is the indispensable element within which we can continue to receive any of the blessings of the gospel?

"Let us remember in conclusion a few simple inferences that will necessarily follow this great truth. 1. If our healing is provided for by Jesus Christ, then it is a redemption right which we may humbly yet boldly claim while walking obediently with the Lord. 2. That it is a gift of grace, as all that Christ's blood has purchased will ever be, and therefore cannot be mixed up with our own works or the use of human means, but must be received wholly in His name, and in such manner that He shall have all the glory" (A. B. Simpson, *Divine Healing in the Atonement,* pp. 14-15.

"That many remedies exist in the vegetable and mineral kingdoms of nature which are more or less potent in removing some forms of disease; and that mental and physical influences are often effectual to the same result, need not and cannot be denied. Nor may it be said that the use of them is, necessarily, wrong, yet it is fearlessly asserted that the use of them is inconsistent with the teaching of Scripture. And this for two reasons. First, the source of disease. If sickness is sent as a direct punishment for sin, it is idle to fight it off in any way; the only escape is in repenting of the sin which brought it in. If sickness comes to a child of God as chastening, loving trust will certainly say, with Job, "Though He slay me yet will I wait for Him." And consistency will prevent the child from seeking any means of escaping the needed discipline which a kind father has sent. What could be a more glaring inconsistency than for a sufferer to say, when his attention is directed to Christ as the Healer, "I believe it is the will of God for me to suffer," when at the same time the human physician is implored to spare no pains to conquer the disease, and all known remedies are constantly employed? It is nothing short of rebellion to

2. The silence of James respecting means is taken by some as an argument against their use. But the argument from silence is always more or less precarious. In the present instance if any implication whatever is legitimate, it is rather in favor of permitting the use of means than against their use. For it is almost certain that many of those to whom the apostle wrote would naturally turn to the use of means in sickness, following the custom of the people around them. Under these circumstances we should naturally expect that if he wished to exclude the use of means, he would write something to that effect. But no such prohibition does he make.

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seek any other than divinely appointed means of escape from a heaven sent affliction. But, supposing the sickness is from the devil; either as a direct attack, expressly permitted by God, as was Job's, or through inherited constitutional tendencies, like the proclivity to sin, or breathed in with poisoned air? Consistency would seem to suggest that in this case recourse be had to Him who was "manifested to destroy the works of the devil. . . . The second reason why the use of human remedies is inconsistent with the teaching of Scripture is the complement of the first, and lies in the fact that there is a divinely appointed agency of healing. When this agency is accepted, there is neither any felt nor actual need of other means. This agency is the power of God, brought within reach of faith by the atoning work of the Lord Jesus Christ. And faith in Him is the necessary condition of healing, as it is of receiving any other of the benefits of the atonement. Works, therefore, have no more place in the salvation of the body than in the salvation of the soul" (R. L. Marsh, *Faith Healing. A Defense,* pp. 112-115.)

It is aside from the purpose of this article to discuss the connection of Divine Healing with the atonement, but a few words on the subject may not be out of place. 1. The "redemption of the body" is set forth in the New Testament as a hope for the future—not the present. 2. Sickness in the Bible is not placed in a special relation to the atonement but is classed along with other troubles. 3. Temptation, sorrow and death are also results of sin and are not abolished in this life, though Christ has made an atonement. 4. Sickness may be sent as a punishment or as a chastening, but these do not exhaust the matter. It may be sent as a warning against an imprudent course of conduct, or a stimulus to better the conditions of men generally. The command given to mankind to 'subdue the earth' may include malaria and yellow fever germs as well as lions and tigers. 5. No one has any right to assume that it is God's will for him to suffer disease or poverty or ignorance until he has done his best to remove them.

3. The conditions under which the apostle wrote made reference to means unnecessary or undesirable. The question whether he is laying down a permanent rule for the church in all time or whether his directions were for a temporary state of affairs, characterized especially by the presence in the church of miraculous gifts, has already been discussed. In either case his silence as to the use of means is not surprising. If the healing here treated of belongs to the miraculous powers manifested in the early church and is to be classed along with the gift of tongues, the interpretation of tongues and other similar phenomena, then manifestly no means would be used in such cures and in the present instance no reference to means would be expected. The bearing of the passage on our life today would then turn on the continuance or otherwise of these "gifts" in the present generation. If on the other hand the directions by James had no immediate reference to the presence of miraculous powers in the church, but were designed to be her permanent rule for ordinary times, two considerations go far to explain why there is no reference made to the use of means.

The first of these is the deplorable condition of medical science in apostolic times. Quackery abounded and legitimate medicine even in the hands of the greatest physicians, was a sorry compound of really useful ideas, foolish speculations and absurd or harmful superstitions. It is not too much to say that in those times many a patient would have had a far better chance for life and health with prayer and anointing only, even if these were accompanied by no supernatural element of cure, than if he were treated with the remedies in vogue at that period or submitted to its surgery.

What then was the state of medical science in James' time? If the apostle had recommended his readers to seek a physician, to whom would they have gone, and what treatment would they have received? We turn to the extant works of Aretaeus, the Cappadocian, for a reply to these questions. Aretaeus was a celebrated physician. His

date is somewhat uncertain. He "probably flourished shortly before and after the decade in which St. Paul reached Rome and Jerusalem fell." Dr. Adams, the translator of the Sydenham Society's edition of Aretaeus' works, holds that Aretaeus lived about one hundred years later, that is, in the latter half of the second century. The settlement of this question is not necessary to the present discussion. If the former date be correct, Aretaeus represents medical knowledge in the apostolic times. If Aretaeus lived later, we may be sure that medical science in the apostolic period was no better than what is found in his works. It may have been worse.

The works of Aretaeus show him to have been a man of wide knowledge, careful observation and good common sense. Considering the times in which he lived he was certainly a remarkable physician. Dr. Adams, whose admiration for Aretaeus has led him to overstate the case, thus sums up his author's attainments:

"On the virtues of Aretaeus, as a medical author, I shall only add a few words. His descriptions of diseases have been universally admitted to be unsurpassed for elegance and accuracy. . . . No one can fail to perceive that he was gifted with the rare talent of giving a more striking deliniation of a series of morbid phenomena, in one page, than most authors would give in a long treatise. His system of treatment also can scarcely be too highly commended, being generally founded on rational and judicious indications, which, as soon as stated, command the assent of the unprejudiced reader. Even at the present day" (Note—This was written in 1856) "when judged of impartially, it will be difficult to convict him of having in any single instance laid down erroneous rules of treatment. And not only are his general principles in therapeutics to be admired, but also the skill and taste with which he reduces them to practice. For, in general, it will be admitted that it would be difficult to accomplish the fulfillment of the indications laid down, by any more appropriate means than those he makes use of. As a practitioner of the art, he would appear to have attained the happy medium between feeble timidity and reckless audacity. Moreover, there is scarcely a single

class of remedies presently in use from which he does not at one time or another draw certain specimens, from the simplest and most delicious of the culinary preparations up to the most potent resources of Surgery and Pharmacy."

So much for the good points in Aretaeus' system of treatment. One cannot read his works without being continually astonished by them. But there is another side to the matter. Along with much that is good there is much that is bad. "His views of the internal economy were a strange mixture of truth and error. . . . He held that the work of producing the blood pertained to the liver 'which is the root of the veins'."[36] The remedy on which apparently he most relied was blood-letting, which he advises for almost every disease of which he treats. He withdrew blood most copiously in order, as he said, to deprive the disease of its natural food and so starve it out! In recommending the diet for a patient suffering from pleurisy he drops the following bit of interesting information:[37] "But the best thing of all is to give new-laid eggs which have never been subjected to fire; for the heat of the hen is more humid than fire, and more congenial to the patient, as proceeding from one animal to another." In the treatment of quinsy he gives directions to sprinkle on the poultice "the powdered dung of pigeons or of dogs" as being "most efficacious in producing suppuration."[38] In discussing cases of bladder trouble he says that "a very excellent thing for the bladder is cicadae roasted, in season, as an article of food; and out of season, when dried and triturated with water."[39] A prescription for elephantiasis is as follows:[40]

"If the disease has acquired strength, we must give whatever liquid medicines anyone has had experience of; for it is a good thing to administer medicines frequently as a remedy. And I will now describe those with which I am acquainted. . . . Of the shavings of an elephant's tooth

[36] *Extant Works of Arataeus.* Sydenham Society's edition, p. 319.
[37] Ib. p. 412.
[38] Ib. p. 406.
[39] Ib. p. 448.
[40] Ib. p. 495.

one dram with wine, to the amount of two cyathi. But likewise the flesh of the wild reptiles, the vipers, formed into pastils, are taken in a draught. From their heads and tails we must cut off to the extent of four fingers' breadth, and boil the remainder to the separation of the backbones, and having formed the flesh into pastils, they are to be cooled in the shade; and these are to be given in a draught in like manner as the squill. The vipers, too, are to be used as a seasoner of food at supper, and are to be prepared as fishes. But if the compound medicine from vipers be at hand, it is to be drunk in preference to all others, for it contains together the virtues of all the others, so to cleanse the body and smooth down its asperities."

These and other absurdities are apparent to even a non-professional reader. A physician would doubtless find a great many more. But Aretaeus must not be taken as representing the average among the medical fraternity of his day. Rather he should be taken as representing the top. Besides, his high standing is largely the result of his own individual character and ability. We can imagine what the average physician who lacked both the knowledge and good sense of Aretaeus must have been.[41]

[41] J. H. Baas (*History of Medicine*, 1889, p. 150) writing on "Medicine under the Roman Empire" says: "The hereditary vices of the medical profession, vices depending upon the uncertainty of therapeutic skill and the associated precariousness and uncertainty of external existence, upon which the laity at that time poured out their contempt, and concerning which physicians raised loud lamentations—colleagueship, even then, as today, often a synonym for professional jealousy, reciprocal open and secret disparagment, envy, want of *esprit de corps*, flattery of and fawning upon patients and their friends, open and secret dishonesty, greed and covetousness, abandonment of scientific effort, forgetfulness of the human side of the profession, etc., etc.—arose to frightful proportions; so that Galen complains: 'There is no distinction between robbers and physicians, except that the former commit their misdeeds in the mountains, the latter in Rome. . . .' How the public of that day was cajoled may be inferred from the following account of the same author, who was however, by no means a cool and unprededuced judge: 'Under the reign of Nero the whole world went over from Vettius Valens to Thessalus, who discarded all preceding prescriptions and wrathfully inveighed against the physicians of every age with what discretion and talent may be seen from the fact that he called himself upon his tombstone the 'conqueror of physicians.' No charioteer or play actor had so great a following

If we examine the writings of another celebrated physician, Celsus, who was probably a contemporary of our Saviour, we come to the same conclusion. While his excellencies give him the name of "the most judicious of medical theorists since Hippocrates,"[42] his pages are disfigured with such prescriptions as the following: "A wound is agglutinated by myrrh, frankincense . . . snails bruised with their shell . . . also cobwebs." Cleansers: "verdigris, copper scales, pumice, iris . . . lizards' dung." "Evacuating medicines . . . Pigeons' dung." "If a woman from an hysteric disorder is subject to fits, snails together with their shells, must be burnt and powdered, and then honey added to them." "The scorpion is a most excellent remedy against itself. Some drink it bruised with wine. Some apply it in the same form to the wound. Others laying it upon coals fumigate the wound with it."[43]

Now even if James had been able to recommend

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upon the streets. Then Crinas of Marseilles got the start of him, while under the guise of greater carefulness, he combined medicine and astrology, and devoted attention to the hours. These men guided Rome, until suddenly Charmis of Marseilles invaded the city, and not only condemned the earlier physicians, but also their warm baths, and prescribed cold lotions, even in the middle of winter, having the sick dipped into the lakes. And there is no doubt that all these physicians desired to gain reputations by novelties, and thus tampered with our lives. Hence, too, their lamentable quarrels at the sick bed, where none of them hold the same opinion for fear of appearing the follower of some one else.'"—Galen lived about A.D. 131-201 or 210. Even if we discount somewhat his description of medicine in Rome, as Dr. Baas suggests should be done, the condition of things was certainly very bad, much too bad to justify such a statement as the following by R. Kelso Carter, in defense of Divine Healing: ("Divine Healing or 'Faith Cure'," *Century*, Vol. 33, p. 777 Mch. 1887): "As to the knowledge of medicine in the time of Christ, there is abundant evidence to show that it was extensive and profound . . ." He cites Hippocrates B.C. 450, Hirophilus, Erasistratus, Asclepiades and others. He continues: "The medical knowledge of the Roman Empire came from these men. This is sufficient to show that healing by faith was not instituted because of the ignorance of scientific methods."

[42] McClintock and Strong's *Encyclop.*, art. "Medicine."

[43] Celsus, *Works*, trans. by Jas. Grieve; revised ed. 1837; Bk. 5.

all the sick Christians to consult Aretaeus or Celsus, it is well for his inspiration that he did not do so, and in many cases it was probably as well also for the sick Christians. The case is much stronger when we remember that the early Christians were as a rule from the lower ranks of society. Those whom James addresses were no exceptions. The language of chapter second of his epistle implies that the majority, at least, of those addressed were poor. The poor would be unable to get anything but the poorest of medical attention.

Now as James was laying down a rule for the treatment of the sick in general, he was almost compelled if he referred to means at all to make a general reference, and such a general reference to the use of means would have been in some measure an indorsement of the medicine of his day. Let anyone try to insert in this passage a saving clause recommending or allowing Christians to use means and he will realize the difficulty of doing so without at the same time sanctioning the means in current use at the time.[44] Now what could we think of the inspiration granted to James had he, even by implication, enjoined recourse to the medicine in vogue at his time? That he did not do so is an evidence of the divine wisdom with which he wrote and puts him in accord with the position of the Scriptures generally in such matters. One of the indications of the inspiration of the Scriptures is their freedom from entanglement with the scientific and philosophical systems current at the time they were written.

In view of all these things it seems but reasonable to infer that James left the use of means to the discretion of his readers and contented himself with stating the more important truth that sickness as well as other troubles finds relief through prayer to God.

If this view be correct it follows that if the practice of

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[44] The situation is very different where the Apostle Paul prescribes for Timothy—one thing for one man.

anointing the sick be revived today it ought to be done with full liberty as to the use of means.[45]

In conclusion let us sum up briefly the results at which we have arrived.

[45] It would take us too far afield to discuss the teachings of other Scriptures in relation to the use of means in sickness, but a few words may be added. It is often assumed that there must be in Scripture either a sanction of means or a condemnation of them. Hence Asa is held up as a warning because "in his disease he sought not to the Lord, but to the physicians. And Asa slept with his fathers." This ignores the probability that the "physicians" were heathen enchanters, and also the fact that the record is silent as to what would have happened if Asa had sought the Lord *and* the physicians—provided the latter were servants of the Lord. So on the contrary Hezekiah, Naaman and the blind man whose eyes Christ opened by clay made from spittle are taxed beyond their strength to support the burden of sanctioning means.—"Scene vi. The attendants are making a poultice of figs to place upon the king's carbuncle at the command of Isaiah, for the Great Physician has so ordered—he who afterward when incarnate in Jesus, used clay in opening blind eyes and his own spittle for loosing the tongue of the dumb, for God uses and bids us use all natural remedies" (S. S. Lesson exposition by Dr. and Mrs. W. F. Crafts in *Christian Herald,* 28 June 1905, p. 562.)—"We should use the means God has placed at our disposal and ask his blessing upon them. Naaman was ordered to bathe seven times in Jordan, and even Christ gave an example of the use of means at hand when he made a salve of spittle and clay and anointed the eyes of the blind (see John 9:6)" (From "answers to correspondents," *Christian Herald,* 27 Nov. 1907.) —Hezekiah's figs certainly looked like a rational remedy (see Farrar in Expositor's Bible) though they may have been only an aid to faith. Whether prescribed by the Lord or by Isaiah is uncertain. Even if prescribed by the Lord as a remedy, they do not afford much of a basis for the use of means in ordinary cases of sickness, as their use was merely an incident in an apparently miraculous cure.—Naaman's bathing seven times in the Jordan had as little to do with the use of means as the Israelites walking seven times around Jericho. Both were simply tests of faith and obedience.—The Saviour could hardly have chosen any more effectual method of showing his absolute independence of means, than to anoint the eyes of a man blind from his birth with a paste which might ordinarily be expected to produce inflammation in the eyes. (See Weiss, Life of Christ, III, 97, for some far fetched speculation concerning this miracle.) If those who write on the subject of the use of means would admit the possibility that the Scriptures may have left the use of means in sickness an open question, to be decided by the men of each age for themselves, according to the providental guidance of God in the development of the art of medicine, they would be saved from many temptations to wrest Scripture.

In regard to the purpose of the anointing it seems that neither the use of means in sickness among mankind in general, nor the common use of oil as a remedy in ancient times, nor the use of the verb ἀλείφω by James are sufficient to indicate a medicinal purpose in face of the context, the recommendation of oil for all diseases and the close analogy with the anointings recorded in Mark. The anointing would therefore seem to be symbolical, and must have been regarded as a natural and fitting action by the early Christians.

That the directions for anointing were written in view of the miraculous powers present in the early church seems indicated by the undoubted presence of such powers among those whom James addressed, and by the connection of anointing with miraculous healings in the case of the apostles as recorded by Mark; though the circumstances, especially the sending for the elders, seem to point rather to miraculous manifestations granted for some special object through the prayers of a number of disciples than to miraculous powers conferred on any one disciple.

That James is not laying down a permanent and exclusive rule for the treatment of sickness in every time and place, seems clear from the fact that a few years later we find Paul silent as to any such rule in circumstances which demanded some reference to it.

We have seen that the silence of the apostle regarding the use of means is not surprising in view of the deplorable state of medical science in his day to which he could not ally himself, but that there is no occasion to construe this silence as a condemnation of the use of means; since, if he is writing of miraculous cures, any reference to means would be out of place, and if of non-miraculous cures, he could well leave the question of means to the judgment of his readers.

Finally it should be borne in mind that no explanations have been made which will entirely clear up the difficulties of this passage. Whether or not we will ever reach cer-

tainty it were vain to speculate. In the meantime we are responsible only for following the best light that we have. The main questions of the passage are those in which we must balance considerations against one another and determine which view is on the whole probably correct.

Kodoli, India. EDGAR M. WILSON.

THE COMING OF THE PILGRIMS*

It is with entire appropriateness that many of the Pilgrim Celebrations of this year, in the United States of America, should be held in Thanksgiving week, this date lying, as it does, between the anniversary of the landing at Provincetown and that of the landing at Plymouth; and further, by reason of the fact, that Thanksgiving Day, as an American institution, had its ultimate origin in Plymouth Colony. With characteristic devotion to the Scriptures and in imitation of the "Feast of Tabernacles," or of "Ingathering," celebrated by the Hebrews in the end of the year, "when they had gathered in their labors out of the field," the Pilgrim Fathers, in 1621, set apart a day of grateful praise to the bountiful Giver of all blessings.

It was an heroic act of faith. The dread winter of the landing had witnessed the death of fifty-one of the one hundred and two migrants of the Mayflower. The living had scarcely been able to bury the dead, in graves sown over with Spring grain, that the Indians might not know the extent of the loss of life among the settlers. The words of William Brewster, uttered on the occasion of previous trials of faith, might have been repeated then—"It is not with us as with men whom small things can discourage, or small discontents cause to wish themselves at home again."

Meager indeed, in our view, were the blessings prompting to praise, but to these heroes there was cause sufficient. The platform of outlook on the nearest hill had grown into a fortress. The little village street, leading from the hill to the harbor, contained seven small houses completed, with others going up. Twenty-six acres of ground about the settlement had been cleared and cultivated, and a goodly harvest had been gathered in. They knew that the approaching winter would be that of a revolving planet and that another seed-time and harvest would surely come. The

* A Tercentenary Thanksgiving Discourse, delivered in Calvary Presbyterian Church, Philadelphia, Pa., November 25, 1920.

Lord had given them a land "when they were but a few men in number; yea, very few, and strangers in it." Bradford, the new Governor, appointed a day of Thanksgiving.

At this time we do well to commemorate the Pilgrims. There is much needed and high inspiration in the great memory. Lord Macaulay said, "A people which takes no pride in the noble achievements of remote ancestors will never achieve anything worthy to be remembered with pride by remote descendants." We must never forget, we should be joyfully thankful for, "what they did there," who came ashore at Plymouth Rock, "the stepping-stone to freedom for tired Pilgrim feet." Even if they imperfectly realized it, they were pioneers in the glorious struggle for civil and religious liberty, the attainment of which had been the secret and source of the greatest achievements and triumphs of the Anglo-Saxon race.

Familiar as we are with the history of the Pilgrims, we do well to study again the sublime story, that we may see more clearly, and make others see, what manner of men and of women these Pilgrim Fathers and Mothers were. Cheap wit and cheaper cartoon have turned the tragic into the comic and, in the jests and laughter provoked, their noble characters and superb accomplishments have been obscured, if not obliterated, in the minds of the uninformed and the undiscriminating.

I have read that when Robert Weir had first completed for the Capitol at Washington his noble painting, "The Embarkation of the Pilgrims," he called in some of his friends to inspect the picture. They told him that the coloring was fine, the positions good, but that the faces were expressionless. Then the painter knew that there was a secret in the lives of the Pilgrims which he had missed. He studied again their history. He caught their spirit. He was profoundly influenced in his inner self. Then again, with this new experience, he took up his brush to leave his imperishable record in the great rotunda.

With no attempt at an exhaustive study, but in simple

fashion, I desire to set forth three outstanding features or characteristics which marked the coming of the Pilgrims, three hundred years ago.

They came with a Conscience.
They came with a Constitution.
They came with a Creed.

First, *they came with a conscience;* and such a conscience! We are so familiar with the story of the working of the early New England conscience in strict, stern, manner of life, that extended mention and illustration are not necessary now. Habit of thought assigns to the Puritan a drearily sombre and provincial mind and, in some particulars, not without justification. They were as harsh as their wintry clime toward what they regarded to be out of keeping with a serious and godly manner of living. Yet their attitude was a reasoned and deliberate choice. They had seen in the land of their birth, which was still the land of their love, what unrestricted libertinism led to, and they would have none of it. They had learned and then practiced the philosophy of letting go, parting not only with what they deemed radically wrong, but also with the things which mattered least, that they might have and hold the things which mattered most. With them, their conscientious convictions mattered most. To these they held fast with a tenacity of grip that neither temptation nor terror could unclasp. To their moral obligations they were faithful until death did them part.

I am not unmindful of the distinction drawn by later historical writers between the Pilgrim and the Puritan. The Pilgrim was a separatist, withdrawing wholly from the Established Church. The Puritan, while he remained in England, sought to purify the Church, in its doctrines, its way of worship and its life. But the Pilgrims were Puritans in principle and the Puritans became Pilgrims when they crossed the sea, not long after. Here they became one people, though still different in certain points of view and

practices. The same type of conscience dominated them both, and to both, for their conscientious convictions, our country is forever indebted.

"For conscience's sake" was the Pilgrims' watchword, in the quiet life or in the adventures of every day; and by that sign they conquered. Great junctures of history produce stern men, men who know the difference between black and white, and who refuse to dwell in the intermediary land of gray, gracefully bending their consciences to yield their convictions of white right to be discolored with the black of wrong, and to lead the life of compromise, a Laodicean life, neither hot nor cold—

> "Poor players
> That strut and fret their hour upon the stage,
> And then are heard no more;"
> Their "life a walking shadow, a tale
> Told by an idiot, full of sound and fury,
> Signifying nothing."

We who live in broader, better times may well acknowledge the debt we owe to these self-denials and self-sacrifices for conscience's sake which have made possible these very times. For

> "Ours the flowering and the fruit
> That sprang from out that Pilgrim root,
> The deathless root that, firm and fast,
> Still binds us to the Pilgrim's past."

The Pilgrims' conscience is the vital need of our day and generation. We must need hear its clarion call: "Rise upon your feet; gird on the armor of God, and go forth to your duty, day by day." Our silken smoothness, our light-hearted neglects and our passion for possessions and for pleasures at any price, aye! the price of a thwarted self, a conscience seared, will be our ruin.

I am far from saying that we are to cherish the same conscientious objections, or hold tenaciously the precise views of life which they cherished and held; but this is what I am trying to say, that we must be true to our consciences and our convictions as they were to theirs. We are Pilgrims. We have entered a new land of moral obligations. "The

old order changeth." We are living in the greatest reconstruction period in the history of the world. The social world, the economic world, the whole manner of life of our day, are to great extent again in the making. How is society to be freed from its follies, saved from its indecencies of dress and pastimes, bordering on immorality, rescued from the unchaperoned carelessness of our young people, and taught to meet and master the subtle temptation to compromise the eternal right for the delights of a passing hour? How, but by the culture of conscience? How is the dollar of the profiteer-capitalist and the profiteer-laborer to be dethroned and the soul of man to be enthroned in the business and industry of the land? What is the vice and who are the vicious in the world of affairs? A keen student of the times declared: "The vice of the age is that men want wealth without doing the work by which it is produced. Financiers, capitalists, corporations may be conspicuous sinners; but equally guilty is the merchant who cheats his customers, the laborer who slights his work and demands dishonest pay, the lawyer who shows his client how to avoid the law for his own advantage, the scholar who glorifies his patron's success, irrespective of the methods by which that success was achieved, and the preacher who transfigures the ruthless robber of six days into the exemplary Christian of the seventh"—an utterancee of years ago, more pertinent now than when spoken. How is our great Republic today to be made in effect the great commonwealth our fathers designed it to be, while it should endure, with equal rights for all, and life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, the lot of all of its people? By law, as far as law can regulate the civic life of the people? Yes, I will come to that. Meanwhile, let me urge the foundation of statute law, the sense of moral obligation which underlies it, the law written on the heart, the statute of an enlightened conscience. Not alone "for sweet charity's sake," but also for high morality's sake, we must seek the common good.

President King, of Oberlin University, has lately said

that the three greatest achievements of the World War were: "Our deepened conviction of the supremacy of intangible values, coöperation on an unheard-of scale in a great cause, and the largest demonstration of self-sacrifice that the world has ever seen." These great fruits of the earth-shaking conflict must be conserved for conscience's sake. Real ethical concern for the righteous welfare of all, coöperation by ethical precept and ethical example, and self-sacrifice—these are the forces which must be put into conscience and conduct, that

> "Peace may have her victories,
> No less renowned than war."

Blessed be conscience!

> "I sank too deep in soft-lapped repose
> That hears but rumors of wrongs and woes!
> This still had kept me, could I but have quelled,
> The *Puritan drop* that in me rebelled."

Thank God for the Puritan drop, yet coursing in our veins; but let no man boast of a Puritan ancestry who has parted with the Puritan conscience and inflexible adherence to his moral convictions.

> "They who on noble ancestry enlarge,
> Proclaim their debt instead of their discharge."

The Pilgrim would have gone to the stake for conscience's sake. For conscience's sake he crossed the seas. *He came with a conscience.*

If time permitted I would like to introduce, at this point, and emphasize an additional outstanding characteristic of the Pilgrims, and of the Puritans who followed them, which has not been emphasized as it deserves to be. It is that the Conscience I have spoken of, and the Constitution and the Creed of which I shall speak, were the Conscience, Constitution and Creed of educated men. Humble they were but not unknowing, at least the leaders among them. Their passion for education was only less than their passion for the right and their passion for God. "The University of Cambridge, England, cradled the Puritan idea." There, William Brewster, the good elder, had been educated and also John Robin-

son, the beloved pastor of the Pilgrim Church in its exile in Holland, whose spirit and teachings crossed in the Mayflower, though death ended his career before the hope of his heart to join the Pilgrims here could be realized. William Bradford made himself learned, as his splendid History, and other writings, show. In the early days of the Colonies of Plymouth and Massachusetts Bay "there was a Cambridge graduate to every 250 inhabitants, a proportion of cultivated talent," says Profesor Dinsmore of Yale, "hardly to be matched anywhere in history." This should be remembered when one hears the Puritan spoken of as narrow-minded, and it is to be remembered, too, that the men of the Pilgrim and Puritan migration were born in the most brilliant epoch of modern times—the age of Shakespeare and Milton, of Francis Bacon and the English Bible.

They were not beyond the period of the enthusiasms of life. We call them "Pilgrim Fathers." They were not known as such for many a long day after their pilgrimage to the "Better Country." They were not old. Only one of them was beyond fifty years of age, nine over forty, while one of the leading group was but twenty-five. Like the heroic sons of America, who on the "Return of the Mayflower," in 1917 and 1918, went overseas to do exploits, to turn the tide of war, making way for freedom's victory, they still had "the dew of their youth."

Second, *they came with a constitution* of government. Probably the sailing of the little ship of 180 tons from Plymouth, England, on September 6, 1620, created very little notice or interest at the time. The departure of one hundred emigrants would not be regarded as an outstanding event. A crowd of spectators was doubtless at the Barican, for then, as now, no ship sailed away from port unobserved by many. But that was all. And yet, the event was to become celebrated in song and story and was to illumine the pages of history. The ship bore a band of heroic men, determined to be free and, when they landed, they carried to the shore the first written Constitution of the new world.

The compact, signed in the cabin of the Mayflower, was an agreement in which all the citizens of the government to be pledged themselves, in the presence of God and of one another, to enact such laws as they might need, to which they promised strict obedience.

The passionate desire of the Pilgrims was for freedom, but it was liberty under law. The ultimate appeal was to the law of God. "Human law was to them not far removed from Divine law, since they persistently adhered to the belief in Divine direction in the affairs of State, exercised through the majority of its citizens. They recognized the Lord as the God of nations and the Ruler of men."

"The Mayflower Compact enthroned God and created a Constitution." These Pilgrims who carried their Puritanism into complete separation from country and church separated themselves from both, by the width of the sea, that they might develop a new society, free from interference by despotic and autocratic rulers. Complete separation from State allegiance was not indeed their thought. They acknowledged both king and country in the famous Compact. They were not unmindful of their precious heritage in English law, in the English language, in English culture, and to break the bond of union with their country was farthest from their purpose.

"I have little sympathy with declaimers about the Pilgrim Fathers who look upon them all as men of grand conception and super-human foresight," wrote Lowell. "An entire ship's company of Columbuses is what the world never saw. But they did have a conception of founding here a commonwealth on the two eternal bases of Faith and Work. Their purpose was not so much to make all things new, as to develop the latent possibilities of English law and English character. They were not in advance of their age, as it is called, for no one who is can ever work profitably in it; but they were alive to the highest and most earnest thinking of their time."

Let me remark that it is becoming for us, at this present

day, to remember the permanent political and cultural blessings we have received from Great Britain. Whatever our obligations to other lands, and these are many and great, no one of these, nor all of them, may be compared to the heritage we have received from Great Britain, in our language, laws, literature, in ties of blood, in the unity of aim which as a nation we cherish. Any propaganda to revive the ancient grudge and to break the fellowship, so happily restored after two wars for independence, and cemented afresh in the World War, ought to be frowned upon by all Americans who have either the historic sense or common sense. Upon feelings of unity between these two great peoples, the welfare of the world depends in no small degree.

But while the purpose of the Pilgrims was not to found a new State, but rather that of organizing their own little society upon a safe-working basis, with guaranteed personal liberty under the protection of law, the seeds of a free and independent Government were sown at their coming. The Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States were the inevitable results of the principles of liberty, enunciated in the first Constitution of the new world. American freedom was born in the cabin of the Mayflower. It came to its majority, and asserted its rights, in the State House, at Philadelphia, at the time of the Revolution.

The Mayflower Compact established the great principle of liberty under law which has been the strength of our Republic; and liberty under law is the lesson for today. This implies and demands loyalty to the laws on the part of all officers of government, and on the part of all the people. The laws must be respected, reverenced, and faithfully and fearlessly executed. The laws are limitations which do not limit the only freedom of utterance and of action which has a right to exist.

Such observations are commonplace but not platitudinous. Successive waves of crime, at present spreading over the

country, causing comment by all true patriots, drive in upon us the vital need of a new valuation of our laws, a nation-wide strengthening of public opinion in support of law and order. The ever-lengthening list of crimes unpunished, or insufficiently punished, brings shame to our cheeks. Bolshevism, extreme Socialism, Anarchism, and all kindred forces at war with law and order, must be allowed no standing in the court of public opinion, nor in courts of law. It is not enought to have a Constitution, and forms of government and statutes of law authorized by it, there must be a right and full appreciation of the written instrument and obedience to its provisions. The Pilgrims pledged all due submission and obedience to the immortal document of the Mayflower and solemnly signed their names under these express and written promises. There are two groups of Immortal Signers in our national history.

We must be true to our Constitution. Our representatives in Government swear allegiance to it, and so does every naturalized citizen. We must regard it so highly, revere it with such veneration, and be so alive to the benefits we have received from its provisions, that we shall never part with its essential features, or any one of them, either at the call of voices at home or of voices from abroad.

America will not fail the distracted nations of the world involved in the great Peace Tangle. She will throw the whole weight of her influence on the side of permanent peace, and will coöperate to secure such peace, when a way is found by which she can do so, without the sacrifice of the Constitution and of our independence. When has America failed the world? Certainly not, when we threw open our gates to the oppressed of all peoples, seeking asylum from tyranny and willing to swear allegiance to our government and its laws; certainly not, when our ships of the line cleared the seas of Barbary pirates; certainly not, when we freed Cuba and the Philippine Islands from age-long oppression; nor when our diplomacy preserved the integrity of China and kept the door open for the trade of the world,

returning the Boxer indemnities which had been paid; and *assuredly not,* when our sons by hundreds of thousands went overseas, with all the vast resources of a mighty Republic behind them, to lend invaluable and determining aid to victory over imperial assaults upon the freedom of the world.

We must "love our neighbors as we love ourselves"—*as ourselves.* "Self-love, my liege, is not so vile a sin as self-neglecting." Our strength as a nation lies, where it always has lain, in sturdy independence, and our beneficial influence throughout the world will not be lengthened but lessened by the sacrifice of our self-respect. At this hour, the nations asking and anxiously awaiting our decision, as represented by a great scholar-statesman, declare "The influence of America is prized, not only because she is strong, but because she is impartial, raised above the jealousies and ambitions that vex this distracted Europe."

Lord Bryce, whom I have just quoted, years ago, wrote: "The Americans are a conservative people, in their fundamental beliefs, in the structure of their government, in their social and domestic usages. They are like a tree, whose pendulous shoots quiver and rustle with the slightest breeze, while its roots enfold the rock with a grasp which storms cannot loosen." The little group to whom, in 1620, God gave a landing and a land, "when they were but a few men in number; yea, very few, and strangers in it," planted on our shores the principles of ordered freedom and of self government which have become a beacon light for all time.

"The faith of our fathers is living still."

Third, *they came with a creed.* The Creed of the Pilgrims was the Faith of the Protestant Reformation. It was not a mere creedal statement; it was an inherent belief, a soul conviction. The vivid and profound sense of the presence and power of God in human affairs, which the Reformed Faith implanted in the souls of men, was forever fixed in their inmost selves. Liberty of conscience, civil and religious liberty, are the certain fruits of this faith. The

Pilgrims came with this Creed and, since their coming, the free Church, the free School, the free Press, the free State, the free man have flourished.

"The Gospel is every man's right; and it is not to be endured that any should be kept therefrom. The Evangel is an open doctrine. It is bound to no place and moves along freely under Heaven, like the star which ran in the sky to show the wizards from the East where Christ was born. Let the community chose their own pastor and support him out of their own estates. If the prince will not suffer it, let the pastor flee into another land and let those who will go with him, as Christ teaches." Such was the counsel of Luther, on reading the twelve articles of the insurgent peasants of Suabia. What Luther advised and Calvin planned was carried into effect by the Pilgrims to Holland and America. It was in new America, discovered only in Luther's boyhood, and not yet known to any extent at his death, that soul liberty was to become the foundation principle of society and the corner stone of government. Impartial historians acknowledge the obligations of the modern world to this Creed. Bancroft wrote, "The English separatists and non-conformists became the sole protectors of the system which gave to England its distinguishing glory:" Hallam, "The stern and exasperated Puritans were the depositaries of the sacred fire of liberty:" Hume, "The precious spark of liberty had been kindled and was preserved by the Puritans alone, and it was to this sect that the English owe the whole freedom of their Constitution."

The Bible, the chart and compass, the only infallible rule of faith and life to the Protestant, was the guide of the Pilgrim Fathers.

"The Lord hath more truth yet to break forth"—beyond the teachings of Luther and Calvin—said Pastor Robinson to the departing Pilgrims, about to set sail from hospitable and helpful Holland, their first place of refuge. But hear him through, as did those to whom he spoke, "More truth yet to break forth out of His holy Word"; and that there

might be no mistake, he added; "I beseech you that you be ready to receive whatever truth shall be made known to you from the written Word of God."

More truth did break forth from the written Word of God. Witness the clear call to the great Evangelical and Evangelistic and Missionary movements, and the spirit of unity, if not uniformity, among the followers of Christ, which have enlightened the world since the coming of the Pilgrims. Their principal concern was religion. "New England," said one of their early historians "was not a plantation of trade but of religion." One purpose inducing the Pilgrims to leave Holland, as Bradford wrote, was "a great hope and inward zeal they had of laying some good foundation, or at least to make some way thereto, for propagating and advancing the Gospel of the Kingdom of Christ, in these remote parts of the world, yea, though they should be but even stepping stones into others for the performance of so great a work."

Happy are we as a people if *this faith of our fathers is living still.* Eager ought we to be and passionate, as were they, to make this faith prevail. No nation, no League of Nations can survive which is not ultimately based upon the ideals and the precepts of the written Word of God. True progress is impossible without character; character means morality; morality grows out of pure religion, and pure religion depends upon a knowledge of the Bible and obedience to its authoritative commands. We must magnify this mark of the Pilgrim character. "American liberty was conceived and brought into being by a profoundly religious community." Let that unquestioned fact be remembered by our men and women of older years; and of all facts in the history of their country, *that* is the most vital for the younger generation to learn. A recent writer has warned us that our young people are in danger of throwing away their religion and that soon their morality will follow, for you cannot have authoritative morality without religion. They are indeed throwing away their religion, as a thing

of little worth. They are reading literature, admiring art, studying science and are crazed by amusements, which are profoundly irreligious. To the Bible they are becoming strangers and "they will go the primrose path," to their own and to their country's unspeakable loss, unless forbidden by a power in which they still believe. "Not much blood will be pumped into the enfeebled veins" of social virtues "until 'polite society' has once more learned to hear the faint, far call of 'Thou shalt not.'"

Of course, we do not fail to recall that, at the beginning, "God sifted the foremost nations of Christendom and sowed our soil with the finest of the wheat." Pilgrims, Puritans, Huguenots, Dutch, Quakers, Scotch-Irish, Episcopalians, German Reformed, Lutherans, and the best of the Roman Catholics, laid the foundations of our Republic, and religion, thus represented, controlled the development of the State. But today, in our thoughts, the Pilgrims take precedence, and their chief and crowning characteristic was loyalty to the sacred Scriptures and implicit obedience to the precepts given of God. Great was their faith "when they were but a few men in number; yet, very few, and strangers" too. According to their faith, it was unto them and, according to our faith, continuing and ever-enlarging blessings will be unto us.

The Pilgrim has ever been a fascinating figure, whether appearing on the pages of Scripture, or in the "Immortal Allegory" of the most illustrious migrant the world has ever known (perhaps in part suggested to the mind of the Puritan John Bunyan by the migration of the Pilgrim Fathers) or in poetry, works of fiction, or sober history. The reason for this interest is that the Pilgrim's face is toward the future. He is progressive and he has a goal to reach.

I am indebted to Dr. John H. Finley for words I heard him speak and which I wish to repeat; "All men who are not unprogressive or static are either migrants or vagrants, with this distinguishing difference, that migrants are

travelers who are going somewhere, while vagrants are travelers who are going nowhere. Some are e-migrants and some are im-migrants, according to the point of view, but they are all purposeful beings in motion. A migrant is a destinated vagrant; a vagrant is a migrant who has forgotten, if he ever knew, where he was going. The only people who have made real progress are the migrant people who have set out for somewhere. And when a man says he disbelieves in finality, that he has no creed as to course and destination, 'he is by that very process,' as Chesterton puts it, 'sinking slowly backward into the vagueness of the vagrant, the unconsciousness of grass' and the broad-mindedness of turnips. He has ceased to be a migrant and has become a vagrant."

If we of today are in any sense worthy of the Pilgrims, we too are Pilgrims. The set of our faces is forward. We believe that God is not only behind us, the God of a great past, but that He goes before us, the God of a greater future. But we are destinated migrants, and so let us be sure that we know where we are going, why we make the journey and, by faith's keen sight, what we expect to find when we arrive. We pride ourselves on our progressiveness and glory in our emancipation from the narrowness and bigotry of the past. We look with superior pity, if not with scornful contempt, on Pilgrims who have preceded us upon the path of life. We crave the novel and we are ready to make all sorts of experiments. We seek adventures and perhaps, in our eager desire to advance, we are tempted to fling away fundamental principles of conscience, constitution, and creed as impedimenta, useless luggage, preventing progress. Now, if in our haste we have gone astray, the very best thing to do is to hasten back to the point where we left the road that leads somewhere, and somewhere worth-while. The School of Departure has been much in evidence in our immediate time and its teachings have endangered true advance. The School of Return must lift up its voice, in order that we may be called back to the way that leads to

the great land of enduring conviction and permanent prosperity. Pilgrims have often returned from wanderings astray to pursue again the better course, or to make repairs in means of migration. So did the Pilgrim of the Immortal Allegory. The Pilgrim Fathers turned back twice, once to place all the passengers in one ship, stout and seaworthy; and again, after the crossing, when wintry gales prevented procedure to softer Southern clime which, in the Providence of God, proved not to be their destination, for, on a less hospitable shore, they were to find a greater freedom to worship God. We must return to safer, surer ways of development and progress; aye, I make bold to say, the way marked by the morals, the reverence for law, and the religion of the Pilgrims. As true progressives we are conservative progressives. We must make advance on designated ways. If return from devious ways now bulks large in the thoughts of serious men, it is not to prevent or postpone progress but to hasten it. Progress there must be. No individual, no church, no nation can sit still contented, feeding its languishing strength on the memories of a great past. "The Puritan conception of life on earth has always been that of a march under watchful Heavens, toward superlative issues, with great destinies involved."

The Pilgrim may have known little of art, although many of his relics being "things of beauty" are "joys forever"; but one can scarcely think of a nobler subject for an artist's work of genius. See him, as he now stands by the river bank in our noble park, the creation, one of the last works, of Augustus St. Gaudens. His robust frame, quaintly garbed, is expressive of manly strength. His feet are firmly planted on solid ground. Beneath his ample and spreading cloak his right hand grasps a stout stick, the Pilgrim's staff, and with his left he holds against his big, warm heart the Blessed Book which is his comfort and his guide. The set of his face is forward. You cannot but feel that such a migrant will reach the land of highest human attainment on earth, and, at last, arrive in "the better country" where

all true pilgrimages end; and that, when he does, "the trumpeters will sound for him on the other side."

Three hundred years ago he came to our country with a conscience, a constitution and a creed, and, today, as we thank God for his coming, we pray that we may catch his spirit and, guided by his principles and inspired by his faith, may move forward on "the path of duty" which for us, as it was for him, will be "the way to glory."

"IN THE NAME OF GOD! AMEN."

Philadelphia. MARCUS A. BROWNSON.

I CORINTHIANS XI AND THE ORDINATION OF WOMEN AS RULING ELDERS

Paul introduces what he is about to write in the present chapter by saying: "Be ye imitators of me, even as I also [am] of Christ; and I praise you, because ye remember me in all things, and, as I delivered to you the traditions, ye observe [them]" (vss. 1, 2). This translation reproduces the Greek order of words and is both good English and good sense. It is not said that the readers held fast all that Paul had delivered. In vss. 17-23 he reproves them for not doing so respecting the Lord's Supper. In vss. 3-16 he warns them that they are in danger of not doing so in another important matter. He begins this subject by an impressive statement of divine truth, that is involved in the matter he will refer to: "But I want you to know that of every man the head is Christ; and head of woman the man; and head of Christ God" (vs. 3). Repeating "is" is not necessary. In both the Greek and the English the sentence is the more vigorous by its laconic form. It states what is God's ordinance for human life in communal existence. It does not touch on the subject of man and woman in the married relation. If readers suppose the contrary because of what is said in Ephesians v. 29-32, they should be prevented by the climax of the sentence: "and the head of Christ is God."

In vss. 4-16 Paul applies the fundamental truth specifically to the exhibition of it involved in the customs and behavior of believers, especially in their religious assemblies. It is proper to understand that he is led to do this because of a report included in the matters about which the church in Corinth had written to him asking counsel (vii. 1). As Paul could have illustrated by other things what vs. 3 asserts, and repeatedly does so in other places, it seems unaccountable why he should use the material of vss. 4-15, unless there appeared reason for that in what was told him of happenings in Corinth. Some *women* were behaving in

the objectionable way referred to. And so far as that was allowed, *men* were ignoring that "the head of every man is Christ, and of women the head is the man."

It has been usual to say that vss. 3-16 "teach the law of *subjection* of the woman to the man" (so e.g., Alford). It is therefore very important to note, that vs. 3 states what is the order of the agents that coöperate in the work of saving the world: God is head of Christ; Christ is head of man; man is head of woman. "Head" has here its most usual metaphorical meaning, viz., governing and directing agent; and accordingly superior. Administrative and directing superiority of some as heads of others, in work that involves coöperation of many, is universally recognized as essential. Every person, whether observer or coöperator, needs to know who are heads in the organism, if he would understand the work it does, and especially his own part in the work. Though headship (superiority) involves subjection on the part of an inferior, that is not the case in every degree of headship in a series of heads. Subjection as a synonym of inferiority is loose diction. In a royal procession where, after the king, the dignitaries of the realm appear in ranking order, the respect shown by those who are inferior to those who are placed as their superiors, does not denote subjection to these. It is recognition of the honor belonging to these by order of the king, and is an exhibition of acquiescence in what has been so ordered. Subjection is only to the king. Each member of the staff of government looks to the heads that are superior, and especially to his immediate superior, in order to know well his own honorable place; not his subjection to any superior except to the king. The statement (vs. 3) of God's ordering for the government of his people that he saves through his Son, directs the attention of the constituents of that ordering, each to the head and heads above it, and thus to high thinking on the part of each respecting his own place and the behavior that is appropriate to that. This has even definite expression where Paul calls man the glory of God, and the

woman the glory of man (vs. 7) and speaks of the right that woman ought to have over her head (vs. 10).

Thus it appears that 1 Cor. xi. 3-16 does not primarily, or even at all, "teach the law of the subjection of the woman to the man." Understanding that to be the teaching prejudices interpretation of the passage in a very mischievous way. If affirming that one is head is understood as primarily directing the attention of the inferior to his own subjection to that head, the effect is exactly the opposite of what has just been described. The inferior does not see that his subjection is reason for *honoring* his superior. Human disposition resents subjection; and so is moved to repudiate the headship of another, if that directly and primarily means the subjection of the inferior. And so it has happened by interpreting the present passage in the way now referred to. Paul, in this passage uses the opposite way; the wise pedagogic way that all teachers ought to imitate. The Lord Jesus gave, and gives example of following this way by saying: "The Father is greater than I, . . . I love the Father; and as the Father gave me commandment, even so I do (John xiv. 28, 31).

The truths stated in vs. 3 are affirmed as if they needed no proof, but would have the assent of the readers. Paul offers no direct proof of them in what he goes on to say respecting the particular relation of man and woman. What follows is affirmation respecting conduct that presented concrete cases that involved honoring, or not honoring, that relation. The appeal (cp. 2 Tim. ii. 3, 4) is to common sentiment, which is assumed to be the sentiment of the readers themselves, or at least of the majority of them; and that should regulate their conduct, viz., a sentiment, and corresponding practice, that betokened actual consciousness of the said relation.

It is usual to suppose that vss. 4-6 prescribes some rules of conduct, both for men and women, that would exhibit recognition of the subjection of woman to man. There is, however, one imperative expression: "let her be shorn,"

that cannot be understood as mandatory. One has only to ask a few questions to see that. Who was to do it? Some executive? Or the woman herself? "She should also (besides) let herself be shorn" (so Meyer). What would be the purpose? Could it be to require that, if a woman insisted that she should have the right to pray or prophesy unveiled, she must have her hair shorn? Or would it be a penalty for having done so? Or can any other purpose be thought of? Meyer, translating as quoted above, comments: "A consequence, serving only to make plain the absurdity of the unbecoming emancipation displayed by praying and speaking in public." That is, the expression is *reductio ad absurdum* (so Chrysostom). The expressions "For it is one and the same thing as if she were shaven," and "If it is a shame to a woman to be shorn or shaven," are of the same kind. Such expressions are appeals to reasonings that readers themselves are presumed to employ respecting women praying or prophesying with head unveiled, and are equivalent to: As you say yourselves. Such reasonings were proof that the conduct in question violated the prevailing sentiment of propriety, and that very seriously. Founding on that by, "But if it is a shame" etc., "Let her be veiled" follows as the consequence, and is mandatory as the logical consequence; not as mandate of Paul.

Proceeding to ascertain the meaning of vss. 5-16, with the foregoing remarks in mind, explanations may be confined to debated matters which involve what it is most important to understand correctly.

Vs. 4. "Every man praying or prophesying, having his head covered shames his head;" vs. 5, "And every woman praying or prophesying with head unveiled shames her head." Our versions conjoin vs. 5 with vs. 4 by, "*But* every woman"; which would be correct, if, "his head" means Christ, who in vs. 3 is called, "head of every man"; and "her head" means man, who in vs. 3 is called "head of woman." For that would expres a *per contra*: "man would

dishonor Christ, but woman would dishonor man." The translation seems intended to favor, or at least to allow, that interpretation, which is given by many expositors. If, however, vss. 4, 5 state the two cases of men and of women as parallel behaviour, the proper conjunction for denoting that is "and." There is such parallel if "head" means the bodily heads of those whose behavior is condemned. This meaning is adopted by the majority of expositors, and is the one most usually taken by general readers. The former interpretation is the effect of a pedantic regard for syntax, that ignores the natural and superior force of idiomatic diction; and moreover it conflicts with the plain meaning of "head" in vss. 7-10.

The case of "every man," etc. is stated as obvious; and accordingly as justifying what is next said of "every woman." Thus in positing the premises of the discussion that follows, there is intimation that the discourse deals with the subject of women acting a part that is not theirs. That such is the subject is corroborated by what follows to vs. 16.

"Praying or prophesying" refers to what is done publicly in meetings. "Prophesying" necessarily means that. Both are predicated of men and women alike, without a hint of disapproval of women doing so. It is therefore to be inferred that women prayed and prophesied in Christian meetings in the time of the apostles, and that the apostles countenanced that (so Chrysostom). Accordingly, the matter of women having their heads covered, or uncovered, while so doing, and especially what was involved in that, remains the sole subject that is dealt with.

The inference that women prayed and prophesied in Christian meetings is not to be checked up and limited by xiv. 34, 35: "Let the women keep silence in the churches (assemblies); for it is not permitted unto them to speak; but let them be in subjection (let them keep their subordinate rank) and if they would learn anything, let them ask their husbands at home." Correct interpretation requires exactly

the opposite; viz., xiv. 34 must be understood agreeably to xi. 5. Accordingly, "to speak" does not refer to praying and prophesying in meetings, but to talking aloud, e.g., commenting on the teaching going on, or, as was usual on the part of men, interrupting speakers by questions. Compare 1 Tim. ii. 11, 12 which requires "silence" on the part of women in meetings where "teaching" was going on. "Teaching" and "prophesying" do not mean even substantially the same. "Teach" means telling others what to know, believe or do.[1]

Neither is it to be understood that vs. 5 merely permits women to pray or prophesy in meetings, as some maintain; e.g., Meyer,[2] who, alleging that the present passage makes no mention of the *whole assembly* (ecclesia), whereas chapter xiv. does so many times, says: "Therefore the apostle here, where he does not forbid women to pray and prophesy . . . has in mind the smaller devotional meetings in the parish, the more limited worshipping circles, which fall under the viewpoint of the church-in-the-house (xvi. 19; Rom. xvi. 5; Col. iv. 15; Philem. 2)." Vs. 16 *does* mention "the assemblies of God," a very impressive designation, imposible of limitation to small meetings; and mentions them to say, as conclusive support of what the foregoing vss. 4-15 have taught, that they have no such custom as that which said verses censure. Interpretation like that just quoted has no foundation.

The recognition in vs. 5 of women praying and prophesying in Christian meetings, has been pressed as implying that women, just as men, may properly participate with men in governing the churches. It is, therefore, important to note, that no instance appears in the New Testament of a woman holding an office of that kind, or, indeed office of any kind, or of a woman being referred to by a title denoting official position in the Christian church. Only twice does the word "prophetess" occur, viz., "Anna a prophetess"

[1] Comp. iv. 17; xi. 14; Acts iv. 2, xv. 1, xxi. 21; 1 Tim. iv. 11; Heb. vi. 2; Matt. xv. 9. See Thayer, *Lex.* s.v. διδάσκω.

[2] Fifth edition, 1870.

(Luke ii. 36), who saw Jesus as a babe when he was presented in the Temple; and, "The woman Jezebel, who calleth herself a prophetess; *and she teacheth,* and seduceth my servants" (Rev. ii. 20). "Phoebe our sister, who is a servant" (Margin, *deaconess;* Rom. xvi. 1) is understood by many to be an instance of official title, denoting that Phoebe held an official position in the church. The further description of Phoebe does not favor that view: "For she hath been a helper of many, and of mine own self" (ibid. vs. 2); which does not express more than, or anything different from what is said of "enrolled widows," "well reported of for good works; if she hath used hospitality to strangers, if she hath washed the saints' feet, if she hath relieved the afflicted" (1 Tim. v. 9, 10). Such description does not point to official position. Even supposing that Phoebe as deaconess was an officer is not reason for thinking that she participated as an officer in governing the church. Of the seven men that composed the original college,—usually referred to as deacons, though they are not so called in the record of their election and ordination (Acts vi. 1-5),—not one is mentioned anywhere as participating in the administration of the church otherwise than as doing what they were directed to do by the apostles ("the twelve") that did govern. Stephen and Philip are reasonably supposed to have participated in governing; which, if they did, was because of other qualifications, and not by virtue of being deacons. Of the other five nothing more is known. Deacons along with officers in churches are mentioned only in Phil. i. 1; 1 Tim. iii. 8, 12, 13. But no instance occurs affirming of such that they participated in government; nor even of their being advanced to a governing office. It can only be plausibly inferred that 1 Tim. iii. 13 implies that churches expected to recruit the ranks of governing officers by electing as such men "that served well as deacons." Without needing that exegesis, it is clear that elections of such men must have occurred often. But not because deaconship carried with it presumption of such preferment.

"Having his head covered, shames his head . . . with head unveiled shames her head." Stigmatizing these practices expresses that they have sinister significance. Following vs. 3 immediately, it is obvious that the imputed significance refers to what is said there, viz., "of every man the head is Christ, and head of woman the man." Such practices by men and women are censured as exhibiting ignorant or intentional disregard of that fundamental truth. Readers now are not justified in debating whether the practice referred to could properly be so regarded. It is only important to know what Paul taught. There is nothing doubtful about that here. Bible readers who know what Paul taught know what the Bible teaches as Christian duty.

It is proper, however, to notice, that here, Paul does not express a judgment that is only his own, or that is expressed because it is his. He is careful to explain respecting a judgment he expresses in 1 Cor. vii. 6, that it is personal opinion. That and other similar instances preclude thinking that the present passage is a case of that kind. The thought is, however, distinctly precluded by "I want you to know" (vs. 3). As has been said above, vss. 4, 5 appeal to a sentiment that the generality of the Corinthian readers themselves entertained. This understanding is supported by, "Doth not nature itself teach *you*" (vs. 14), which, said of long hair, is an extension of the subject of covering and of veiling the head, and shows that, beginning with vs. 4, the reasoning is of the same kind, and is equivalent to, As you say yourselves. Similar expressions in a secular historian, dealing with a subject relating to his own time, would be accepted as authentic information respecting contemporary social practices. In vss. 4, 5 Paul expresses what at the time was the common judgment of the region to which he writes and was also his own judgment for their circumstances. Male Jews now worship with covered heads; and their custom has been traced to a very early date A.D.; but not certainly to the date of this Epistle. Supposing,—because nothing

to the contrary is certainly known,—that such was Jewish custom in Paul's day, it would appear that the present reasoning for the case in Corinth founds on what was custom there. If so, the adoption of the Jewish custom by men in Corinth might be intended to signify that these broke away from Gentile custom in worship. Such behaviour was censurable because it violated customs of their own social life, a violation which had the significance imputed in vss. 3, 4. The custom of a people is a language of signs. The custom of men worshipping with uncovered head, and of women worshipping with covered head, signified a relation of man and woman such as is stated in vs. 3. That being so, the custom should be observed in Christian meetings as especially proper there where the worshippers know, or ought to know, that "of every man the head is Christ, and head of woman the man," in the kingdom of God. If this significance of their custom was unknown to the idolatrous Corinthians who practised it, Paul's interpretation of it, and teaching Christians to exhibit it, is like his preaching in Athens, when he took for his text the inscription of an altar: "to an unknown God," and said: "What therefore ye worship in ignorance, this I set forth unto you" (Acts xvii. 23).

"Dishonoreth (shameth) his head . . . her head." The way the head is carried by men and women betokens consciousness of honor appertaining to them, or lack of such consciousness. Not covering, or covering, the head before others betokens the same, according to particular social manners. This is so all the world over. "Shames his head" means, that one is unconscious of what honor is his and ought to be signified by his head; or that he disowns that honor.

The significance of a recognized custom is the essential referred to in vss. 4, 5; exhibition of that essential is a perpetual obligation. Paul knew that customs exhibiting the knowledge in question differed among different peoples; or that among the same people the customs that exhibited it

might pass away. He does not insist on maintaining everywhere the particular custom he refers to. There have been changes among Christians in that matter; and not all of them censurable changes—when other customs exhibiting the same essential truth equally well have been retained, or have come about. To the present time, with many changes of custom occurring, such has been the case among Christians. The appearances to the contrary have been, and are, like the happenings, say, in the church in Corinth that Paul corrects in 1 Cor. xi. 3-16.

Vs. 10. "For this cause ought the woman to have power ("a sign of authority"; R. V. & A. R. V.) on her head, because of the angels." These different renderings are equally obscure in meaning; though the R.V. supplies, "as a sign of," interpretively. "Power," or "authority," is an equally good translation. The meaning of "power on her head" is what perplexes. As Alford and other expositors say, it would be impossible to enumerate the different interpretations that have been proposed. "Sign of authority on her head" seems the meaning that has been most generally accepted; and both of the above renderings favor it. "To have power" occurs often in the New Testament, and always as power to do, act, dispose of; the power being his who has it by his own right, or because it is given to him. When the phrase is followed by ἐπί and a genitive substantive, as here, or even by a genitive only, it expresses the object *over* which one has power, or the place where, or matter concerning which one has power.[3] In the present place it means woman's power over her bodily head. It cannot mean power or symbol of power that another has. "Power" is usually followed by a phrase that defines what it is; e.g. "power to forgive sins." This is lacking in the present expression. Hence the perplexity; and the opportunity for proposing many different concepts to supply what is lacking. Other instances occur where the power is left undefined

[3] Comp. e.g. Mat. ix. 6*; x. 1; Lk. ix. 1; Jno. x. 18; xvii. 2; Acts ix. 14; Rev. xi. 6*; xiv. 18*; xvi. 9*; xx. 6*; xxii. 14*. Texts marked * are like 1 Cor. xi. 10.

(Mat. xxviii. 18; Mk. vi. 7; Lk. iv. 6; Acts v. 4). As vss. 4-5 refer to men behaving one way and women an opposite way, no pronominal phrase; e.g. "power to do this," usual elsewhere, could define the power that is meant. Only explicit statement of what the power is that the woman ought to have could complete the sense. That would be redundant reiteration of what has been sufficiently expressed. The readers, therefore, are left to derive from the context the answer to the question, Power to do what? Such appears to be a reasonable explanation of the diction that has seemed obscure to so many.

Judicious expositors, with great unanimity, have taken, "For this cause" as referring to what is said vss. 8, 9; and, understanding what is said there as denoting that woman is to be in subjection to man, they have interpreted vs. 10 to mean, that woman ought to have on her head the sign of man's authority, i.e. the veil. But vs. 10 connects by "For this cause" with vs. 7, which says what "a man ought not" to do, i.e. "have his head veiled"; and, contrastively, vs. 10, asserts that the woman ought to have power (a right) over her head, i.e. right to have her head veiled. "For this cause" refers to the reasons stated vs. 7, and particularly to that which concerns woman. It has been stated, vs. 7, that man ought not to veil his head "because he is the image and glory of God." Having contrastively said in vs. 7 that "the woman is the glory of the man," vs. 10 completes the expression of the contrast by saying, the woman ought to veil her head because she is the glory of man. The Apostle says, vss. 7b, 10, "But the woman is the glory of the man. . . . For this cause the woman ought to have power over her head." Vss. 8, 9 account for the statements, "man is the glory of God," "woman is the glory of man" (vs. 7), and are logically parenthetical; yet add materially to the importance of the statements by founding them on the creative work of God.

If "the woman is of man . . . the woman was created on account of man," were meant to express woman's

subjection to man, and "woman is the glory of man" the same, then "man is the glory of God" could mean that God's glory is, that man is subject to him; a thought that has no fitness in the reasoning of the present passage. The creation of man in God's image is here called, "the glory of God" in the same sense that raising dead men to life is called this. Jesus said respecting his purpose to raise dead Lazarus, "This sickness is for the glory of God." And to Martha, "Said I not unto thee, that if thou wouldest believe thou shouldest see the glory of God?" (Jno. xi. 4, 40).[4]

Vss. 7-10 point to what is glorious in woman; not to what abases her; as would be the case if the passage pointed to her subjection. Here it becomes very plain how misleading in the exposition of 1-16 the error (noted above) has been, that understands the passage as teaching the subjection of woman to man. The word here translated "power" is, by the A. V. translated "right" (Heb. xiii. 10; Rev. xxii. 14); which is a correct and more felicitous rendering in those places. It is so translated by R. V. and A. R. V. much oftener. It is correct and more appropriate to translate here, "The woman ought to have a right over her head." "Right" is a potent word. When persons are sensible of their rights they have and feel the consciousness of their worth and noblity. Witness the Bills of Rights and The Declaration of Independence of British and American peoples. Greek peoples were sensitive to the thrill of freedom that attended mention of rights. It is proper to understand here, that Paul uses the present expression, instead of saying, 'women ought to veil their heads in meetings,' because he would have women be moved by the consciousness of what God's word represents as their worth and nobility. "The woman is the glory of the man." What he says respecting woman culminates in vs. 10. What follows, prefaced by "only"[5] (vss. 11-15), is a caveat against the improper application of that statement.

[4] Comp. Rom. i. 23; iii. 23; iv. 20, 21-25; v. 2; vi. 4; viii. 18.

[5] A. V. "nevertheless," R.V., A.R.V. "how be it."

"Because of the angels." This phrase has been as much debated as the words just preceding; and as many different interpretations have been proposed; some of them odious. For correct interpretation it must be noted, that iv. 9 has referred to angels as spectators of sufferings the apostles endured. Nothing is more proper, in fact nothing is equally proper to be interpretative of the present expression. Angels are spectators of woman's behavior in the matter now considered. But the definite article here, "*the* angels," denotes that a definite concept respecting angels is meant, and not angels in general, as in iv. 9. Such a definite concept occurs Acts vii. 53, "Ye who received the law as it was ordained by angels"; also Heb. ii. 2, "For if the word spoken through angels proved steadfast, and every transgression and disobedience received a just recompense of reward;" also Gal. iii. 19. It should also be noted, that in ix. 4, 9 Paul has referred to "the law of Moses" as vindicating what he calls *his rights* (ibid. vs. 6; R.V. and A.R.V.). And also that x. 1-6 has represented the Israelites as having been baptized unto Moses, and as drinking of a spiritual rock that followed them, and that rock was Christ. These expressions point to the likeness of the situations of God's ancient people and of his Christian people, and are a preface to the warnings (x. 6-33) that caution the readers against defections such as the Israelites were guilty of (x. 11). The admonition of the present passage continues such warning. The church in Corinth had been taught what has just been quoted as said elsewhere about angels and the law. Paul assumes that they have that knowledge; and particularly, that, when reading xi. 3-16, they will remember what has been said iv. 9; ix. 9; and x. 1-13, and so will understand that by, "because of the angels," he cautions Christian women to remember, that their behavior in the present matter of admonition is observed by "the angels" through whom the law of Moses was spoken, and who are charged to see that law prove stedfast, and that every transgression of its precepts that apply as still valid, shall have just

recompense. In x. 6-10, which is directly written to men, the consequences of disobedience are expressed baldly, the last being, "Neither murmur ye as some of them also murmured and perished by the destroyer" (x. 10). But here where women are directly warned, the warning is intimated gently by a brief, yet significant expression.

In the admonition that has just been explained, Paul is himself an example of what he enjoins 2 Tim. ii. 23-26: "But foolish and ignorant questionings refuse, knowing that they engender strifes. And the Lord's servant must not strive, but be gentle towards all, apt to teach, forbearing, in meekness correcting them that oppose themselves, if peradventure God may give them repentance unto the knowledge of the truth, and they may recover themselves out of the snares of the devil, having been taken captive by him unto his will." The same may be said of his manner in concluding the present admonition by vs. 16.

Vs. 16. "But if anyone seems to be contentious, we have no such custom, nor [have] the assemblies of God." The rendering "any man," of our versions, lets the English reader suppose that the foregoing admonition is directed primarily to men. The pronoun so translated has the same form as masculine and feminine, and means simply, "any," "some." The suffix "one" is a necessity of English idiom.

Two interpretations of vs. 16 claim attention. Some have taken "such custom" as referring to "contentious," which means a habit of disputation indulged in for its own sake. This view is supported by many eminent expositors from Chrysostom to the present, among these Calvin. A greater number of equally eminent expositors, from Theodoret to the present have understood "such custom" to mean the behavior of women censured vss. 4, 5; but with division of opinion, some understanding that both the public praying and prophesying in meetings by women, and their doing so unveiled are meant; whereas others understand that only the latter is meant. The second of these views is the one most generally accepted now. The foregoing comments lead up directly to this view, and to that understanding that

limits the reference of "such customs" to women appearing with head unveiled when praying or prophesying.

The essential in the matter referred to is the significance of a recognized custom. Customs having the same significance differ in different peoples. The custom employed in a particular age and by a particular people to set forth the essential truth here referred to may fall into disuse by various causes. But some customs signifying the same essential always appear in communal life. Paul does not enjoin a particular custom for all people for all time. In the phrase, "such custom," the word "such" intimates that he does not refer solely to the particular practice censured in vss. 4, 5, but to whatever practice is sign of the same thing. "Of such is the kingdom of heaven" (Matt. xix. 14) does not mean particularly the little children that were brought to Jesus, nor even only little children.

By "we have not" Paul means himself and companions in the work of planting churches. The fitness of this reference, and especially the reference to himself is because he has prefaced 3-15 by saying, "Be imitators of me."

"Nor [have] the churches (assemblies) of God." Of course this means all Christian churches in the time of the apostles. Meaning that, it expresses "common law" that should rule in all churches yet to be gathered by the apostles and their companions in such work. But it is proper to understand that Paul means more than Christian churches. The exact translation of *ecclesia* is "assembly," or "congregation." It is the usual word in the LXX for designating gatherings of God's people. "The assembly" occurs very often; and often, "the assembly of Israel" (or, "of Judah"); once, "the assembly of Jehovah" (Deut. xxiii. 23); once, "the assembly of God" (Neh. xiii. 1); and once, "the assembly of the Highest" (Ecclus. xxiv. 2). In the A. V. of the New Testament the translation is always "church," except Acts xix. 32, 39, 41 where a gathering of citizens is referred to.[6]

[6] The same is true of the R.V. except Heb. ii. 12, where it reads

The phrase "assembly of God," occurs in the New Testament only 1 Cor. i. 2; x. 32; xi. 16, 22; xv. 9; 2 Cor. i. 1, Gal. i. 13; 1 Thess. ii. 14; 1 Tim. iii. 5, 13. Thus it appears as peculiar to Paul's diction. With this may be compared the phrase "gospel of God," which is also peculiar to Paul, occurring, as it does, only in his reported words (Acts xx. 24), and in his Epistles.[7] These peculiar expressions are as significant as some other peculiarities of Paul that have been made much account of in exegesis. They may be ascribed to his being the apostle to the Gentiles, and that as he was wont to assert that, so also he was wont to use diction that accorded with it. Calling his gospel "the gospel of God" signified to Jews and Gentiles that God is the God of both (Rom. iii. 29). Similarly, calling meetings for the worship of God "assemblies of God," signified to Jews and Gentiles "that God is no respecter of persons, but in every nation he that feareth him and worketh righteousness is acceptable to him" (Acts x. 34, 35). Wherever there was such a meeting it was *an assembly of God,* whether composed of Jews or of Gentiles, or of both. Jews that heard Paul use this expression would remember that the only instances of its use in the Old Testament occur where it is said, an Ammonite or a Moabite shall not enter the assembly of God (Deut. xxiii. 3; Neh. xiii. 1), which most Jews then believed applied to Gentiles in general.

"The assemblies of God" in xi. 16 should be understood to refer to meetings of Jews as well as to Christian churches. This should also be inferred from the fact that Paul worshipped in Jewish synagogues and in the Temple at Jerusalem as often as he was suffered to do so; and the other apostles did the same. In this they were "imitators of Christ." It is to be inferred also from many sayings of

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"congregation" in the text, and "church" in the margin. But it gives "congregation" in the margin at Matt. xviii. 17; Acts vii. 38; 1 Cor. xi. 22. In many other places, however, the proper translation would be "congregation," or "assembly."

[7] Rom. i. 1; xv. 16; 2 Cor. xi. 7; 1 Thess. ii. 2, 8, 9; 1 Tim.. i. 11; and 2 Tim. i. 8-11 which is an amplified expression of it.

Paul, one of which is in the near context of the present verse: "Give no occasion for stumbling, either to Jews, or to Greeks, or to the church (assembly, congregation) of God" (x. 32). Accordingly, the scope of "nor [have] the assemblies of God" is very comprehensive and very definite as to the meaning of "such custom." The custom of the Jews respecting the matter taught in vss. 4-15 was as ancient as the institution of Israel to be the peculiar people of God; and had been invariable to the period when Paul wrote these words. As the ordinance of God, it was sacred tradition of the Jews. It is proper to understand, that it was one of "the traditions" (vs. 2) that Paul "delivered" to the Corinthian believers, just as he says (vs. 23) the Lord's supper was. That tradition had pervaded the communal life of the people of Israel from their beginning. It was betokened by many practices usual among them, one being that women veiled the head when in an assembly. Supposing that, when xi. 16 was written it was the practice for men to pray or prophesy in meetings with head uncovered, there is no reason for supposing that Jewish women did the same; and no one supposes that. It is such behavior on the part of women that is censured xi. 5-15; and, in referring to that behavior, there is no inconsistency in saying, Nor have any of the assemblies of God that custom. The outstanding custom of Israel, and token of the maxim "head of the woman is the man," was, that woman was not to aspire to govern along with man. In the beginning of Israel as a theocracy, Miriam so aspired, and she became leprous (Num. xii). In several recorded instances, leprosy was the penalty visited on sin against the Theocracy (2 Kings v. 27; xv. 5; 2 Chron. xxvi. 21).[8]

"Deborah a prophetess" is often referred to as "a female ruler in Israel," who ruled with divine approval (Judg. iv). The only records that seem to denote that she governed are Judges iv. 5, and v. 13. But iv. 5 does not express more than is said of "Hulda the prophetess," (2 Kings xxii. 14), who, though she prophesied, did no governing. And supposing

[8] Comp. Trench, *On Miracles:* "The Cleansing of the Leper."

that Deborah did govern, she is to be thought of as doing so only because no man appeared as ruler; and as doing so with protest that it was a reproach to Israel. Her rebuke of Barak favors this conjecture. As for v. 13, the rendering of the R.V. and A.R.V. is very different from the A.V., and says nothing that suggests ruling.

Athaliah (2 K. xi. 1-3; 2 Chron. xxii. 10), who for six years usurped the throne in Jerusalem, is the only instance of a woman actually ruling over God's people. Her destruction, like the rebuke of Miriam's ambition, stamped in the national spirit the indelible conviction that it is God's ordinance that man, and not woman, must be head in what pertains to governing his people. Expressions of this conviction occurs in Isa. iii. 12, "[As for] my people, children are their oppressors, and women shall rule over them. O my people, they which lead thee cause [thee] to err, and destroy the way of thy paths." This verse of Isaiah and Rev. ii. 20 are parallel Scripture in sentiment. The speaker in Rev. ii. 20 is Christ, the Head of his church. This outstanding custom was not only a symbol of the maxim "head of woman is the man." It was the practice of that maxim in what pertains to government of God's people.

A custom of a people, maintained by them through the many ages of their existence, has, by its age alone, sanction as "common law," and as "an everlasting sign that shall not be cut off," whereby that people in all their generations shall know themselves, and be known by others to be the same people. The ignoring of that law by that people, and therewith the discarding the sign that it is common law, would intimate that they are no longer the people that they were.

The custom of "the assemblies of God" respecting their government, viz. that men, not women, shall rule, is their "common law" and an everlasting sign. It has, indeed, the sanction of antiquity; but the validity of the custom as "common law" for the church of God is owing to its having been from the beginning the ordinance of God for his people.

St. Davids, Pa. SAMUEL T. LOWRIE.

ABRAHAM KUYPER—A MODERN CALVINIST

The more my mind dwells in retrospect upon the life of that great man whose body was laid to rest at the foot of the dunes in the Low Countries on the 12th of November, the more do I marvel. Not only at his many and exceptional gifts am I amazed, but also at his entire career.

When a child his health was so precarious that he was not expected to live very long,—during his public career he was threatened with assassination and twice nearly succumbed to seemingly fatal illness; yet he lived to be an octogenarian and died without suffering from a special disease. He was the son of a minister who preached a very diluted Gospel, and was educated at a university famous for its historical traditions and as a centre of learning, but also noted for its destructive and unorthodox teachings; yet he shot forth as a meteor from the dark sky leaving behind him a stream of light which brought joy to all the orthodox in the Netherlands. He seemed with his "Antitheses"—his sharply drawn antithesis between Christian and non-Christian—to divide men into hostile camps; yet an innumerable host of men from all classes and walks of life called him their "general," their "God-given leader," and marched as a unit behind him. He could be as severe and uncompromising in his words as the prophets of old; yet his loving heart found a response in the love of thousands and tens of thousands, of whom the multitudes gathered at his grave from all parts of the country were but a small representation; and on the eve of his burial throngs of Reformed people in every town and village and hamlet gathered in their churches and wept like children who had lost their father. He was ridiculed, slandered, despised, in those early days when he took his stand with the "kleyne luyden," the common people who had clung to the old truth, when all official and cultured Holland had turned to unbelief; yet he was honored at his funeral by the presence of representatives of the Queen and the Queen-mother, ambassadors of

several foreign countries, ministers of the Crown, many of the members of the Upper and Lower Houses of Parliament, and scores of high officials and delegates of various national institutions and societies.

Truly, the more I think of him, the more I marvel! Theologian, statesman, orator, university-founder, preacher, journalist, author, church-reformer, leader, organizer, traveler, all this and more, and pre-eminent in every capacity, and above all a humble and devout Christian! I have seen him as leader—his eloquent words at political conventions winning thousands to the acceptance of his principles, and arousing his army to so high a pitch of enthusiasm, that they returned to their various districts flushed with the assurance of certain victory. I have seen him as professor—teaching his students as one filled with the Holy Spirit, quoting in the original languages passage after passage from Holy Writ in exposition of the truth and making it so real to the hearts of his students that they sat with bated breath, and it seemed as if the heavens were opened and the foundations of the truth laid bare. I have seen him as prime minister of the Crown—in his robes of office, ruling the people wisely and firmly and stamping out anarchistic revolutions; feared and flattered, threatened and nearly adored. I have seen him in his family circle—pouring out his soul before God, communing with Him as a child with his father, or like adoring Thomas crying out at the feet of Jesus "My Lord and my God," and melting in tender devotion to the Savior like the woman who bathed His feet with her tears—prayers of faith, prayers of love, never to be forgotten by those who had the rare privilege of having access to this family circle!

And again I marvel when I see what he accomplished! When he came, the preaching of the old religion was largely restricted to the Free-Churches, and even there it was often a one-sided Gospel, not calculated to meet the needs of the times. But when he passed away, in almost every part of the Protestant Netherlands the true Gospel was heard, revived

and invigorated, and meeting the problems of daily life. When he began his career, Christian primary education was at a low ebb, there being only a few insignificant school-buildings, with faithful but poorly paid teachers. When he ended his life's work, the country was covered with Christian primary schools, having splendid buildings and up-to-date equipment, first-class and well-paid teachers. He left also a great many Christian schools of various kinds such as grammar and high schools, colleges, normal schools, and other institutions for all branches of learning—all these schools in their entire instruction being guided by the principles of the Word of God; not merely schools where a portion of the Bible is read and teaching is started with prayer, but schools where the entire instruction is permeated with the principles of the Calvinistic world- and life-view.

When Kuyper appeared there was not one chair in all the universities of the Netherlands—and the little country has quite a number of them—where the instruction was unqualifiedly and wholly based upon the principles of the Word of God as supreme. Religion and science had parted company; modern unbelief and higher criticism were rampant in all the universities. The old religion, once the foundation of the country, was mentioned in these places of learning only as a thing to be ridiculed or derided. When he died, an entire university, his creation, had been founded upon the eternal principles of God's revelation,—a university where religion and science worked together in perfect harmony. Besides this one university many chairs in the other universities were now filled by his students or followers.

When Kuyper entered the political arena, there was not a Christian political party numerous enough to be worthy of mention. The Liberal party ruled supreme—a party inspired by the principles of the French revolution and antagonistic to the application of Christian principles to public life, ignoring the rights of the Christian citizens and endeavoring to destroy the Christian character of the life of

the people of the Netherlands (only he who denied Christ and the Word of God was looked upon as up-to-date and eligible for public office). When he left he had his followers in every walk of life, men who confessed Christ and recognized the authority of the Word of God in their daily lives. Scores of his followers were representatives of the people in the Higher or in the Lower House of Parliament; several had been and still are ministers of the Crown, not to mention the many governors, judges, and mayors. Indeed, at times, he actually had not men enough to fill all the places where they were needed.

When Kuyper started out as a journalist, there was scarcely a Christian newspaper and almost no contemporary Christian literature, the entire press being in the hands of the Liberal party. When he finished there was, besides a host of religious weeklies and several local Christian dailies indirectly guided by him, his own Christian political newspaper *De Standaard,* one of the most influential papers because of its aggressive, trenchant and pointed editorials. In addition to this political daily Kuyper edited *De Heraut.* in which he expounded the Calvinistic principles of church, home, and social life, and which counted its readers in all parts of the globe.

In his literary work he showed himself one of the great masters of the Dutch language, praised by friend and foe alike. His learned and popular books fill a small library. Through his influence on Christian authors, the Netherlands now possess a rich Christian literature.

Still more do I marvel when I consider the rapidity with which he did his vast and many sided work. He usually spent only the forenoon in his study. Once in a while he added an afternoon, but most of the time this was occupied or partly occupied by his lectures, meetings, conferences and the like. In the evening he was obliged to refrain from mental work; and to induce sleep he was accustomed to take long walks. His work was so intensified and so systematized that not only had each morning its own task strictly

according to schedule, but on a single morning his work along one line would be finished for the entire week. In the course of a single morning he wrote the main articles for his daily for the whole week! How well he kept up this custom of writing articles in advance was shown by the fact that last summer when his strength finally failed, not less than ten articles, and these very elaborate ones, for his weekly *De Heraut* were found ready for the printer. Thus it happened that the same issue which announced his death still had its leading article from his pen.

Truly, as Professor Woltjer said at his grave, "He was a marvelous man." A man in every respect. With his massive head, black hair, piercing eyes, noble features, broad shoulders, compact body; with his likes and dislikes, and his aptness to show them; with his short and direct questions, his pointed remarks and quick answers; with his impatience, shown when we his students did not find quickly enough in Latin the answers to his questions (the Hebrew and literary exercises were conducted in Latin)—a man. In the union of encyclopedic knowledge and deeply loving heart—indeed, a marvelous man!

Abraham Kuyper was born on the 29th day of October, 1837, in the little town of Maassluis, where his father was a minister. At the age of seventeen years he entered the University of Leyden, as a student in classical literature and theology. At the close of his university career, the University of Groningen announced as the subject for a prize essay: "The Idea of the Church according to Calvin and Á Lasco." His professor urged him to enter the competition and Kuyper consented. But, seek as he might, nowhere could a copy of Á Lasco's works be found, neither in the public nor in the university libraries of the Netherlands, nor in any other European university where he inquired for them. Happening to visit a minister to whom he was directed and doing this more for the pleasure the little trip would afford than in the expectation of finding there what

he was seeking, he found, to the surprise of the old minister himself, a splendid and almost complete set of Á Lasco's *Opera!* It was as if the learned young man who could, he thought, explain everything without God and exclude God from everything, saw all at once, as he himself testified, "the hand of God in his life." A little later he happened to read Miss Yonge's, *The Heir of Redcliffe,* and saw in one of the characters a clear picture of his own life—a life of egotism, a life of self! So he entered the ministry, his heart touched but his mind still running in the paths of doubt.

In his first charge in the little village of Beesd, he came in contact with a little band of plain but sincere peasants who held to the old truth and did not intend giving it up, though ridiculed by the rest of the village on account of their views. For a long time they had not attended the church services. The young minister thought it his duty to go and visit them and tell them to come to church. They refused, saying that his predecessor had not preached the truth nor did he. The truth! Did *they* know the truth? Yes, they did! They did not hesitate for a moment; they were not in doubt for an instant about the truth. They *had* the truth; they told him he ought to preach the truth; and *they* showed him the truth. He was amazed. It was a substantial world- and life-view that they placed before him: God sovereign over his whole creation; God's glory the sole aim of that creation. The young minister here saw Calvinism, which hitherto he had known only as a theological fossil of bygone ages, or as a caricature, alive, rooted in the Word of God, nourishing and energizing spiritual life and finding varied expression in practical life. It was a big discovery! The learned doctor became the pupil of poor peasants; but his eyes were opened and his heart, thirsting for the truth, found rest in Calvinism. And in it he rested until his eyes closed and his heart beat its last. He had found the truth! Or rather the truth had found him. How plainly God's sovereignty, the essence of

Calvinism, was shown here: he had grasped the truth and the truth had gripped him. And it was no half-truth, or part truth, but the absolute truth: the truth that God was first and last, and that creation and every part of creation and every sphere of created life existed only for the glory of God. The restless mind of this child of God now rested in *God*. From now on he is to be a defender and propagator of this all-embracing Calvinistic life- and world-view. He will bring it from the lowly and humble abodes, where it was cherished, when the frosty atmosphere of rationalism filled the country, into the warm sunlight of faith; he will install it in high places of learning; he will fashion and shape it to suit the requirements of the time; and multitudes will feel the beauty, the splendor, the God-glorifying and soul-satisfying power of Calvinism. He did not, of course, know that he was to do this, but God led him step by step. Before he realized it, he was in the midst of the struggle. Once more his mind turned back to Calvin and Á Lasco. How clearly he saw now what they meant and how correct they were in their views. The church should be the kingdom of God, separated from the world, living up to and answering to its confession.

In 1867 he was called to the aristocratic city of Utrecht and there the fight began—the fight for a free church, living up to its confession! The young enthusiast and brilliant orator was welcomed in Utrecht in the foremost circles. Laymen of noble birth, and prominent clergymen claimed his friendship; a splendid future lay open to him, provided he would give up his strict Reformed and Calvinistic views. These, he was told, were out of date; he should therefore accept the ideas of his aristocratic friends. They were not, of course, outright rationalists, but mildly, very mildly orthodox, half-way orthodox and apologetic even for this half-way orthodoxy. He was counselled not to lay so much stress on doctrine, but rather to emphasize the ethical side of Christianity; and for the rest to meet half-way what German philosophy and German-philosophised

theology offered to the learned men of the Low Countries. But the young doctor would not compromise. He stuck to the historical Dutch Calvinism. One by one his aristocratic friends left him; some of them to become eventually his most uncompromising enemies. He sacrificed everything—name, position, future, riches,—trusting that God would take care of him. And God did take care of him!

In 1870 he accepted the call to Amsterdam, the capital and center of Holland's religious and ecclesiastical life. Here his life-work began and here he spent his most fruitful years. Here he laid the foundations in sorrow and prayer. Here he saw the walls of the structure of Calvinism arise in a free church living up to its principles and doctrines; in a Calvinistic university, a bulwark that defied the powers of unbelief; in a Christian political daily that sounded like the voice of a clarion throughout the land. Here he saw the common people who still held to the truth flocking to his standard, recognizing the old truth in its new garment. And here it was that his enemies exerted their utmost influence to halt him in his endeavors. Having begun with ridiculing, and never ceasing to envy, they at last had to render personal tribute to his brilliant gifts.

But the fight was hard. His Calvinism, his battle for the acknowledgment of God's sovereignty in every sphere of life, brought him into the political field. On the 1st of April 1872—a notable day in the history of the Netherlands—he acquired *De Standaard*. In clear, beautiful, and picturesque language he popularized the Christian principles of his predecessor Guilleaume Groen van Prinsterer. The Christian political party grew and in 1874 sent him as her leader, to the Lower House. His energetic struggle in behalf of the rights of the Christian minority and for Christian principles in the national life, fighting single-handed against the whole House, almost killed him. His medical advisers sent him to Switzerland and Southern France. Many thought he would never come back. But, contrary to all expectation, he did return two years later with renewed

vigor; and the powers of unbelief which thought him conquered learned that the battle had just begun.

He came back just at the time when the Liberal party was endeavoring, by suppressing the private schools and forcing the parents to send their children to the god-less public schools, to rob the Christian people of their right to give their children a Christian education. This attack on the freedom of conscience was thwarted by Kuyper and the faithful men who supported him. It was the beginning of a long struggle in which the slogan was, "A free school and a free church in a free nation"; and the aim was to secure the recognition of the right of parents to decide for themselves along which religious line their children should be educated; and the main contention was that it was nothing short of heathenism to insist that children should be regarded as belonging to the state, and should be educated by the state in the state schools according to principles decided upon by the state. Kuyper maintained that since the children belong to the parents, and their education is the primary concern of the parents, therefore the school belongs to the parents. This was his strong and logical reasoning; his never resting "75m" gun in this warfare. State and church, he admitted, may exercise supervision, to see whether the school comes up to the proper standard and whether sound religion is taught; but the school is a free institution, the organ of a free society, or of parents united together in such a society. It was in this fight that Kuyper won one of his greatest successes; and at the same time the fight for the free school served as a rallying point about which he could gather his people when divisions along other lines threatened trouble.

And what a splendid success he had in this sphere! In the very month in which he died, the country celebrated the complete victory of the free and Christian school! After many a weary conflict and innumerable discussions it has at last gained equal rights with the public school in every respect; even the same financial support from government

or municipality. Now, even poor parents can without great financial sacrifice send their children to a Christian school and give them the Christian education they desire, an education in harmony with the Word of God; no longer being obliged, as they were before, to send their offspring to schools where the name of Jesus is rigorously excluded.

But, important as it was, this was not all that there was for Kuyper to do when he resumed the struggle in 1878. His keen eye had seen long ago that the Calvinistic people of the Low Countries were in the condition of the Israelites in the days of the Judges when the Philistines took out of the country all the skilled laborers able to make weapons of war. The Calvinistic forces lacked officers; the men of learning and study were on the other side. The means of higher education were in the control of the powers of unbelief. With unconquerable faith Kuyper launched the project of founding a Christian university, a university where the principles of the Word of God, as set forth in the Calvinistic faith, would permeate the instruction in order that God's glory might be proclaimed in the domain of science and the Calvinistic people might not be destitute of leadership, but have their own ministers, lawyers, doctors, judges, statesmen, journalists, and professors in the various branches of science. It is in this conflict that Kuyper, by his energetic and masterly championship of the constitutional right of a free Calvinistic university to exist and the need for the existence of such a university, silenced the ridicule and earned the esteem of friend and foe alike. After that no one denied to him the right or the ability to found a university. Calvinism took a long stride forward and Kuyper saw the first great victory of his struggle when on the 20th of October 1880, with government permission and in the presence of government officers and many high dignitaries, the Free University was opened with a service in the beautiful and famous cathedral of Amsterdam.

At this university Kuyper was the ranking professor from 1880-1901. Here his most fruitful work was done.

Here he trained an army of young men enthused by his word and by the truth into which he led them. From it there went forth through the land an army of preachers, statesmen and professors, re-organizing the church, reclaiming the state and covering the land with schools of higher Christian instruction.

It was at this period that most of his great standard works were published. Many of them first appeared in the form of a series of articles in *De Heraut,* in which weekly, as previously stated, he rescued the contents of the Reformed Confession of Faith from its oblivion, developed it and established it in the thinking of our times. Among the publications in this category we would mention such works as: *Dat de Genade particulier is* (Particular Grace) dealing with what Calvin called the *"cor ecclesiae,"* the doctrine of predestination; *Van de Verbonden* (The Covenants); *Het Werk van den Heiligen Geest* (The Work of the Holy Spirit);[1] *E voto Dordraceno* (an explanation of the Heidelberg Catechism), a work of the highest importance to students of reformed doctrine, since it contains Kuyper's theological system, based on the Standards of the Reformed Church; *De gemeene Gratie* (Common Grace), which deals with a doctrine conceived *in nucleo* by Calvin, but masterfully developed by Kuyper in three large volumes. Kuyper not only discusses this doctrine but shows also its great value for the Christian in all his relations to life. The doctrine considered is the truth that God halts the development of sin in the world at large.

In a later period again in the form of serial articles in *De Heraut* the following were published: *Pro Rege,* teaching that a Calvinist should proclaim Christ's kingship in every domain of life; *Van de Voleinding* (*The Last Things*), showing the final victory of God's kingdom through His creation of a new heavens and a new earth. When death took him he was engaged on a series of articles on *De Kerk* (The Church). It would not be difficult to

[1] Translated from the Dutch by Rev. Henri DeVries (1900).

find a consistent plan in these momentous works, revealing his organizing talent.

Among his scholarly works not published serially in *De Heraut* his famous *Encyclopaedie der Heilige Godgeleerdheid* (Encyclopaedia of Sacred Theology)[2] ranks first. It is no less than a chart on which every department of Christian theological science is laid out, and the principles of each branch enunciated. The place of Christian Theology in the cosmos of Christian thinking is shown and each branch of this Theology is also mapped out and its guiding principles defined. No student of Kuyper will fail to render the master a tribute of admiration and gratitude for this monumental work.

Kuyper did not publish a "system of Reformed doctrine" but every one who has ever seen and used the many volumes of his "notes" (i.e., his lectures on Dogmatics, as written down by his students) will have some idea of what it would have been. To the writer of this article he often expressed his wish and plan to publish a complete system of Dogmatics; but his manifold labors and especially his political activities in later years prevented his accomplishing this task.

We pass by the long list of minor works; though the several series of his *Meditations* must not be forgotten. He published more than 2000 of these meditations in *De Heraut;* and many were published without having first appeared in this paper. One series is translated into English with the title *To Be Near Unto God.* These various meditations prove that genuine Calvinism is not a concern of the mind merely, but also of the heart. It certainly was no dry intellectualism with him! What a sound and soul-refreshing mystical vein runs through these meditations! What warmth, what love, what consecration, what devoutness! Who can count the number of men and women from all classes who have drunk from these fountains and been

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[2] Translated (in part) by J. H. DeVries, and published by Scribner in 1898.

refreshed and received new courage for the way they had to go!

It was in this period (1880-1901) that the struggle for the Free Church came to a climax. In 1886 Kuyper and his associates denied to young men and women, who were avowed unbelievers, the right to partake of the Lord's Supper. These in turn appealed to Synod and the "doleantie" ensued. Hundreds of churches (congregations) broke the tie with the Synod of the State Church. This meant that they had to give up their entire church property, but as true Calvinists they did not hesitate to take the new burden of church support upon their shoulders. And it was a day of rejoicing and praise unto God when in 1891 the churches that had separated in 1834 from the State Church and those that broke away in 1886 united their forces. The Calvinistic people were from now on united in the "Reformed Churches of the Netherlands," a strong and influential body. Though some Reformed people remained in the "Hervormde Kerk" (State Church) and though the solution of the problem was not yet such as Kuyper and the Calvinists wanted, nevertheless the great ideal with which he began, viz., free churches according to the old Calvinistic model, practising their confession, exercising discipline over doctrine and life, and forming a mighty spiritual force for the Kingdom of God and the life of the nation was measurably attained. These churches have shown in many respects the blessings resulting from a sound church-life modelled upon Calvinistic principles. Again it was Kuyper who showed the way for the successful conducting of Mission-work. This work had been done before by societies, each in its own way. It was shown by him that this work belonged to the Church as an institution; and, ever since it was led into this channel in 1896 by the Synod of Middelburg, the mission work has greatly prospered. Scores of missionaries and helpers are working in well organized mission posts in the Dutch East Indies; thousands of Javanese have been received into the Church, after confessing Jesus Christ as their Savior.

Amid all his work in this period, 1880-1901, Kuyper found time to lead his Christian army day by day in the political field with his *Standaard*. And this Christian political army, though suffering its set-backs once in a while, generally went from victory to victory. As early as 1889 he had one or two of his followers in the ministry of the Queen. After a splendid victory in 1901 the Queen invited him to become Prime Minister and although he had excused himself before, he felt he could not shirk the responsibility at this time and accepted, though reluctantly.

This step marked the close of his professional career and with his removal to The Hague the period of his activities as statesman began. It is not our purpose, writing for this Review, to enlarge upon these political labors. Suffice it to say, that he was for four years premier and that in this capacity he enacted many important laws, especially laws defending the rights of the laborer and laws promoting the uplift and the Christianization of the East Indies. As premier he also brought to nought an anarchistic uprising of the railroad employees who by a general strike brought the country to the brink of revolution. Kuyper put down this revolution sternly, but without the use of force. The *Christian labor unions* were a great help to him in this and similar crises of industrial unrest. These Christian labor unions deserve closer attention. They are an organization of the Christian laborers over against the so-called neutral unions, which are in reality destructive instruments in the hand of revolutionaries. This is the case in many countries and so also it was in the Netherlands. The Christian unions defend the rights of the laborer, but also acknowledge, in accordance with Christian principles, the rights of the employer and seek to foster a spirit of understanding and cooperation between employees and employers.

Kuyper has been denounced as a sectarian because his "Antithese" led to the formation of *Christian* organizations of various kinds, but we must not forget that these Christian organizations more than once saved the country from

ruin and destruction. As late as 1918 when many European countries turned to Bolshevism and the Bolshevists in Holland, sure of their success, already openly announced the date of a general Bolshevistic revolution, it was Kuyper's "Antithese" that saved the country. But for this sharply defined "antithese," unbelief, socialism and bolshevism would rule today throughout the Low Countries. It was by putting the question of spiritual principle fair and square—"For Christ or against Christ?"—that he organized his Christian followers in every sphere and by these organizations saved not only the country, but also the church, and the Christian character of the nation. And why not? Did not Christ declare Himself to be the κρίσις? Did not God make the "antithese," when man had fallen in sin, by sending His *Light* into the *darkness,* and His *Spirit* into the realm of *Satan?*

After Kuyper was released from his duties as prime minister, he was a member of the Queen's Privy Council, and later also a member of the Lower and finally of the Upper House. He remained a member of the Upper House until shortly before his death.

Although it would seem that his many sided interests and activities in Holland would leave but little time for it, it should not be overlooked even in a sketch as brief as this, that Kuyper was quite a traveller. He used to divert his mind by taking journeys. Every summer he spent his vacation in making a trip to some of the countries of Europe. After his release from his duties as prime minister he made an extended Mediterranean trip. One of the journeys he most enjoyed was his visit to America in 1898. In that year he delivered his well known "Stone lectures" on *Calvinism* at Princeton Seminary. How he rejoiced in seeing American Calvinists; in seeing America of which he so often spoke and wrote in his works as the land where democratic Calvinism had an opportunity to show its strength in the upbuilding of a nation!

But, to return to the last period of his life which was, as

we have seen, the period of his activities as a statesman. As the years sped by and old age came, Kuyper was still active and vigorous. Unremittingly he labored through *Heraut* and *Standaard,* and many other publications in the interests of God's Kingdom. He led his people as a true shepherd, until the summer of 1920. Then his strength gradually left him. In death he showed the same characteristics as in life: firm faith and unreserved surrender. His wife had died about 25 years before. Seven children survive him; four sons and three daughters. The eldest son is a professor in the Free University; a second son is a minister of the Gospel in the Reformed Church of Rotterdam, and a third is an officer in the army.

Was Kuyper a follower of Calvin? Did he teach unmodified Calvinism? He was not a follower of Calvin if by this we mean formal imitation. He seldom quoted Calvin or any other of the Reformed theologians. He did so when it was necessary. He knew that he had grasped the fundamentals of the Reformers. But usually he drew of his own initiative from the fountain of the Word of God. He had the spirit of Calvinism; he revived Calvinism; he enriched Calvinism; he clothed Calvinism in the garment of our time; he applied Calvinism to the needs of our age. Yes, he taught a purified Calvinism.

What is Calvinism? Is it Christianity? It is, but not all Christians are Calvinists. Is it Christianity applied to every sphere of life? It is, but the early Christians also applied their Christianity to every sphere of life, still we do not call them Calvinists. Is it a life- and world-view? It is, but it is more than a *view,* it is not of the mind only but also of the heart; not a doctrine merely, but a life as well.

What is Calvinism? It is Christianity stated systematically; it is *Christianity systematized,* and systematized to the highest degree—the whole heart consecrated to God, the whole creation brought under God's sovereignty, the world within us as well as the world round about us subsumed

under one all-inclusive aim, God's glory. Or, to use that magnificent passage of St. Paul in Romans xi. 36, "For of Him and through Him and unto Him are all things. To Him be the glory for ever."

A Calvinism full of life, full of faith, full of love! Such is the Calvinism I have seen in this man.

Chicago. JAN VAN LONKHUYZEN.

REVIEWS OF RECENT LITERATURE

APOLOGETICAL THEOLOGY

Van den Eeuwigen Vrede tusschen Wetenschap en Religie. Rede uitgesproken den 26en Maart 1920 ter herdenking van den 284en geboortedag der Utrechtsche Universiteit. Door den Rector Magnificus Dr. H. VISSCHER. Utrecht: Drukkerij Universitas. 1920. 8vo., pp. 23.

Professor Visscher's Rectorale Rede. Door Dr. H. W. VAN DER VAART SMIT. Overdruk van het "Gereformeerd Theologisch Tijdschrift," 1920. Baarn: Drukkerij Oranje Nassau, R. K. v. d. Berg, 1920, 8vo., pp. 9.

It is a somewhat exigent position in which a theologian finds himself, when, as Rector Magnificus of a great University, he faces "the four faculties" for the purpose of delivering to them his Rectoral Address. There are many points of view represented among his hearers; and some of them are quite intolerant of anything which he, as a theologian, may have to bring before them. In his Rectoral Address Professor Visscher has chosen the rôle of peace-maker. Looking out upon a hard-bestead world, he bespeaks the coöperation of all in the pressing task of saving Western civilization from the dissolution with which he appears to think it threatened.

Professor Visscher seems fairly to groan within himself as he surveys the social unrest of the day. The times are out of joint. The whole world is suffering from a one-sidedness of development which has destroyed the spiritual equilibrium,—and is not harmonious growth the condition of social health? True, progress has hitherto been made, not on a straight line of advance, but as a ship tacks back and forth in its course. But the leg of *Diesseitigkeit* on which the social ship in our Western world is now sailing seems to Professor Visscher an inordinately long one; and he trembles lest it should prove that the ship has lost its bearings and may never get back on the balancing tack of *Jenseitigkeit*. Indeed, he does not wish it to do just this. The leg of *Jenseitigkeit* is itself only a tack. He wishes the ship to cease all tacking and sail straight onward, in the teeth of whatever wind, directly to its goal.

Why should not science and religion, for example, live in harmony, each contributing its part to the spiritual health of mankind? Each has its own sphere, and each has only to keep its own place and the harmony is complete. And surely their harmonious co-working is a clamant duty of the times. "For the salvation of Western humanity there rests on science and religion the most pressing call to work in

harmony for the regeneration of civilization. Science has the task of subjecting nature to the sceptre of reason, in order thus to make it ancillary to the full development of human life. But because of its very nature, it is unable of itself to bring about this ripe result. The happiness of the peoples is not the product of it alone. Quite the contrary. It is social health alone that secures the happiness of the people. And it is religion, which sheds the light of eternity on human life, that is the wellspring of moral strength. Science and religion are the two spiritual powers which in harmonious co-operation can save the peoples of civilization. Or is it possible to save them? If the social movement continues to refuse to take the factor of religion up into itself, the destruction of our civilization is certain, and science, too, will go down in the common ruin."

It is under the impression of so great a need, and with so high a purpose in view, that Professor Visscher undertakes the discussion of the relations of science and religion. He is at bottom pleading for the right of religion to a part in the social development of the day. This plea, however, takes the form of an attempt to show that science, properly conceived and properly presented, cannot possibly invade the field of religion, nor religion the field of science. Thus the discussion becomes formally a discussion of the relations of science and religion; and much is very richly and much is very wisely said of the relations of these two spiritual forces to one another as they have actually wrought in the life of mankind. The discussion suffers somewhat, however, from a vacillation in the use of the terms, which it would be no doubt difficult to avoid in any case with terms so loose and general—too loose and general to lend themselves to exact discriminations. It is so managed moreover that it seems at times on the point of becoming a discussion of the relations between knowledge and faith, if not between intellect and feeling. It is too obvious to require argument, however, that we cannot out of hand identify, on the one hand, intellect, knowledge and science, and, on the other, emotion, faith and religion. Both science and religion are products of the human spirit and the human spirit does not function thus in sections. It is, however, the attempt to bring into comparison precisely these two things, "science and religion," that works the most mischief. We might bring, say, research and religion into relation, or "science" in some narrowed sense, and theology; but "science" in the narrowed sense in which Professor Visscher understands that term and "religion" in the purely subjective sense which Professor Visscher strangely puts upon "religion," move in such different spheres that they are unrelatable—there is no *tertium comparationis* between things so disparate. You might as well talk of instituting relations between the planet Neptune and the League of Nations.

We have noted that Professor Visscher narrows the conception of "science" for the purpose of his discussion. By it he means merely physical science. But physical science is far from being all the science

there is. There is, for example, as we have suggested, theology. Theology is as truly a science as physical science; it is as truly a product of the intellect; it deals as truly with facts; it is as truly a knowledge. It is theology, the science, not religion, the life, which should be set in comparison with physical science. The thrusting of "religion," so understood, into its place has the effect of depriving it of—or at least of obscuring—its fact-content. Of "religion" it may be possible to say—what could not be said of theology—that it is only a manner—perhaps only an emotional manner—of looking at facts with which as facts "science" alone has to do, so that "science" and "religion" cannot possibly come into conflict. It is "science" alone which determines facts while it is the sole function of "religion" to suffuse these facts, given to it by "science," with a glow of transcendental emotion. It is a melancholy page which Professor Visscher writes under the influence of this point of view, when he attempts to illustrate it by examples. Had he drawn his examples from natural religion his mistake might have been less glaring. But he draws his examples from revealed religion. The effect is that he seems to require Christianity to surrender to natural science —for it is of "natural science" alone that he speaks—all question of facts, while it confines itself to a "valuation of them in relation with God." This appears to abolish all supernaturalism from the fact-basis and fact-content of Christianity. For the "science" to which is assigned the determination of the facts which will be allowed actually to have occurred, is defined not only as a science which cannot know anything of God—for whom it has no organ—but a science which can take cognizance of nothing which does not proceed mechanically.

The actual examples considered are drawn from the creation of the world, miracles, answers to prayer, the resurrection of Christ. Of the creation of the world we are simply told that science which knows nothing of origins and confines itself to the phenomena lying before it, has nothing to do with it. We gather, however, that neither has Revelation. It is a mistake to read the creation narrative as a statement of fact: it merely gives expression to the purely religious valuation (*waardeering*) of the cosmos. For the rest, we prefer to transcribe Professor Visscher's own words. "Lessing," he says, "declared that 'miracle is faith's most darling child.' And are not science and miracle in conflict? In point of fact science recognizes no miracle. But that does not yet bring it into conflict with religion. Because the chemist subjects bread to exact analysis,—does that prevent the pious man from receiving his food from God's hand? Necessity teaches man to pray and to the petitioner the deliverance comes as an answer to his prayer. Does this forbid a scientific explanation of the occurrence? But let us come to the most critical matter of all. The Crucified One is proclaimed as risen from the grave. Is there any place for resurrection in exact science? Whenever it shall be brought before it as a phenomenon. Not before. And then it will have to investigate it as a physiological problem. But it is precisely here that the difference

comes clearly to view. In the world-order of religion, life and death are not conceived as physiological processes, but are religious-ethical values (*waarden*). The resurrection is for religion an element in the great regenerative process which, by God's creative act, is producing out of this world-order a new heaven and a new earth."

Despite the reassuring tone of its closing words, the reader may be pardoned if he receives from this paragraph a very unpleasant impression. There is an appearance at least that the actual occurrence of strictly miraculous events in the foundation of Christianity is denied. Miracles and providential answers to prayer seem to be brought into the same category. The one, as the other, appear to be conceived at best as the product of the concursive action of God; at worst, as only a subjective way of looking at facts wholly "natural" alike in their nature and in the mode of their production. And what shall we say of the manner in which the resurrection of Christ is dealt with? "Science," we are told, can have nothing to do with it until it is presented to it as a "phenomenon." Is it not precisely as a phenomenon that it lies in the sight of all men—an occurrence in space and time verified by the senses? And has not even the "physiological problem" been adequately determined? Has it not been established on unexceptionable observation that the resurrection body, like that which was laid in the grave, was a body of flesh and bones? When now it is immediately added that life and death are not conceived in the religious world-order as physiological processes, but as religious-ethical values, can we escape a distressed feeling that religion—precisely the Christian religion—is in danger of being politely bowed out of the world of fact? Precisely what characterizes Christianity, however, among the religions, is that it is a "historical religion," that is, a religion whose facts are its doctrines; which does not consist in a "tone of feeling," a way of looking at things—as for example the perception of a Father's hand in all the chances and changes of life,—but has to tell of a series of great redemptive acts in which God the Lord has actually intervened in the complex of nature and the stream of history in a definitely supernatural manner. If these facts are denied as actual occurrences in time and space, Christianity is denied; if they are neglected, Christianity is neglected. Christianity is dismissed from the world of reality, and evaporated into a sentiment,—"an iridescent dream."

We have no wish to be read as asserting that Professor Visscher intends to deny, or is ready to neglect, the series of great redemptive acts of definitely supernatural character, which are constitutive of Christianity. We are only pointing out that an impression to that effect is inevitably created by the sharp contrast in which he places science as the only organ of objective reality and religion as moving in a purely subjective sphere. Whatever may be said of religion as a general world-phenomenon, native to the spirit of man, that religion which is Christianity is inseparably bound up with its "facts," and

stands or falls with their objective reality. Any science which leaves no place for these facts, as such, is not neutral but antagonistic to Christianity; and between that science and this religion there must be not eternal peace but eternal war. Professor Visscher apparently supposes that he escapes this result by so defining science as to exclude facts of supernatural origin from its ken. Facts of supernatural origin, however, are not different in nature from other facts. There is no reason to suppose that the chemical composition of the wine made at Cana or the physical properties of the loaves and fishes with which our Lord fed the multitudes—or of his resurrection body, for that matter—differed from those of "natural" wine and bread and bodies. If facts like these have actually occurred in time and space, they necessarily come under the scrutiny of that science whose function is to give an account of phenomena. Professor Visscher seems, however, to have made a mode of escape for himself,—by confining the function of science to pure description. He tells us, it is true, that the knowledge for which this science seeks is a knowledge of relations, and he even declares with some formality that "its object can be nothing else than the world, as it presents itself as a system of relations to the knowing subject." When we say relations, however, we have already said metaphysics; and if among the relations determined there is included not merely that of antecedence and consequence, but of cause, we are already embarked on an inquiry which cannot stop short of origins. Professor Visscher tells us, however, not only that everything which exists behind phenomena lies beyond the sphere of his science, but that this science must repel the conception of a supernatural, mystical, non-mechanical factor and confine itself to the world in which "everything proceeds mechanically." If he really means us to understand the science with which he deals after this fashion,—as strictly limited to the world of mechanical causation, of which it undertakes nothing more than a descriptive account,—it may not be impossible to contend that its failure to take cognizance of the supernatural facts constitutive of Christianity in no way dismisses them from objective reality. It may be the result merely of the limitations of a purely descriptive science which does not take cognizance, even descriptively, of the whole field of objective reality, but only of that portion of this field which is governed by mechanical necessity. In this case it might be true enough that "all the results of this exact science are consistent with religion," because the world of religion "is a different and a wider world than the system of relations which exact science," so conceived, "builds up with immense labor." An eternal peace may well be declared between the two, bought not at the cost of religion—the fact-content of Christianity—but at the cost of science.

Whether this limited conception of science, as seeking only a descriptive account of mechanical reality, can be maintained is another

question. Certainly, in any case, the science with which Professor Visscher proclaims religion to be eternally at peace, has never, whether in the limitations which he puts upon it, or in the perfection which he ascribes to its deliverances, existed on sea or land. He is not unaware of course of the subjective side of science; but he appears to neglect it in the prosecution of his discussion, and to identify the science of which he speaks with the objective system of realities itself, which he apparently imagines to be perfectly reflected in the human intellect. Thus he seems to think of science as the pure product of the pure intellect of a pure humanity working purely. We shall get no such science as that until the world of reality is reflected in the consciousness of the perfected humanity of the completed palingenesis. The science and religion of perfected humanity will of course be in harmony. What we have in the meantime, however, is only the distorted reflection of reality in warped intellects, dimmed by imperfections and clouded by prepossessions. Could we listen directly to the teaching of that "beautiful Maiden bearing the torch of enlightenment," to whom Professor Visscher introduces us, we should of course yield to it instant and complete obedience. But this "calm-eyed Science" is not to be encountered in the Market-place, and is not to be met with in the Rialto. She speaks to us only in the voices of her servants, and each of them has his own—well, say personal equation. After all is said, the voices of the scientists are not the voice of Science. And no inability which religion—the Christian religion—may show to live in peace with the one can argue disharmony with the other. No more here than elsewhere can millennial conditions be anticipated. There is no conflict between Science and Religion: they are not only, as Professor Visscher declares, two expressions of our spiritual life, but two revelations of God. But conflict between science and religion will continue so long as we toil and moil in the present distress; they are only expressions of our spiritual life, and in these days of our tribulation our spiritual life is faulty in all its expressions. It is only when that which is perfect is come, that here too imperfection shall put on perfection.

There is no help for it, then: science and religion must just strive together until both the one and the other lie perfect in the minds of the perfected. Principially, there is no conflict between them: actually, the conflict is without cessation. There is no menace in this struggle. What would be ominous would be if the struggle should cease, especially if it should cease through either one or the other losing heart or selling its soul for a patched-up peace. We take it that the gist of Professor Visscher's address is to call on religion to recognize science's right to exist, to call on science to recognize religion's right to exist. If we may so read it, we shall all heartily echo the call. Of course neither will wait for the permission of the other to exist. Whether we accord them permission or not, both exist side by side, not only in the social organism, but in every man's own soul. The problem is

their adjustment to one another. In the soul of the individual and in the community of mankind alike, the adjustment can be attained only through conflict. As they wrestle together each is more and more purified and perfected; each grows ever stronger. Now the one may seem to get the advantage; now the other. But through the struggle both push steadily onward. The advance is a zig-zag progress, but it is ever advance. At the end lies the goal; the goal, not of one but of both; then the struggle ceases because both emerge from it perfect. Science too is a builder in the Kingdom of God, and along with religion advances its coming. No less truly than religion itself, it is a Son of God, and works as He has taught it how.

It is not surprising that the ambiguities of Professor Visscher's treatment of his theme have caused distress to those who have been accustomed to look to him for guidance and support. Acute expression is given to this distress in the remarks on the address by Dr. van der Vaart Smit. As he reads it, it dismisses from Christianity the whole element of direct supernaturalism. We cannot deny that there is far too much color of justification for such an interpretation of it. It is true, moreover, that Professor Visscher seems to impose on himself with the phrase "exact science," that he conceives too narrowly of science as purely "materialistic-mechanistic," that he has forgotten theology in his absorption with "religion." Still we hope that the intended meaning of the address is not that which Dr. Smit finds in it. Professor Karl Heim contributed to the *Studies on Systematic Theology* presented a year or two ago to Theodor von Haering, on his seventieth birthday, a very interesting sketch of the history of the doctrine of "The Double Truth." In it he tells the story of a young instructor in the University of Paris, in 1247, John Brescain by name, who, holding a professorship alike in the Faculty of Arts and the Faculty of Theology, thought it right to teach Averroism in the one, with its denial of individual immortality and the resurrection, and Christianity in the other, with its affirmation of both. His case proved not to be singular: a whole party developed itself at the University of Paris, which declared that such things were true *secundum fidem catholicam* but not *secundum philosophiam*,—as if, says the Episcopal Rescript, *sunt duae contrariae veritates*. We are not insinuating that Professor Visscher holds to the doctrine of "the double truth," or lives under its shadow; but we think that the state of mind in the University of Paris in the thirteenth century may afford us a not unsuggestive parallel to such a complete disassociation of science and religion as Professor Visscher seems to wish to carry through.

Princeton. BENJAMIN B. WARFIELD.

Do the Dead Still Live? or *The Testimony of Science Respecting a Future Life.* New Foundations for Man's Great Hope. With Introduction by Bishop Samuel Fallows. By DAVID HEAGLE, PH.D., D.D., Author of "The Tabernacle in the Wilderness," "That

Blessed Hope," "The Lord God of Elijah," "Moral Education," Translator of "The Bremen Lectures,' etc., 8vo; pp. xiv., 203. Philadelphia: The Judson Press, Boston, Los Angeles, Chicago, Kansas City, St. Louis, Seattle, New York, Toronto. 1920.

This is a remarkable book. It is remarkable in two respects. First, because of the comprehensiveness of its aim. "Doctor Heagle has undertaken to present the entire argument in favor of human immortality as such argumnt can be drawn from all possible sources; that is, from science, philosophy and religion." Second, because of the success with which it realizes this aim. While, as must at once appear inevitable in the case of a work so comprehensive, no individual argument is adequately criticized or even described, still, the relation of the manifold proofs to each other and to the argument as a whole is so well presented, and the cumulative effect of the entire train of reasoning is urged with so much moderation and force that, in the case of all who are constrained by evidence, the result can scarcely be other than conviction.

If Doctor Heagle's discussion has a defect other than that just alluded to as inseparable from a plan so comprehensive as his, it is his occasional tendency to overestimate somewhat the testimony of science to immortality. He would regard that testimony, especially in such sciences as physics and psychology, as distinctly and emphatically positive. To the reviewer, however, it seems that the most modern and exact science, while it does not pretend to produce any disproof of immortality, does not assume either to give any proof of it. Indeed, he would adopt the cautious language of perhaps the most distinguished of American biologists, Prof. E. D. Cope, Ph.D. (vid. *Independent,* Apl. 2, 1896, p. 8) who, though he found it difficult to conceive of life apart from matter, nevertheless, testified as follows: "From the standpoint of science there is no conclusive evidence of the truth or of the falsity of the doctrine of immortality. It must, consequently, be dealt with as an unverified hypothesis, but with the presumption on its side."

The strongest arguments for immortality, we venture to believe, may be drawn from philosophy and religion; and the absolute proof of it, as our author agrees, is the resurrection of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, who has "brought life and immortality to light through his Gospel."

Princeton. WILLIAM BRENTON GREENE, JR.

God Unknown. A Study of the Address of St. Paul at Athens. By CHARLES SEARS BALDWIN. 8vo., pp. 61. Milwaukee: Morehouse Publishing Co. London: A. R. Mowbray & Co. 1920.

This book interprets "the great speech of St. Paul at Athens in terms of the ideas about religion most familiar to college students today." It has been developed from addresses at Columbia and Indiana Universities. It is brilliantly written, full of striking phrases and yet more striking thoughts.

The trend of these papers is indicated in the closing paragraph. "So the Christian apostle, looking at the sculpture and remembering the literature of Athens, discerned the whole peril of idols in the light of the incarnation. Men must not embody God; for God has embodied man. They must not rest in symbols of the divine nature; for God has taken our human nature. They must not feed on fancies; they must feed on the Christ. Can Christianity give them less than the Christ without peril of erecting one more altar TO GOD UNKNOWN? If what I find is after all only myself, I must eat my own heart."

In a word, if we would know God, we must take Christ himself as our life. As he himself said, "He that hath seen me hath seen the Father" (John xiv. 9); for "I and the Father are one" (John x. 30).

Princeton. WILLIAM BRENTON GREENE, JR.

The Truth of Christianity, being an Examination of the more Important Arguments For and Against Believing in that Religion, Compiled from Various Sources by LT. COL. W. H. TURTON, D.S.O., Late Royal Engineers. Ninth Edition, Fortieth Thousand (carefully revised throughout) 8vo; pp. viii., 515. London: Wells Gardner, Darton & Co., Ltd., 3 and 4 Paternoster Building, E. C. and 44 Victoria Street, S. W. 1919.

The almost unique popularity of Colonel Turton's vindication of the Christian religion is due to its freedom from all technical terms, its clear strong fascinating style, its admirable presentation of the external evidences of Christianity, and particularly the author's modesty in always claiming less for an argument than it has established.

As this book has already been noticed four times by us; viz., in Vol. V., p. 486; Vol. VIII., p. 119; Vol. IX., p. 476; and Vol. XIII., p. 287; and as it has been reviewed by us at length and with much attention to detail in *The Presbyterian and Reformed Review,* the immediate predecessor of *The Princeton Theological Review,* Vol. XI., p. 690, further criticism of it at this time by us does not seem to be called for. We would merely remark:

1. The revisions referred to on the title page have been real revisions and have been wise revisions. For example, the ninth edition is shorter than the eighth by 121 pages.

2. While we regret more than ever the Arminian standpoint of the whole discussion, we reiterate our original judgment that in Col. Turton's volume we have our best handbook of the Evidences of Christianity.

3. We have reason for great gratitude that there should have appeared "at such a time as this" a book so well qualified to meet the doubts and to answer the questionings of a world dazed by the war. Every effort should be made to circulate it.

Princeton. WILLIAM BRENTON GREENE, JR.

Pantheistic Dilemmas and Other Essays in Philosophy and Religion. By HENRY C. SHELDON, Professor in Boston University. 8vo, pp.

358. The Methodist Book Concern: New York, Cincinnati. 1920. Seldom has the reviewer read a book which has pleased him so much as this volume of essays. Without exception, they are clear, keen, just, sound, and stimulating. In these days of philosophical madness and shallowness, Boston University is to be congratulated on having such a teacher of philosophy.

The titles of the essays are as follows: "Pantheistic Dilemmas," "A Study in the Philosophy styled Pragmatism," "Prominent Features in the Philosophy of Henri Bergson," "The Notion of a Changing God," "Attempts to Dispense with the Soul," "Doctrinal Values Contributed by the Reformation," "John Henry Newman as Roman Catholic Apologist," "The Truth and the Error of Mysticism," "Bahaism Historically and Critically Considered." An excellent "Index" completes and adds much to the book. Were he disposed to dissent, the reviewer would do so only with regard to the essay on "The Notion of a Changing God." This is one of the best of these nine admirable papers. It is, perhaps, the one in which the reviewer is in closest sympathy with the writer. Yet he questions whether the writer can reach his excellent conclusion from his Arminian standpoint; and that, too, though he defines his standpoint more carefully and promisingly than the reviewer has ever heard it defined.

Princeton. WILLIAM BRENTON GREENE, JR.

Creation Ex Nihilo, The Physical Universe a Finite and Temporal Entity. By L. FRANKLIN GRUBER. With a Foreword by G. Frederick Wright, LL.D., F.G.S.A. 8vo, pp. 315. Boston: The Gorham Press. 1918.

It is the praiseworthy aim of this somewhat abstruse book to prove, that the universe must be finite; that, consequently, it must have been created; and that, therefore, there must be a God. The argument is mathematical and so should be demonstrative. Not all will be able to follow it, but it should be well worth while for all to try to do so.

Princeton. WILLIAM BRENTON GREENE, JR.

EXEGETICAL THEOLOGY

Breve Introducción a la Crítica Textual del A. T. por A. FERNÁNDEZ TRUYOLS, S.I., Prof. en il P. I. B. Roma. Pontífico Instituto Bíblico. 1917. Fasc. I, xii, 218. 1 Sam. i-xv; id. Fasc. II, viii, 93.

These are the first two fascicles of a series of studies on textual and literary criticism (*Estudios de Crítica Textual y Literaria*) by the same author. The first part gives a general introduction to Textual Criticism showing its importance and necessity and the cautions which it is proper to observe in the exercise of our citicism of the *textus receptus*. He adopts the four cautions of Houbigant, to-wit: (1) that emandations should not be introduced into the body of the text; (2) that they should not be more than necessity requires (*cogit*);

(3) that no one should attempt to undertake sacred criticism unless he shall have inspected diligently the nature (*indolem*) of the Hebrew language; and (4) no one should take upon himself the correction of the sacred text unless he shall have sufficiently diligently learned not only the Hebrew language but also other languages cognate to the Hebrew (*ex Hebraica natas*). He then informs us as to the actual condition of the Massoretic text, treating of the old disputes between the catholics and protestants as to its integrity and worth; and then passes on to a consideration of the voluntary or intentional variation as illustrated especially by the text of Jeremiah, Proverbs, and 1 Sam. i-xv. He then proceeds to discuss certain alterations due to the carelessness or ignorance of the copyists, treating of the division of words as found on the inscriptions and papyri, of the manner in which numbers were denoted in ancient Hebrew documents and of the language and script in which the Scriptures were written, paying especial attention to Dr. Naville's theory. Lastly, he considers the corrections of the scribes.

From the study of the condition of the text, he passes to the means to be used for the restoration of the original text. Among the external means, he considers the Hebrew manuscripts and the Samaritan Hebrew text and then treats of the Greek versions, the Vetus Latina, and the Peshitto. Among the internal means, he glances at the use of the context and of parallel passages and dwells upon the use of poetic parallelism and of the strophe in reëstablishing the text. Last of all, he states the principles which are to guide us in our conduct of textual criticism citing at length from Houbigant, de Rossi, Cappellus and Steurnagel.

In the second fascicle, we have a textual criticism of 1 Sam. i-xv, constituting on the whole an able and fair execution of the principles enumerated in fascicle one. We cannot at present criticize the author's work in full. In i. 5, however, we think that while the Aramaic Targums and the Peshitto, and the margin of Codex X of the LXX are doubtless explanations of the Massoretic text and the Greek LXX a translation of אפם it seems equally probable that the Latin *tristis* depends upon a reading אכם (compare the Targum of Job iii:28 where the Latin renders קדר by *moerens*).

We cannot better express the point of view of the author than by translating the concluding paragraph of fascicle one where he says: "We conclude by repeating that which we said at the beginning, that a prudent reserve in judging, modesty in propounding (changes and) a wise lack of confidence in oneself, will save the critic many slips, will be a salutary restraint in the slipping declivity on which he moves, and will contribute not a little to that which unrolls itself in that maturity of judgment, that intellectual moderation, a thousand times preferable to the ingenious and frequently strange ingenuities of a brilliant and subtle talent."

Princeton. R. D. Wilson.

The Beginnings of Christianity. Part I. The Acts of the Apostles. Edited by F. J. Foakes Jackson, D.D., and Kirsopp Lake, D.D. Vol. I. Prolegomena I. The Jewish, Gentile and Christian Backgrounds. Macmillan & Co., Limited. St. Martin's Street, London. 1920. Pp. i-xi, 1-480. Price 18s net.

In issuing the first volume of a comprehensive treatise on the beginnings of Christianity the publishers announce their intention of continuing "the work begun by the late Bishop Lightfoot in editing Christian documents historically as well as critically." The present volume is the first of three on the Acts of the Apostles. The first two of these will treat questions belonging to Prolegomena; the third will contain the text and commentary. The entire series is planned to extend to the time when the Church was officially recognized by the Roman Empire. The editorial supervision of the series has been committed to F. J. Foakes Jackson and Kirsopp Lake who are to be assisted, as at present announced, by scholars such as Professor Burkitt and Mr. W. K. L. Clarke of Cambridge; Mr. Claude Montefiore, Canon Box, and Mr. Cyril Emmet of Oxford; Professor Duckworth of Trinity College, Toronto, Canada; Professors Wensink and Windisch of Leiden; Professor J. de Zwaan of Groningen; President McGiffert of Union Theological Seminary, New York; Professor C. C. Torrey of Yale; and Professors George Foot Moore, James Hardy Ropes, and Clifford H. Moore of Harvard.

The series is broadly conceived, its theme is of very great importance not only for Christian history but for Christian faith, its command of contemporary scholarship is ample. It will however be a composite work and cannot attain the unity of Lightfoot's work except in the very general sense in which editorial supervision and choice of associates may secure agreement in method and point of view. That the editors will be successful in carrying forward Lightfoot's work in a manner worthy of his scholarly standards need not be doubted; but it is equally certain that they will approach and treat their subject from a point of view and determined in their interpretation of Christian history by principles different from and opposed to those which characterize the work of Lightfoot. This the editors would no doubt be ready to admit and to justify. Nevertheless in a work which continues that of another the fact of this difference should be clearly stated and the reasons for it set forth rather than left to inference from the work itself or from the point of view of the editors or contributors as elsewhere disclosed.

The point of view of the editors is indicated in the Preface and finds more detailed expression in the concluding section on Primitive Christianity. From the Preface it appears that the general solution of the Synoptic problem by modern scholarship is to be made the instrument of historical interpretation by which the growth of thought and the rise of institutions will be traced. From such an intepretation the editors believe that "it is becoming increasingly certain that

Christianity in the first century achieved a synthesis between the Greco-Oriental and the Jewish religions in the Roman Empire. The preaching of repentance, and of the Kingdom of God begun by Jesus passed into the sacramental cult of the Lord Jesus Christ." It is the purpose of the editors to trace and elucidate this process.

In the section on the Jewish World the background of this synthetic process in the Jewish History of the Roman period is outlined by the editors. The spirit of Judaism is then presented in sympathetic and appreciative treatment by C. G. Montefiore, whose portrayal of the finer aspects of Rabbinical teaching and practice does not entirely dispel the impression that other features less in conformity with the author's own standards and interest may perhaps be needed to complete the picture. Certainly the tone of the discussion by the editors in the following chapter on the varieties of thought and practice in Judaism is more detached, as is the case also in the chapter on the Dispersion. The section which follows on the Gentile World contains an admirable treatment of the Roman provincial system by H. T. F. Duckworth and a very good, though somewhat brief account of life in the Roman Empire at the beginning of the Christian era by Clifford H. Moore. The two sections thus present in English material that is to be found in similar, and in some respects more comprehensive, form in Paul Wendland's *Die hellenistisch-römische Kultur*, 2, u. 3. Aufl., 1912. The appendices elucidate in fuller detail some of the subjects treated in these sections; the Zealots, by the editors who connect the origin of this party not with Judas of Galilee and not with the Sicarii but with John of Gischala in 66 A. D.; a brilliantly written and completely effective philological reply by George Foot Moore to the radical argument based on the usage of the adjective Nazarene and the noun Nazareth; a translation from the German of Berendts' rendering of the passage concerning Jesus in the Slavonic text of the Wars of Josephus; the difference in legal interpretation between Pharisees and Sadducees, by the editors; and finally, an able and informing treatment of the Am ha-ares and the Haberim by George Foot Moore.

But all this is background. It is set forth as the background of primitive Christianity. Its importance and interest therefore center in the third section in which, with the exception of a short passage on the meaning of *Christos* in the Old Testament and in Jewish literature by George Foot Moore (pp. 346-362), the editors present their conception of Christianity in its historical beginnings and early growth. In order to ascertain the nature of primitive Christian faith and test the validity of the ground upon which it rested it is necessary to examine the documentary sources which witness both to this faith and to its ground. With the details of such an investigation the editors are not here concerned but proceed upon the basis of certain results in the sphere both of the literary and of the historical criticism of the Gospels which in their judgment are well grounded. These results in the sphere of the literary criticism of the Synoptic Gospels correspond

with the conclusions of the two-document hypothesis in its broader aspects, according to which the principal literary sources underlying and embodied in the Synoptic Gospels are the Gospel of Mark and Q—a hypothetical source composed chiefly of discourse material common to Matthew and Luke. The editors do not present a construction of Q nor do they indicate just what construction they adopt, though they do express the opinion that a construction based upon material common to Matthew and Luke but not in Mark is over-mechanical and that, where Matthew and Luke reveal verbal differences, these parts of Q have the best claim to authority as the difference is probably indicative of an Aramaic tradition behind the Greek (p. 331). It does not appear clearly whether the editors think of an Aramaic original of Q or of a multiplicity of Aramaic sources lying back of both Q and Mark, but they do conceive of our Synoptic Gospels as the work of editors who were influenced strongly by the ideas of Greek speaking Gentile Christians. Mark is said to be "far more a primary authority for the thought of the Apostolic Age than for the life of Jesus" (p. 268). Of Q it is said: "It is impossible to reconstruct it mechanically, and it is a mistake to attribute a so-called objective value to what is after all the result of subjective criticism. It is equally unsatisfactory to treat with veneration the coincidence of Matthew and Luke. We do not know, and probably we never shall know, whether they used one document or several in common, nor do we know with certainty whether Matthew had seen Luke or Luke had seen Matthew. Late as well as early sources may have been used in common by them, and therefore it is well to remember that much subjective criticism is necessary in dealing with Matthew and Luke" (p. 268). The editors are also of the opinion that the Gospels were not written to give information about Jesus but to confirm the opinions of Gentile Christians. Trustworthy information about Jesus is therefore thought to be scanty "for we can never with certainty reach behind the Gospels to the mind of Jesus himself, nor can we be sure that they always interpreted him correctly" (p. 400). Yet something may be learned about his teaching concerning the Kingdom of God, but less concerning his own attitude toward an element so central in the faith of the Gentile Christians as belief in his Messiahship. Jesus, we are told, "seems to have referred openly to the coming of the Son of Man, though the extent to which he did so is an obscure problem, but he clearly did not openly identify himself with this Son of Man. The disciples undoubtedly made this identification, and possibly Jesus may have done so himself in private, but no passage in which his use of the title Son of Man is beyond critical doubt would be interpreted as claiming the name for himself unless the secret of his Messiahship were already known. The same thing is true of the identification of Jesus with the Davidic Messiah. This was the belief of the disciples; it may have been, but probably was not, the belief of Jesus: it was not part of his 'gospel,' though it was the centre of theirs" (p. 283, cf. p. 366). It thus appears that the

opinions which the Gospels were written to justify were, in the opinion of the editors, incorrect opinions. The trustworthiness also of the principal source of our knowledge of the history of the early Christian community in Jerusalem, the Acts of the Apostles, is thought to be seriously impaired by its omission of "a complete episode beginning and ending in Jerusalem" (p. 301). This episode is the flight of the disciples at the moment of Jesus' arrest and the occurrence of the first appearance of Jesus to them—especially Peter's vision—in Galilee. The episode however is only constructed by inference from Mark and does not possess the certainty of historical fact with which it is clothed in the opinion of the editors.

The discussion by the editors of baptism and of the growth of early Christology is instructive but is determined throughout by the principles which characterize their treatment of the sources. In commenting on the title "Son" in Q (Matt. xi. 27; Lk. x. 22) and in Mark xiii. 32, the editors remark: "Neither of these passages can be taken as representing the earliest tradition. They serve rather as a warning to remember that the Gospels as we have them are Greek. It would be a literary miracle if they contained no traces of Greek Christian thought. To criticise them in the light of this fact is "subjective," but to regard a refusal to do so as "objective" is the verbal decoration of a process which is in reality merely mechanical. Subjective methods in such cases may give wrong results; mechanical ones will certainly do so. The compilers of the Gospels were assuredly subjective, and criticism, which is, after all, merely the attempt to reverse the process of compilation, must follow the same method" (p. 396). Evidently the editors feel as their discussion draws to a close that a method which places little or no restriction on freedom of opinion in the sphere of history needs some justification. Concerning the adequacy of the justification opinions will differ. Concerning the results of the method it is apparent from the conclusions of the editors that their conception and portrayal of the reality underlying and giving vitality to primitive Christian faith is very different from the conception and portrayal of this reality in the Gospels. If the Gospels do no more than reflect and seek to justify primitive Christian faith—or if they reflect only the opinion of the Gentile Christians concerning the ground of their faith—even subjective criticism might reasonably proceed upon the presumption of intelligence and honesty on the part of their authors or editors at least until such a hypothesis proved to be untenable. But such an approach to the criticism of the Gospels can be made and followed only from a theistic standpoint and the hypothesis can be entertained only by a criticism which does not reject on *a priori* grounds the supernaturalism which underlies and is built into the Gospel account of the beginnings of the Christian faith.

Princeton. WILLIAM P. ARMSTRONG.

HISTORICAL THEOLOGY

The Great Awakening in the Middle Colonies. By CHARLES HARTSHORN MAXSON, Assistant Professor of Political Science in the University of Pennsylvania. The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, Illinois. 1920. 8vo., pp. vii, 158. Price $1.25 net; $1.40 postpaid.

"The Great Awakening has sometimes been represented as a tempest of ungoverned passions that swept over the colonies, leaving wreckage everywhere in the alienations and divisions in families, neighborhoods, and churches, the undermining of cherished institutions, and a relapse into indifference, debauchery, and irreligion. An impartial study of the period, however, free from partisan and denominational bias, leads to a very different conclusion. It is that thousands and thousands were given by the Great Awakening a new view of life's values, and from this view were derived new energies and new sympathies which gave direction not only to the subsequent career of these thousands but to the development of the whole American people. It was more than a wave on wave of excitement; it was a transforming process in the nation's life."

This is the author's concluding estimate (p. 139) of the epoch-making event called the Great Awakening, the development of which in the Middle Colonies he has made it his task in this compact volume to trace and characterize. The literature bearing on the general theme has grown to large proportions, as may be seen in the excellent bibliography given on pages 152 to 158; but the number of works treating the movement in a comprehensive manner is lamentably small, considering the importance of the subject. The monograph before us is welcomed, therefore, as an attempt to supplement the works of reference in this field by presenting in systematic form, and under the guidance of a critical and judicial spirit, the salient facts in regard to the Great Awakening in the Middle Colonies; and we may at once add that Professor Maxson has made a worthy contribution to our knowledge of the greatest event in the history of American Christianity.

As the author intimates in the Preface, he aims in this work to present a sort of companion volume to that furnished in 1842 by Joseph Tracy with special reference to the Great Awakening in New England,—a book that even at this late day has no superior in its own province, and that richly deserves to be republished in a revised edition. In view of this purpose, few references are made to the revival in New England. On the other hand, generous space is given to the relation of the movement in the Middle Colonies to its extension southward, both "because that relation was very close, and because there is no account of the revival in the South like that of Tracy for New England."

The author is to be commended for his diligence in searching for new sources of material bearing on his theme as well as for his independent and painstaking study of those made familiar by his prede-

cessors in this field; and he is specially to be congratulated on his success in exploiting the hitherto too much neglected contemporary newspapers. His notes reveal the rich rewards of his digging into the extensive *Ecclesiastical Records of New York,* the (manuscript) Minutes of the Presbytery of New Brunswick, the invaluable Sprague Collection in the Princeton Seminary Library, and the varied treasures of the Presbyterian Historical Society in Philadelphia. The work is based throughout on a firsthand use of the sources, and whatever deductions from, or modifications of, the writer's conclusions one may feel it necessary or desirable to make, or whatever additions to the discussions one might have wished, all readers will be ready to acknowledge a debt of gratitude to the author for his careful gathering of these data and for his skillful guidance in the study of the numerous fugitive tracts as well as the large secondary literature dealing with this subject.

The quotation with which we began this review reveals with sufficient clearness Prof. Maxson's general conception of the Great Awakening. He uses the term in a broad sense to include the entire succession of the religious revivals in the colonies, beginning with that under Frelinghuysen in the Valley of the Raritan in 1725 and concluding with those that took place just before the Revolutionary War. From the first page to the last this evangelical awakening is placed in an impressive historical context, to show the true significance of the event as an interdenominational, intercolonial, and international movement whose creative power and directive influence abide with us to this day. His avowed purpose, indeed, is "to demonstrate that the religious energies liberated by the Great Awakening were transformed into forces social, humanitarian, educational, and political, which have been of almost incalculable importance in the making of the American people" (p. v),—a proposal which the limits of his volume have scarcely permitted him to carry out in adequate fashion, though many suggestive facts are cited which might fairly be called a partial "demonstration" of the thesis.

The work of Whitefield as the chief apostle of the Great Awakening is treated at length in Chapters IV, V, and VIII. The distinctive colors of the picture are taken from the contemporary newspapers and the itinerant's own Journals, and though little that is new is here offered the reader, the account is admirable, being on the whole more sympathetic than most presentations of this evangelist's work. The first three chapters, dealing with the Awakening before the arrival of Whitefield in the colonies in 1739, present the three chief sources of the movement that came to its culmination in 1740: the German Pietism in Pennsylvania (Chap. I), giving the general religious background in the Middle Colonies; the beginning of the revival among the Dutch Reformed (Chap. II) with special reference to the epoch-making pastorate of Domine Frelinghuysen in the region of the Raritan; and (Chap. III) the work of the Tennents and the Log Col-

lege men, largely Scotch-Irish, who made the newly constituted Presbytery of New Brunswick the chief centre of the movement in the fourth decade of the century. These three chapters, representing the exceedingly heterogeneous religious and racial elements in the Middle Colonies,—so unlike the situation in New England,—and the distinctive features of the three main tributaries leading to the highwater mark of religious excitement in the memorable year 1740, are the most valuable portions of the work. But the statement (p. 38) that "the revival fire" in the Middle Colonies "did not leap from town to town and rapidly envelop a wide stretch of country in a general conflagration, as in the New England revival of 1734," may be questioned in view of the admitted fact that the promoters of these awakenings "acted in close co-operation, and the reports of startling events in one town stimulated the desire of the pious in other towns for a like spiritual rejuvenation" (*ibid.*). Nor is the declaration that "the Edwards revival had no direct and immediate effect upon the Middle Colonies" (p. 40) to be taken without qualification; for, as the author admits, a goodly number of pastors in New Jersey had themselves been converted in the Edwards revival, and the awakening in Newark in 1739 and the two following years may be traced directly to this source, a source which therefore rightly (*cf.* p. 140) deserves to be enumerated alongside of the other three as of co-ordinate importance in the preparation of the Middle Colonies for the ministry of Whitefield.

Chapter VI relates the incidents pertaining to the schism in the Presbyterian Church in the year 1741, which was one of the results of the divisive influences of the Great Awakening. The author discusses the facts with his customary fairness and sobriety. The next two chapters trace the Awakening among the Moravians, its expansion and organization among the New Side Presbyterians, the missionary work among the Indians, the educational enterprises of the supporters of the revival, and the spread of the movement among the Dutch Reformed, the German Reformed, the Lutherans, the Anglicans, and the Baptists. Prof. Maxson here successfully vindicates the Great Awakening against the frequent but unfair allegation that it was chiefly a divisive force among the churches. He shows that after the initial periods of excitement in the various denominations passed away, the revival operated largely as a synthetic influence, uniting the friends of evangelicalism throughout the colonies. Whether one is to extend the limits of the movement as far down the century as our author deems advisable is doubtless merely a question of convenience in nomenclature; but many readers will probably be inclined to think that there is no sufficient reason for thus departing from established custom.

We have already intimated that the author hardly develops with sufficient fulness the proof that the Awakening was responsible for all the beneficent results that he ascribes to it. Doubtless, the argument could have been considerably strengthened; but the reader has

frequent occasion to wonder just how much could in fairness be claimed for some of the broadly stated conclusions. No evidence, for example, is given that Rutgers College and the University of Pennsylvania were "direct fruits of the revival." Nor is it specifically shown how "the Great Awakening prepared the way for the Revolutionary War."

As to the extravagances of the movement, particularly its pathological developments, the author barely mentions these, and when referring to them in an incidental way, he intimates that they were due to "few under the frenzied leadership of Davenport," and that there was after all "little ground for the criticism of physical phenomena." No doubt, the evils of this sort were greater in the New England revival, but they had their counterparts in the Middle Colonies, and these darker aspects of the theme might well have been more fully brought to view: the treasures of truth and grace were here, too, borne in earthen vessels, and we need not think much the less of the contents because of the ofttimes faulty and unworthy receptacle.

The author is least satisfactory in handling the theological factors involved in his subject. Times without number he uses the word "evangelical" as a synonym for "evangelistic," and implies that the Old Side leaders, because of their conservatism and devotion to the standards which as a matter of fact both parties alike accepted, were not evangelical. As an odd instance of this misuse of the word we may cite the following sentence (p. 26): "The elder Tennent was evidently an extemporaneous preacher, for his sermon notes required amplification in preaching—a sign in that day of the extreme evangelical." Nor are some of the general terms used to characterize the religious aspects of the movement satisfactory. We need more definite statements than that pietists and revivalists "stood for experimental religion, and the universal priesthood of believers" (p. 4); that they emphasized "the life of God in the soul of man" (p. 22); and that the "seat of religion passed back from the head to the heart, and religion became again a force." The doctrinal implications of the Great Awakening were much more important than the author seems to think.

And above all, the limitations and defects of the American pietistic movement, viewed in the light of subsequent developments, particularly those of the last half century, might well have found expression in a monograph of this character. The beneficent tendencies and results of the Great Awakening in the Middle Colonies are fully enough indicated, if not, as we have said, always adequately traced in detail. But the depreciation of the historic past and especially of many of the social values of life by the leaders of the movement, and their excessive and one-sided development of a religious individualism that too often disregarded the legitimate claims of the Christian home, the Church, and the state, and that frequently led to a morbidly introspective piety, were evils the baleful effects of which we have even

now not succeeded in completely removing. As a corrective for its deficiencies and excesses the Great Awakening demands, what to a large extent it is now securing, the benefits of an interpretation of the gospel that does an ampler justice to the exceedingly varied forms of Christian thought and life that have appeared in the past and still abide to fulfill their needed missions in the history of the Church.

In the Preface there is an error the correction of which may be worth while for those desiring to investigate the special work of the New Brunswick brethren: the magazine in which the Rev. George H. Ingram, Stated Clerk of the Presbytery of New Brunswick, has been publishing articles on the early history of this Presbytery, is not the *Presbyterian Historical Review* but the *Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society.*

Princeton. FREDERICK W. LOETSCHER.

SYSTEMATICAL THEOLOGY

Christliche Glaubenslehre. Bd. I, 1918; Bd. II, 1919. Von LUDWIG LEMME. Verlag von Edwin Runge. Berlin-Lichterfelde. Bd. I, pp. 375; Bd. II, pp. 333.

Dr. Lemme has recently published this comprehensive system of Christian doctrine. His work on Christian Ethics appeared in 1905, and when his Apologetics is published, which he promises soon, he will have completed his whole work on Systematic Theology.

According to Lemme, Systematic Theology includes Dogmatics and Ethics as its two main sub-divisions. Dogmatics again is divided into *Glaubenslehre* and Apologetics, the former of which gives an empirical description of Christian experience or of the content of Christian faith, and the latter seeks to give a rational basis for its objective truth by means of speculative thought. His position resembles that of the old mediating theology, and he tells us himself in the Preface that in a certain sense he goes back to Dorner and Martensen. Like them he wishes to combine Christian experience and speculation, though he says that the two should be kept separate, *Glaubenslehre* describing the former and Apologetics dealing with the latter.

The present two volumes are on the subject of *Glaubenslehre.* It is "the theoretical exposition of the experience of faith." Its method, therefore, is largely that of empirical description. At the same time, however, *Glaubenslehre* is for Lemme something more than religious or Christian psychology. Christian faith and experience contain ideas, and *Glaubenslehre* sets these forth not only as truly Christian but as absolutely true. It therefore deals with norms of what is Christian and with norms of truth. Lemme, therefore, does not attempt to reserve for Apologetics the question of truth. Indeed for one who conceives of the nature and relations of these two theological disciplines, as Lemme does, it would be impossible to keep their respective

tasks distinct unless the former were confined to mere psychological description, and the whole question of truth left to Apologetics. This difficulty does not exist for one who regards Apologetics as establishing the presuppositions upon which Systematic Theology rests, and the latter as setting forth as truth the contents of the Christian revelation already vindicated by Christian Apologetics.

Coming at once to give some account of the contents of these two volumes, we note that Lemme divides his system of doctrine into three main parts—The Christian Faith, The Objective Presuppositions of Faith, and the Development of the Life of Faith. Under the first main part—The Christian Faith—Lemme deals with the topics, Religion, Revelation, Faith, in three successive chapters. In dealing with Religion he introduces the problems of the psychology of Religion, the comparative history of Religion, and of the Finality of the Christian Religion without making it entirely clear by what right these questions come up for discussion in a description of the Christian Faith. His position seems to be that an attitude on these questions is implied in Christian experience, while their final settlement belongs to Apologetics.

Part two on the Presuppositions of Faith deals with the nature, attributes, and works of God, the revelation of God in Jesus Christ, and the work of the Holy Spirit in the Church. In this part Lemme discusses all the topics involved in Theology proper or the doctrine of God; the Person and Work of Christ, the latter being distributed under the Threefold Offices; and the doctrine of the Church and the Means of Grace.

The work of the Holy Spirit is reserved for part three which deals with "the Development of the Life of Faith." Here are three subdivisions dealing respectively with the nature and power of sin, the nature and power of Grace and the "future certitude of grace." There is a full treatment of sin and of the different steps in the *ordo salutis,* but many questions of eschatology are omitted as either belonging to Christology or else as having no vital relation to Christian experience.

In his general theological position Lemme may be termed "positive." He modifies the doctrines as stated in the Creeds of the Protestant Churches in such a way as he supposes will bring them nearer to Christian experience. When one considers, however, his objections to the creedal statements, one cannot help feeling that it is theoretical and speculative considerations which are governing his construction, and that he is endeavoring to modernize the traditional position. Instead of stating in detail Lemme's view on each doctrine of his system, it will repay us more to call attention to a few main points which call for criticism.

In the first place, Lemme's application of his experiential method is inconsistent. He sometimes rejects a doctrine because he thinks it is not implicated in Christian experience, and accepts another which seems to us to be less closely related to that experience. For example,

he gives a metaphysical construction of the doctrine of the Person of Christ, states his criticism of the doctrine of the two Natures, and modifies it by a construction equally metaphysical; whereas in discussing the doctrine of the Holy Spirit, he says (II, p. 76) that the doctrine of an immanent Trinity is speculative and its discussion belongs to Apologetics. Also in the same connection he says that the question whether the Holy Spirit is a person or simply a name for the power of God must be left an open one by *Glaubenslehre* which is limited to the content of Christian experience. But one is tempted to ask if the doctrine of the Personality of the Holy Spirit does not lie as near to Christian experience as some of the metaphysical questions of Christology which Lemme not only discusses, but upon which he takes a definite position. Also his attempt to relate his doctrine of angels to Christian experience seems somewhat strained and artificial.

In the second place and of much more importance is it to remark that it is a mistake to erect Christian experience into a source or norm for Christian doctrine, and to make the task of systematic theology consist in the description of the doctrinal content of that experience. The difficulty is not simply that Christian experience is individual and subjective, subject to change, abnormality, and the effect of sin on the mind—though these facts alone would render Lemme's method impossible—it is because this Christian experience is the outgrowth of a faith the doctrinal content of which is given by the Christian revelation. Hence while Christian experience implicates Christian doctrine, it does not follow that the doctrine can be made explicit. If our statement of Christian doctrine is not taken from the Christian revelation in Scripture, it will inevitably be taken from reason and philosophy. It is only a necessary consequence of this that Lemme's theology like that of other mediating theologians is a mixture of Christian experience, speculation, and Biblical doctrine. Of course Lemme believes that revelation has a fundamental place in our religious knowledge, but his conception of revelation is so subjective that it is after all the Christian consciousness which is the determining factor for him. One of Lemme's critics has rightly said that by his method he cannot reach the great redemptive facts of Christianity and their significance, that these must be derived from the Scripture and the creeds of the Church, and that only then can their value in Christian experience be shown.

In the third place, the modifications of Christian doctrines which Lemme offers are often much more difficult to understand than the doctrine he would modify. We take but one example, that of the Person of Christ. The doctrine of the two Natures is, according to Lemme, of value in a certain sense as safeguarding the essential elements of the truth concerning Christ over against humanitarian theories. It is untenable, however, in using the term "nature" which is foreign to our knowledge of Christ. Lemme, however, is insistent in maintaining the deity of Christ in a metaphysical sense, and His

"essential oneness" with God. He wishes to maintain that Christ is all that God is and all that man is. How this can be done save by the doctrine of the two Natures. Lemme does not and cannot make clear. If Christ has but one mind and will, as Lemme seems to suppose, it is impossible to see how He can be both Human and Divine.

While we are thus compelled to dissent from Lemme's idea of systematic theology and from his method and many of his results, we would emphasize, in closing, the fact that his system of theology is positive and evangelical in its purpose and spirit. It will doubtless take its place with the best examples of positive mediating theology. R. H. Grützmacher in reviewing the first volume before the second appeared, says of it that it is not only far superior to the "religio-historical syncretism" of the school of comparative religions and the "ethical historicism" of the Ritschlian school, but that it takes its place at the head of the larger Dogmatics which have recently appeared from the positive standpoint (*Die Theologie der Gegenwart; Jahrgang* XIII, Heft 1, p. 38).

Princeton. C. W. Hodge.

PRACTICAL THEOLOGY

The Modern Readers Bible for Schools: New Testament. Edited by R. G. Moulton. New York: Macmillan Co., 12mo. Cloth. pp. 437. Price $2.25.

All who have been familiar with The Modern Readers Bible have appreciated its message along the line of the advantage of more properly printing the Scriptures than is done in the case of most versions and translations of the Old and New Testaments. The result of careful paragraphing, of the use of different kinds of type and the omission of the numbers of chapters and verses gives to the sacred writings a new aspect and reveals at a glance their true literary form. This *Modern Readers Bible for Schools* is based on the former work but is more brief. The four Gospels are given in their complete form and the sayings of Jesus are put in a distinctive type which makes it easy to study the teachings of our Lord. In the Acts of the Apostles some measure of abridgment is employed and in the case of the Epistles we have mere selections which set forth some of the more familiar and striking passages. For each portion of the New Testament there is an introduction written particularly from the literary point of view. It is hardly necessary to suggest that for purposes of critical study and in order to refer more readily to any portion of the New Testament, the usual editions of the Bible are absolutely necessary, but in arousing the interest of the young and in placing the contents of the New Testament before those who are not familiar with it, this volume will prove of the very greatest help. There is no reason why the Bible should not be printed in the most attractive

and intelligible form which is possible and the Modern Readers Bible is a definite step in this direction.

Princeton. CHARLES R. ERDMAN.

The Use of the Story in Religious Education. By MARGARET W. EGGLESTON. New York. George H. Doran Co. Cloth. pp. 181. 12mo.

The author is "Instructor in Story Telling in the School of Religious Education and Social Service of Boston University." In her "Foreword" she states, "Because I have longed to help teachers and workers with boys and girls in Religious Education work, I have written this book. It is for those who are eager to know 'How.' I have given lists of stories and have divided the book in such a way that it can be used in classes in story telling work in our Community Schools and Colleges where the demand is growing for such classes." The work of the author will be appreciated by Sunday School teachers, recreational leaders, scout masters and parents who will find in the various chapters the type of stories needed for different occasions. The book is by a recognized expert in the art of story telling and will be found an indispensable help in the selection and preparation of the right story for the right time and place.

Princeton. CHARLES R. ERDMAN.

Catechetics: Or Theory and Practise of Religious Instruction. By M. REU, D.D., Professor of Theology at Wartburg Seminary, Dubuque, Iowa. Chicago: Wartburg Publishing House. Cloth. 12mo. pp. 723. Price $2.50 net.

This scientific and comprehensive treatment of Catechetics is designed as a text book for the use of Lutheran Theological Seminaries, but it is further regarded as a help to Lutheran pastors. It traces the historical development of religious instruction from the time of the early Church through that of the mediaeval and the Reformation churches down to the present day. It considers the inner life of the pupil both in its general aspect and in its various periods of development. It then reviews the catechetical material employed by the Lutheran Church, including Biblical History, the Catechism, the Bible and the Hymnal. It discusses the methods of religious instruction to be employed in the use of the material just named. This volume is regarded as the most complete review of the subject of Catechetics which has been produced.

Princeton. CHARLES R. ERDMAN.

The Negro Year Book. By MONROE N. WORK. Tuskegee Institute. The Negro Year Book Publishing Company. 8 mo. pp. 523. Price: Paper, 75c; board, $1.25.

This Year Book is an annual encyclopedia of information in reference to the negro. It covers every phase of negro activity in the United States, reviews progress in all lines, discusses grievances, outlines

economic conditions, presents religious and social problems, educational statistics and political questions as they relate to the race. Among the important subjects comprehensively reviewed are: "The Negro's Economic Progress," "The Church and the Negro," "The Migration of the Negro," "The Negro and the Trade Unions," "The Financial Contributions of Negroes to Liberty Loans and War Work Activities," "The Problems Connected with the Use of the Negro as a Soldier in the World War," "The Negro in Politics," "Race Relations and Racial Cooperation," "Race Riots," "Lynchings," "The Race Problem in the United States, in the West Indies, in Africa."

Princeton. CHARLES R. ERDMAN.

PERIODICAL LITERATURE

American Church Monthly, New Brunswick, October: J. G. H. BARRY, The Road to Rome; CLINTON R. WOODRUFF, The Church and Social Problems, i; FRANK H. HALLOCK, The Gift of Wisdom. *The Same,* November: WALKER GWYNNE, Mind of Christ concerning Marriage; STANLEY M. CLEVELAND, Jesus Christ on Labor and Wages; CLINTON R. WOODRUFF, The Church and Social Problems, ii; HERBERT H. GOWEN, Healing Cults within the Church. *The Same,* December: ROSCOW G. SHEDDEN, Present Position of Catholicism in the Church of England; CLARENCE A. MANNING, The False Christs of Russia; CLINTON R. WOODRUFF, The Church and Social Problems, iii.

Bibliotheca Sacra, Oberlin, October: HAROLD M. WIENER, Contributions to a new Theory of the Composition of the Pentateuch; JAMES LINDSAY, The Ethics of Some Modern World-Theories; G. MACKINLAY, Special Lukan Words; WILLIAM H. BATES, Quotations from the Old Testament in the New Testament; E. ST. G. BALDWIN, Gethesmane: the Fulfillment of Prophecy; ORVILLE B. SWIFT, The Passing of Marxism.

Catholic Historical Review, Washington, October: WILLIAM H. KENT, "Catholic Truth and Historical Truth," PATRICK A. COLLIS, Preface to the "Acta Sanctorum"; J. LLOYD MECHAM, Martyrdom of Father Juan de Santa Maria.

Church Quarterly Review, London, October: Conditional Ordination; J. FROME WILKINSON, Tithes and Tithe-Rent Charges of a Rural Parish in Herefordshire; F. J. BADCOCK, The Trinity; MARGARET DEANESLY, The Argument against the Use of the Vernacular Bibles, 1400-1408; J. O. NASH, South Africa and the Natives; F. LE N. BOWER, The Holy Sepulchre; ARTHUR C. HEADLAM, The Lambeth Conference.

Constructive Quarterly, New York, September: W. DOUGLAS MACKENZIE, If the Church were One; L. VENARD, Bible Study among French Catholics; T. B. KILPATRICK, Church of the Twentieth Century; CUTHBERT TURNER, Ministries of Women in the Primitive Church; DAVID H. GREER, The Church as a Personality; S. A. B. MERCER, The Church in the Future; GILBERT C. BINYON, Christians and the Missionary Aspects of Socialism; LEONID TURKEVICH, The Spirit of the

Orthodox Church Service; C. J. CADOUX, Subjective Element in Churchmanship.

East & West, London, October: MICHAEL SADLER, Intellectual Ferment in India; W. E. S. HOLLAND, Nationalism and Catholicism in India; KENNETH SAUNDERS, European and American Buddhists; G. C. BARTTER, The Cross and Flag in the Philippine Islands; E. THOMPSON, Chinese Labour Corps; DR. PAKENHAM-WALSH, Kingdom of God in Assam; J. OBERLIN-HARRIS, Australian Aboriginal in Queensland; A. M. K. CUMARASWAMY, The Church of India; H. P. K. SKIPTON, New India and the Anglo-Indian.

Expositor, London, October: JOHN E. MACFADYEN, History and Homiletics: a Study of Samuel 21:1-14; G. H. WHITAKER, Philology of St. Luke's Preface; A. T. SWAINE, Relativity and Deity of Jesus Christ; J. G. JAMES, Prayer and Personality; B. W. BACON, Why "According to Matthew"?; J. HUGH MICHAEL, Mark 4:10-12: an Inerpretation. *The Same,* November: A. S. PEAKE, Dr. Sanday; A. SOUTER, William Sanday; JAMES STALKER, a Revolution in New Testament Criticism; E. SHILLITO, Beginning of the Last Action: Study of Mark 11; H. R. MACKINTOSH, Vital Interest of the Church in the Purity of Doctrine; G. H. WHITAKER, Notes on "The Philology of St. Luke's Perface"; C. F. BURNEY, Our Lord's Reference to Old Testament in John 7:37-38; J. A. FINDLAY, Book of Testimonies and the Structure of the Fourth Gospel.

Expository Times, Edinburgh, October: Notes of Recent Exposition; J. M. SHAW, The Church and the Call of the New Era; G. H. S. WALPOLE, The Communication of the Spirit; A. C. HILL, Work of the Holy Spirit. *The Same,* November: Notes of Recent Exposition; DONALD MACKENZIE, James Iverach; J. E. ROBERTS, Parable of the Vine; JOHN W. DIGGLE, Temptation.

Homiletic Review, New York, October: J. ERNEST RATTENBURY, The Catholic Note in Methodism; JOHN E. PRICE, We versus They; EDWARD B. POLLARD, Elder Brewster, Lay Preacher of the Pilgrims; JAMES M. CAMPBELL, Famous Divines Whom I have Known. *The Same,* November: JAMES L. BARTON, Meaning and Significance of the Pilgrim Tercentenary; CHARLES A. DINSMORE, The Pilgrim's Contribution to Literature; EDWARD M. CHAPMAN, New England Theology New and Old; WILLIAM E. GRIFFIS, The Dutch and the Pilgrims; HARLAN P. BEACH, What America is Doing in the Islands of the Sea. *The Same,* December: ARTHUR W. HEWITT, We Would See Jesus; A. D. BELDEN, The Streets of Life—A Christmas Meditation; JOHN E. COOVER, Science vs. Psychical Phenomena; S. PARKES CADMAN, Preaching and the Spiritual Outlook in Post-War England.

International Journal of Ethics, Concord, October: M. C. OTTO, Morality as Coercion Or Persuasion; T. H. PROCTER, Motives of the Soldier; RUPERT C. LODGE, Plato and the Judge of Conduct; RUTH M. GORDON, Has Mysticism a Moral Value?; HENRY T. SECRIST, Morale and Morals; EUGENE W. LYMAN, Ethics of the Wages and Profit System.

Irish Theological Quarterly, Dublin, October: ALFRED O'RAHILLY, Some Theology about Tyranny; LOUIS FOLEY, Absolution by Telephone; H. CHADWICK, The Servant of Yahweh; CLAUDE H. WILLIAMSON, Repaganization of Christendom.

Journal of Negro History, Washington, October: ARNET G. LINDSAY, Diplomatic Relations between United States and Great Britain bearing on the return of Slaves 1783-1828; NORMAN P. ANDREWS, Negro in Politics; FRED LANDON, Henry Bibb, The Colonizer; G. SMITH WORMLEY, Myrtilla Miner.

Journal of Theological Studies, London, October: C. H. TURNER, A Laon Ms. in 1906 and 1920; T. STEPHENSON, Our Lord's Teaching in Mark's Gospel; J. H. MICHAEL, Meaning of Ἐξηγήσατο in John 1:18; ST. J. D. SEYMOUR, Bringing forth of the Soul in Irish Literature; E C. BUTLER, Palladiana: *The Lausiac History*—Questions of the Text; H. W. SHEPPARD, Variants in the Consonantal Text of G. 1 in the Books of Samuel and Kings.

London Quarterly Review, London, October: STEPHEN GRAHAM, Where is Holy Russia Now?; J. AGAR BEET, The Fourth Gospel; R. MARTIN POPE, St. Paul and the Historic Jesus; T. H. S. ESCOTT, The Old Church in the New Age; F. W. ORDE WARD, Catholic and Protestant Elements in Christ's Teaching; A. W. BURBRIDGE, Monotheism and the Doctrine of the Trinity; ST. NIHAL SINGH, The Egyptian Problem.

Lutheran Church Review, Philadelphia, July: GEORGE W. SANDT, Biographical Sketch of Dr. Theodore E. Schmauk; Memorial Addresses to Dr. Schmauk.

Lutheran Quarterly, Gettysburg, October: J. L. NEVE, The Union Movement between Lutherans and Reformed; J. A. CLUTZ, Gathering Materials for the Sermon; PAUL H. HEISEY, Pragmatism and Theism; JOHN A. FAULKNER, Luther and the Great War.

Methodist Quarterly Review, Nashville, October: CARLTON D. HARRIS, Some Vital Needs of the Hour; H. WILDON CARR, Benedetto Croce; FRANCIS G. PEABODY, The Theologian in a New World; DAVIS W. CLARK, One Very Good Dean: George Hodges; WILLIAM HARRISON, The Catacombs of Rome; LESTER WEAVER, The Freedom of the Church Schools; G. C. RECTOR, The Beauty of God; E. C. DURHAM, A Friendly Consideration of the Negro; JAMES R. LAUGHTON, St. Julien's Cathedral; ALBERT L. SCALES, Studies in the Philosophy of William James; JOEL CHANDLER HARRIS, Uncle Remus's Longest Letter.

Monist, Chicago, October: JAMES W. THOMPSON, Ethical Significance of Time; JOSHUA C. GREGORY, Conception of Thought as a Cyclic Process; JAMES LINDSAY, The Logic and Metaphysics of Occam; W. O. BRIGSTOCKE, Logical Fictions (con.); R. W. SELLERS, Evolutionary Naturalism and the Mind-Body Problem.

Reformed Church Review, Lancaster, October: L. L. LEH, Influence of Humanism on Theism; PAUL R. PONTIUS, Social Motive for Religious Education; ALLAN S. MECK, A Theological Curriculum for Today; WILLIAM F. KOSMAN, Millennialism and Biblical Authority.

Review and Expositor, Louisville, October: JAMES H. FRANKLIN, Baptist Missions in the New World Order; E. Y. MULLINS, Baptist Theology in the New World Order; JOHN A. FAULKNER, What was the Ancient Catholic Church?; H. R MACKINTOSH, Bergson and Christian Thought.

Southwestern Journal of Theology, Seminary Hill, October: Doctrine of Evangelism; W. H. KNIGHT, World Democracy and Baptist Missions; J. M. PRICE, Baptists and Education; JEFF D. RAY, Mission of Baptists in Social Reconstruction; I. E. REYNOLDS, Protestant Church Music Forms; N. R. DRUMMOND, The Educational Director of the Church.

Union Seminary Review, Richmond, October: G. CAMPBELL MORGAN, Ministry of the Word—The Exercise of the Vocation; EUGENE C. CALDWELL, The Opened Door—Outline Study of Revelation; ANDREW W. BLACKWOOD, The Ethical Sermon; JAMES P. SMITH, The Lambeth Appeal; C. O'N. MARTINDALE, Coming of the Lord Our Hope.

Yale Review, New Haven, October: WILBUR C. ABBOTT, The Great Game of Politics; IVAN PETRUNKEVITCH, The Bolsheviks in the Crimea; C. REINHOLD NOYES, Paying the Piper; CHARLES CESTRE, American Literature through French Eyes; Letters of Henry Adams; THEODORE BOSANQUET, The Record of Henry James; EDITH F. WYATT, Conversational Poetry; HOWARD SNYDER, A Plantation Revival Service.

Biblica, Roma, I:4: L. MURILLO, S. Jerónimo el "Doctor Máximo"; A. VACCARI, I fattori dell'esegesi geronimiana; L. FONCK, Hieronymi scientia naturalis exemplis illustratur; A. FEDER, Zusätze zum Schriftstellerkatalog des hl. Hieronymus; A. VACCARI, Frammento di un perduto "Tractatus" di S. Girolamo; L. HEIDET, Le voyage de Saül a la recherche des ânesses de son père.

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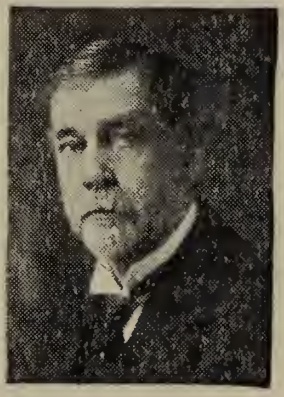

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