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THE BIBLICAL WORLD

A Journal of the Awakening Church

Volume LII

JULY 1918

Number 1

Editorial: Piety and Religion

Preaching in a World at War. I

Ozora S. Davis

The Premillennial Menace

Shirley Jackson Case

The Moral Value of Patriotism

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The Paradox of Modern Biblical Criticism

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The Religion of the German Kaiser

George Holley Gilbert

The Bible in Japan

C. K. Harrington

The Moral and Religious Psychology of Late Senescence

T. Bruce Birch

The Teaching of Jesus in Mark's Gospel

A. T. Robertson

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SHAILER MATHEWS, Editor

With the Co-operation of the Members of the Divinity Conference of the University of Chicago

Vol. LII

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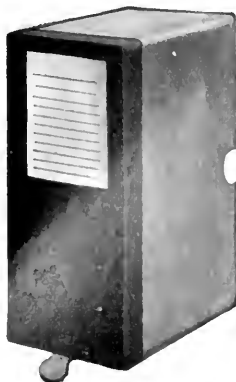
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THE BIBLICAL WORLD

VOLUME LII

JULY 1918

NUMBER 1

PIETY AND RELIGION

When Nehemiah undertook to re-establish the Jewish state he was subject to most of the trials and temptations which beset us today. His enemies despised him as unmilitary. Hyphenated citizenship threatened the integrity of his national purpose. Proposals for peace conferences threatened national morale. Profiteering and labor troubles hindered fortification. And at last he was urged by a treacherous friend to abandon his work and go into the temple to save his life.

All of these difficulties he overcame. But the proposal to replace patriotism with piety he repudiated with a scornful, "Should such a man as I flee?"

Therein he distinguished between piety and religion.

This distinction, not often made, will be more common in the future. Piety must be coupled with service of one's fellows if it is to be a part of real religion. A pious man who merely prays, cultivates his religious emotions, and keeps from doing things that give pleasure may be the most selfish man imaginable. Further, he may be a dangerous member of the community. For he does not undertake to better the conditions under which he and his fellows must live.

Pacifism is a form of piety. It is a consecration of one's self to ideals one thinks men ought to have, and an avoidance of the hard tasks which must be done if such ideals are ever to be reached.

Pacifism is no more a national peace policy than piety is religion.

There are times when duty must be given priority over abstract ideals.

There are times when to retreat from a disordered and appalling world-situation into the quiet of the inner life and the enjoyment of

peaceful detachment from anxiety is nothing less than contemptible cowardice.

To be religious is to believe that there is personal direction in human history that human institutions and human society can become more moral, and that there is a God whose will can be incorporated in social evolution in the same proportion that it is understood and followed.

Many men in order to maintain the warmth of faith in God trust solely to the agencies of piety. Probably no one can be effectively religious unless he does have his moments of prayer and contemplation his place of worship, his times of meeting, his discipline, and his cultivation of the inner life.

But the degree to which these means of piety are effective depends largely upon temperament. Religion leads a man, regardless of temperament, to apply God's will as seen in the spirit and ideals of Jesus to actual conditions. If the church needs to be criticized he will criticize it. If piety needs to be rationalized he will attempt to show it the path of reason, but above all he will attempt to mediate God to others and to the social order in which he lives.

In these days of strain we cannot keep ourselves sane and hopeful without faith in God, nor can we keep ourselves manly and useful if we seek to escape from disagreeable and tragic duties. We need to say with Nehemiah "Who is there that being such as I should go into the temple to save his life?" For like Nehemiah we may discover that those who have counseled us to substitute piety for the performance of national duty have been hired to offer this advice.

PREACHING IN A WORLD AT WAR

I. THE TASK AND THE OPPORTUNITY

OZORA S. DAVIS, PH.D., D.D.

President of the Chicago Theological Seminary

No healthier, saner, and more helpful appeal could be made than President Davis makes to the preacher in these momentous days. In successive papers he will show how vital is the message that the Christian preacher can utter to a world in moral chaos. We have had many a noble exposition of patriotism from the pulpit; but the call to the church is for spiritual leadership even more than for patriotic inspiration. When one compares the exposition of the possibilities and materials for such leadership set forth in these papers with the vagaries and obscurantism, not to say debilitating pacifism, of current "studies of prophecy," the source of a genuine evangelicalism will not be difficult to discover. Our generation needs the bread of life. It will starve on ingenious substitutes.

Every Christian preacher is facing the most exigent and commanding situation of human history in these days of war. Never was there such need of the clear mind and the flaming soul in the pulpits of America. Today as never before the preacher may come to his throne.

But in what spirit is he to preach? What is his distinctive message? How is he to prepare for and discharge the task? These questions surge to the center of our thought. The following articles have been written in view of the situation and with the simple desire to render practical service to ministers engaged in the work of preaching. They rest upon a somewhat extensive acquaintance with the war literature and a rereading of the Bible to discover its message and suggest plans for its transmission through the pulpit to a bewildered and needy world.

New Conditions Presented by the War

The act of preaching is a complex and difficult matter under the easiest conditions. Many forces enter into it; the factors composing it are often difficult to untangle.

There is the truth to be proclaimed. If this were simply to be elaborated out of a perfectly clear and infallible statement, preaching would not be a very perplexing task, as it surely would not be a rewarding or stimulating one. But the truth that the preacher is to proclaim, in all the depth and range of it, can be discovered only at the cost of intense search and patient thinking.

Then there is the personality of the preacher, the medium through which the truth is transmitted in oral form. This is as varied, even under the most favorable circumstances, as personality itself is varied. Real preparation for preaching is nothing less than the preparation

of the whole man. The final means by which the truth gets itself expressed is the refined and kindled soul of the man in the pulpit.

Then there is the congregation, that limiting audience whose every mood conditions the extent to which the truth, granted that it has been accurately transmitted through the personality of the preacher, influences the life of those who hear the message. Jesus understood this principle when he used the familiar parable of the Sower, or, as it would be better called, the parable of the Soils, to enforce the command, "Take heed how ye hear." For the truth must do business with the persons who hear the sermon; but what it can do will be determined by the receptive audience.

Then there is the world in which the preacher and the congregation live. This conditions, not only the task of the preacher, but also the mood of the hearer. Out of the age come the forces that condition the truths and the discerning powers and the responsive wills, all of which compose the factors in the work of preaching.

Therefore it is obvious that all effective preaching must reckon carefully with the age in which the preacher gives his message to his congregation. This is not the supreme item, but it is one of the most significant factors determining the power and permanence of the preacher's work. Spiritual discernment and deep conviction are more significant; but in order that preaching may be sure-footed it must rest on clear insight into the meaning of the age. Otherwise it will become merely an academic interest and will not stir

deeply the springs of character and conduct.

At the time these words are written the world is at war, and there is no sign by which the wisest man can discover the length or the final issue of the conflict. And whether the term of the struggle be long or short, it is apparent that tasks of reconstruction are in store which will make the next decade at least one of the most fascinating and difficult periods for preaching in all human history. The problems which are to be solved are so vast and involved, the principles to be applied are so radical and comprehensive, that nothing less than the most serious engagement of the preacher with them will insure the success of the message and the triumph of the truth.

That the character of preaching will be permanently changed by the Great War requires little discussion if we accept the definitions of preaching that are current in the free pulpits. The fact is put with passionate earnestness in the letters of the young French student-soldier, Alfred Eugene Casalis:

First, there will be our preaching to change. All that consists in empty formulas, beautiful as they may be, powerfully as they may have contributed to nourish souls; all the formulas which are today empty because our philosophic or religious thought, our experiences or our conception of life have outgrown them or caused them to burst their frames—all such formulas must disappear. And what we shall substitute for them as our statement of faith will not be less great, not less beautiful, not less true, if we search for it in the depths of souls in union with God. And it will not be less Christian, for the Spirit of Christ is a

spirit which lives, which develops—never remaining for a moment in any fixed form.¹

The significant words in this statement are "souls in union with God." That, after all, was the purpose which called all the formulas into being; and we need have no fear of loss if the creative energies behind the formulas are saved. The creeds have served their purpose well in the history of the spirit; they will always be needed. But it is the vital force that creates the creed; it is the experience that renews the formal expression of faith; and out of the Great War is surely coming the old experience of souls in union with God, which is the eternal fact in religion.

Therefore we need not fear changes either in the substance or in the form of preaching so long as its essential message is preserved. And all who understand the meaning of the war as it is being interpreted to us by the religious leaders who are in the midst of it are ready to meet the changes without dread and with a clear idea of what must be done in the process of readjustment.

The fear has been expressed that preaching in such an age will lack opportunity. The very fact that the minds of men are so engrossed with the tasks of military campaigns has been supposed to make well-nigh impossible the declaration of great spiritual truths.

But quite the contrary is the fact. It is in the midst of a generation solemnized by the tremendous experiences of such a conflict that the profoundest truths have the field which they require for expres-

sion. In an age that is smitten with poignant grief and stirred to expressions of terrible wrath preaching finds its supreme opportunity.

This has been put concisely by A. Conan Doyle in the following words: "It is, however, when the human soul is ploughed and harrowed by suffering that the seeds of truth may be planted, and so some future spiritual harvest will surely rise from the days in which we live."²

Thus instead of limiting the true function of the preacher this war is simply opening the doors of opportunity to him and affording such privilege as he never has had before to bring the Christian message home to the hearts of men.

The question is often asked, Will there be such changes in the form and subjects of preaching as a result of the war that we can no longer expect results from the methods that have been successful before? The changes which we anticipate are not radical. The Christian message always has been spoken home to the heart of humanity with the tender and persuasive accents of love and testimony. This will not be changed when the war is over, as it is not changed now when the war is on. Donald Hankey, writing concerning his own methods of presenting the message of Christ, said:

When I was talking to them [the soldiers] at these services I always used to try and make them feel that Christ was the fulfillment of all the best things that they admired, that he was their natural hero. I would tell them some stories of heroism and

¹ *For France and the Faith*, p. 79.

² "The New Revelation," *Metropolitan Magazine*, January, 1918.

meanness contrasted, of courage and cowardice, of noble forgiveness and vile cruelty, and so get them on the side of the angels. Then I would try and spring it upon them that Christ was the Lord of the heroes and the brave men and the noble men, and that he was fighting against all that was mean and cruel and cowardly, and that it was up to them to take their stand by his side if they wanted to make the world a little better instead of a little worse, and I would try to show them how in little practical ways in their homes and at their work and in the club they could do their bit for Christ.¹

All this sounds strangely unlike the formal rules for preaching which have been systematized in the science of homiletics. But the permanent principles of preaching are all here. There is the old consciousness of the message to be given, the adapting of the message to the mind of the hearer and the world in which it is to be wrought out into rules for life, and the appeal for such decisions as will make the truth vital. Thus the new opportunities presented by the war have simply given larger liberty for the expression in oral form of the message which we call "the gospel."

Is Preaching Played Out?

When the war began, the criticism of preaching had been for a long time current. It was commonly said that the pulpit had lost its power and that preaching was played out. It may as well be admitted frankly that there was some fair warrant for the adverse judgment.

In the first place, the increase in the complex duties of the minister has tended steadily to crowd preaching out of its place of primary importance. The demand for efficient administration and

for all sorts of social service had made it well-nigh impossible for a minister to find the time for study and sermon preparation that the relatively simple demands of a former generation permitted. So men have allowed their time and strength to be consumed in the doing of all sorts of administrative work to the neglect of their preaching.

Again, it is fair to state that there has been a decided loss of the sense of *message* from modern preaching. The argument and the essay and the descriptive presentation of social situations have intruded upon the message which was originally given with the fire of deep conviction straight from the preacher's flaming soul. Our preachers have not been great and positive in heralding the truth to the very heart of the generation. The old flame of the prophets and the missioners has burned low. The torch of the teacher and educator has taken its place with imperfect success.

This is not to disparage the work of religious education and the task of the teacher-preacher. But it is to assert that nothing ever has taken the place of the ardent message which is good news still. There has been much sorrow expressed because the church has seemed to lose its worshipers. But there is something far worse than to lose the crowd; it is loss beyond remedy when the church loses its message. "Message" is a word often misused; but it is one of the great words nevertheless. The preacher is the messenger and his sermon is a message. Nothing less than this will answer for preaching in this generation.

¹ *A Student in Arms*, Series I, p. 156.

But the criticism against the preachers has been too severe. Neither the churches nor their leaders have failed to the extent that is claimed by the critics. We see this in the way in which the hearts of the people turn again to the institutions and the message of the Christian religion when the days are dark. So we face the future full of courage. The preacher will yet come into his own, and preaching is not played out; it is just entering upon a new expression of power.

It is not too much to say that the way in which the churches and ministers have behaved has earned for them a better judgment and a kinder consideration. The former criticism is put by Donald Hankey as follows:

The clergy are out of touch with the laity. They do not as a rule understand the real difficulties and temptations of the ordinary man. The sin against which they preach is sin as defined in the theological college, a sort of pale lifeless shadow of the real thing. The virtue which they extol is equally a ghost of the real, generous, vital love of good which is the only thing that is of any use in the everyday working life of the actual man.¹

But the ministers have entered the service of the country and have taken up the work of safeguarding the moral life of the soldiers in such sacrificial ways as prove that their ideals at least are right, even if they have not understood as fully as they might the conditions under which the average man lives and works. And in the camps and trenches the chaplains have shown that they are made of the right stuff. They have shared the hardships and dangers of the

men; they have been with them in the supreme moments of life; they have vindicated the old ideals of the ministry which were supposed to have been lost or to have fallen on evil days.

The influence of this practical experience must produce a new type of minister. Not only those who have gone into service away from their churches, but those who have remained at home are alike stimulated by the way in which religion has been connected up with real life in the war. Practical experience of this sort led Hankey to write:

Indications are not wanting that the present crisis may evolve teachers of a new kind in the ranks of the clergy and the professors. Many clergy have enlisted in noncombatant corps, and must there have gained a much deeper sense of the needs of ordinary men than they ever acquired in the University, the clergy school, and the parish. Some of the younger dons have also plunged into life, and they may be expected to produce literature of a new type when they return to their studies.²

Every preacher ought to be thinking carefully about the influence that the war is going to have on his life and his message. Time after time he ought to reflect carefully on the spiritual significance of the mighty conflict as it transforms his own point of view and his use of his talents. This will be a part of the devotional culture of the minister in these times of war and reconstruction. Is the message becoming more vital and real? Is the urgency of preaching increasing? Is there a sense of the power of religion in our words that was not there before the war began? With such questions as these it will be possible to

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 198.

² *Ibid.*, p. 183.

make the spiritual significance of the war a part of the increased equipment of the preacher.

Let us now consider how the modern preacher, thus enlarged in his ideals concerning his own task, is to serve the community in ways which were not apparent before the war began.

The Larger Work of the Preacher Today

Thousands of ministers have been obliged to decide that they would remain at home, carry on the work of the pulpit and parish, and render service necessary to the highest welfare of the nation in the familiar place and through the accepted methods of church work. In countless cases it would have been easier to have gone into camp and trench. The call of romance is there; the spirit of adventure lures every manly soul to the great conflict across the sea. There are no bugles blowing for those who "keep the home fires burning," and for a generation the man who won a cross of some kind somewhere will have the right of eminent appeal to the popular mind.

This is altogether a minor consideration to the man who has settled the question of the place and character of the service that he will render in this age of war. And yet it is not without significance and must be reckoned with in the factors that determine how we shall preach. The important matter for all ministers is that, whether they go abroad or stay at home, they all shall interpret their work in larger terms and derive from the world-situation new energy and courage for an enlarged service. All who stay by the stuff must

get some adequate discipline out of the experience that shall be commensurate with that which is coming to the chaplains and the men in service overseas. *The peril of the minister in America just now is that he will catch no new vision of what it really means to be a preacher and pastor.* The conditions under which the chaplains and other Christian workers overseas or in the camps at home labor are evolving new standards for preaching which will in time seep into the practice of the remotest country pulpit. The men who are meeting this situation know the keen joy of actually taking part in the reconstruction of the methods of preaching.

But in the home parish the external conditions remain much as they were before the war began. Many young men are missing; there are new industrial problems to be faced; but the old church, the old services, the familiar families are all there, and the war is still very far away. This tends to cause the home-staying minister to settle back into the familiar ways, preach about as he used to, make his calls in the easy round, and live in the old routine.

And this means plain suicide in the modern church. Since 1914 the world has changed. We still dress about as we used to and continue to growl about life's little irritations. A man in the lounging-room of his club will still display such lack of perspective and proportion as permits him to interrupt the reading of the casualty list with a peevish complaint at the quality of the bread served him at lunch. But still we do not think as we did four years ago and we never shall again. Our scales of values

has been entirely upset. Conventional standards are broken up. And yet in the midst of all this it is perfectly possible for a minister to perform the established functions, go through the old motions, and "last" for some time in the midst of a patient parish not yet fully awake itself. The momentum of venerable methods picks up such a satisfied minister and bears him onward like a mummy on the Nile at flood. It is a fearful fact. A minister in the United States today may be so busy doing fussy jobs and may so persuade himself that he is useful and necessary to the community that he may become blind as a mole to what is going on in the world around him. He sometimes knows the period of the Nicene Council better than he knows what has happened in Russia since the war began.

Ministers must wake up and get superbly alive now, or they are lost. They must read and reason and decide critical questions. There is something bigger than chickens and parish favors lurking around the parsonages of the land. Ministers must feel the movements of the age and evaluate the changes that are taking place in the world around them. This is the common obligation that rests upon them, whether they go into distinct national and Christian service abroad or decide that they can make an equally important contribution to the highest welfare of the nation while remaining at home.

How can this be done? The continued responsibilities of the parish must be met with service that involves all the resources at the command of the minister. Sermons, visits, weddings, funerals, occasional addresses, com-

munity tasks—these have not been remitted by the war. They must be attended to, for they constitute the old task. We have no more time at our command; there is only the strength of the average man to be used in the work. But there are better tools at hand, and the time and strength at our disposal may be more economically used. The preacher in war time must dispose of his energies in a better way. Time must be made for reading, for serious thinking, for painstaking sermon preparation. These are dangerous days for the man who is fluent in speech and can easily get away with a public address. Almost anyone can consume the time set apart for the sermon in the order of public worship, too few men can really preach a clarifying, moving, and convincing sermon that shall set confused minds straight and bring them to great decisions. But this is the kind of preaching that we must have if the Christian church is to serve the present generation in the place of its supreme need. When a layman is forced to say, "I couldn't make head nor tail out of it," in nine cases out of ten the difficulty is not with the head of the layman, but with the heads of the discourse. The sermon had neither head nor tail nor body, and—what is worse—it had no neck. The preachers of tomorrow must work as they never worked before. They cannot run errands or attend functions so extensively if they are to be God's prophets to a perplexed world.

The preacher never has been given a greater privilege than this. It ought to call out the unused energies of mind and spirit to a nobler service than ever has been rendered by the pulpit. It is

the same call that the nation has sent forth to its young men to defend its liberties, and it ought to be answered in the spirit with which the soldiers have sailed for France.

Owen Seaman has expressed the truth in the last stanzas of his "Pro Patria":

And we, whose burden is to watch and wait—

High-hearted ever, strong in faith and prayer—

We ask what offering we may consecrate,
What humble service share.

To steel our soul against the lust of ease;
To bear in silence, though our hearts may bleed

To spend ourselves, and never count the cost,
For others' greater need;

To go our quiet ways, subdued and sane;
To hush all vulgar clamor of the street;
With level calm to face alike the strain
Of triumph or defeat;

This be our part, for so we serve you best,
So best confirm their prowess and their pride,
Your warrior sons, to whom in this high test
Our fortunes we confide.

The Creator of Public Opinion

The service of the preacher as a creator of public opinion cannot be overestimated in the modern age. In the churches in our communities gather the people who are representative of the highest ideals and the noblest living. The preacher has Sunday after Sunday the privilege of speaking to them on the supreme subjects that can engage the mind and stir the emotions. It may

seem at first glance as if he had scant opportunity to do any creative work in the precious "thirty minutes to raise the dead"; but the value of these times of quickening, if they are rightly used, is great beyond our present realization.

And it is not the great churches in the cities alone where this influence is felt most significantly. This has been put by Arthur Gleason in one of the timely books of the war:

What one cares very much to reach is the solid, silent public opinion of the smaller cities, the towns, and villages. The local storekeeper, the village doctor, the farmer, these are the men who make the real America—the America which responds slowly but irresistibly to a sound presentation of facts. The alert newspaper editor, the hustling real-estate man, the booster for a better-planned town, these citizens shape our public opinion. If once our loyal Middle Westerners know the wrong that has been done people just like ourselves, they will resent it as each of us resents it that has seen it.¹

Now that which Mr. Gleason discerns here so accurately applies to the work of the preacher. It is in the little towns and among the scattered communities that the influences must be set in motion that are finally to carry the nation as a whole forward or backward in its policy and program. What New York City thinks is important; but what the villages of the whole country think is the final fact that determines the policy of the nation. And what the small community thinks is determined in no slight degree by what the pulpit in that community stands for week by week.

¹ *Our Part in the Great War*, p. 275.

If ever there was a call for ministers who are enlightened on matters of international moment it is now. If there is a preacher anywhere who is contented in these earnest days to go on saying over the same old words, going through the same old motions, it would seem as if he had embalmed his own mind and soul in anticipation of an inevitable resignation which the community in due time would reckon as no loss. Here is our civilization faced with the most searching questions and exigent problems of history; here is the church, even in the smallest community, charged with the sacred and solemn responsibility of creating the ideals that will guide the nation into the great day of reconstruction; and now and again we meet a minister who seeks to interpret his task as that of watching the rival denomination on the other corner and saying over like a wearisome parrot the old phrases that the fathers wore out and that the present generation cares nothing about. The very spirit of the times calls for a renewal of intellectual energy and determined utterance that will help create in the minds of the people the ideals which will bear the country through its time of suffering and renewal. It takes hard work to measure up to this trust; no minister who is inclined to indolence or arrogance can last long now. To help create public opinion today is the greatest privilege that ever has come to the preacher.

The Messenger of Courage

Again, the modern preacher must be a man who can give courage and steadfastness to the people. This was one of the chief sources of strength to the

prophets. The words of Isa. 40:1 are intensely binding today, "Comfort ye, comfort ye my people, saith your God." For the world is weary and sad. The cost of this carnage has grown beyond all the power of man to estimate, and the weight of the burden that rests on the souls of the parish is heavier than ever before in the history of the world.

There is only one man in the community who is commissioned and prepared to speak the words of comfort and hope that the people crave. He is the preacher. His task has been defined in the work of the prophets and set forth in the mission of Jesus. When the prophets comforted Israel they set the modern preacher an example; when Jesus brought hope and strength to human hearts he defined the message of his modern representatives, the preachers of the good news of comfort.

But this does not mean that the preacher does not face the tragic meaning of the war and understand just how terrible is the misery that it has brought. The word of hope today must be spoken out of full knowledge of the grief that has swept over the world. There is a sort of blind optimism that dwells in a fool's paradise and cries "peace, peace" when there is no peace. The modern preacher does not live there, and his message is not an irrational assurance couched in idle words. We must win the message from the severest wrestling with the world-situation at its worst, and must face all the facts before seeking to comfort the people.

Of course this means that we have won firm faith in the righteous of our cause, and believe that in the end that which is just and good cannot be

defeated. These are times when the old lines of Browning take on new significance. He dared describe himself as one who

Never turned his back, but marched breast forward;
Never doubted clouds would break; never dreamed though right were worsted wrong would triumph;
Held, we fall to rise, are baffled to fight better, sleep to wake.

The literature produced by the war is full of references to these sources of courage in the rightness of the cause. Richardson Wright puts it in this way: "The invulnerable armor you must wear in these days is an unflinching belief in the righteousness of our cause."¹

The Bishop of London in a sermon says: "The positive comfort is this—God has never allowed deviltry, lust, and tyranny finally to triumph in His world."²

Now if this is more than a mere theory it must afford real comfort to the hearts of men in these days. It may take time to insure the triumph of the just cause; but in the end it is certain. If this is so we can afford to wait and to trust, even through darker days of reconstruction than those that marked the war itself. The modern preacher in America can well afford to link with some of the great comforting tests of the Old Testament the words of the hymn that has been sung by our people through the dark days of warfare:

Then conquer we must, when our cause
it is just.

¹ *Letters to the Mother of a Soldier*, p. 12.

² *Christ and the World at War*, p. 134.

It is a glorious mission to be such a messenger of courage to one's generation. The poets have been singing in a way to put heart into the men and women who struggle and suffer. Dyneley Hussey has expressed this message of courage in one of the war sonnets as follows:

Alone amid the battle-din untouched
Stands out one figure beautiful, serene;
No grime of smoke nor reeking blood hath smutched
The virgin brow of this unconquered queen.
She is the Joy of Courage vanquishing
The unstilled tremors of the fearful heart;
And it is she that bids the poet sing
And gives to each the strength to bear
his part.

Her eye shall not be dimmed, but as a flame
Shall light the distant ages with its fire,
That men may know the glory of her name,
That purified our souls of fear's desire.
And she doth calm our sorrow, soothe our pain,
And she shall lead us back to peace again.³

What Does it All Mean?

It is apparent immediately that no preacher can speak with satisfaction in these days unless he has thought through the meaning of the Great War and is in his own mind clear about the part that his country is taking in the struggle.

This is a severe test. Hundreds of ministers have been faithful workers in the cause of peace. They have been members of the various organizations that have been at work in the interests

³ *A Treasury of War Poetry*, p. 179.

of international unity and good-will. They have preached sermons on the subject of universal peace and have interpreted the teachings of Jesus as bearing positively upon the program for peace.

Then came the war. At first it seemed as if we could carry out the part of a neutral in the great struggle. The terrible character of the struggle, as it developed a type of savagery unknown before in the history of fratricidal warfare, intensified the instinctive horror against war on the part of preachers. Probably the attitude of thousands is represented by that of Dr. Charles E. Jefferson, of New York. He had been one of the most efficient and forceful champions of the peace cause in America. He summed up his impressions with his characteristic clarity of style in the volume entitled *What the War Is Teaching*, published in 1916. But when the declaration of war came Dr. Jefferson accepted the situation and met the new conditions loyally.

There have been a few ministers who have been unable to follow in this path. They are committed to a radical pacifist position and find it impossible to justify the war in any way. Such men have a most difficult position to fill in the present situation. Probably the ground on which they stand may be understood by reading either or both of two books: *New Wars for Old* (1916), by John Haynes Holmes; and *The Outlook for Religion* (1918), by W. E. Orchard. Dr. Holmes makes a clear statement of radical pacifism. Dr. Orchard writes with trenchant force.

But after the declaration of war, based as it was upon the record of patience and restraint on the part of

the United States, it is difficult to see how a preacher can possibly take the position maintained by the non-resistant pacifist. Granted all possible freedom for the sake of conscience, there are certain responsibilities for the guidance of the people that would seem practically to demand that a preacher shall support the nation in its struggle or for the time retire from the pulpit. However, that question concerns the individual minister and those to whom he is responsible. No law can be laid down that will apply to all cases. Certainly the objector to military action as a means of settling such a question as the one now being fought out in Europe has a hard time.

Let us turn now to certain books that will be of assistance in the present struggle to the preacher, who must justify to his own mind and conscience the war program of the nation. There are scores of men who have passed through the experience of settling the question, and to their work we may turn with confidence.

To anyone who is inclined to question whether or not we might have remained neutral longer than we did or even permanently, it is a pleasure to commend the second section of Arthur Gleason's *Our Part in the Great War*. In six short chapters under the caption "Why Some Americans Are Neutral" Mr. Gleason shows how a time comes in every great moral question when neutrality is no longer possible if one is to keep his integrity and self-respect. The world is united too closely to allow any part of it to suffer great wrongs without involving all the rest. So the time comes when active participation in a great struggle is a responsibility placed by

God himself upon an individual and a nation. Under those conditions

'Tis man's perdition to be safe
When for the truth he ought to die.

So Mr. Gleason accepts the war "as a revelation of the human spirit in one of its supreme struggles between right and wrong." And in the presence of such a struggle it is impossible for a Christian to be neutral. There is only one side to the question, and only one side on which a true man can stand. It is impossible to read the report that Mr. Gleason makes of his personal observations in France without feeling that the utmost exertion of force is necessary to curb the plundering lust of the nation that has run amuck in the midst of modern civilization. The Great War is the tremendous assertion of the moral idealism of the world against the greatest enemy of human welfare that ever has arisen in the course of history.

But there is another leader of American thought who has written a little book which for power to set the issue forth in convincing fashion is unsurpassed. In *The Challenge of the Present Crisis* by Harry Emerson Fosdick the perplexed preacher will find help as nowhere else in the writer's knowledge. The discussion is not long; but just as Dr. Fosdick never touches anything that he does not illuminate, here he has done one of the most useful and necessary bits of service that he had yet performed in his most useful life.

Dr. Fosdick writes out of his heart in the whole matter. He has felt precisely as nearly all the ministers in the country felt from the outbreak of the

conflict. He has not changed his mind at all; war is still to him a folly and a horror. Perhaps his spirit in the discussion is best revealed in the remarkable prayer with which he pleads the cause of America:

O God, bless our Country! We lament before Thee the cruel necessity of war. But what could we do? Our dead by hundreds lie beneath the sea; the liberties that our sires baptized with their blood and handed down to us in trust, so that they are not ours alone but all humanity's, are torn in shreds; and a foe is loose against us whom we have not chosen, whom we have not aggrieved, and who in his will to conquer counts solemn oaths to be but scraps of paper and the chivalry of the seas an empty name. We have grown weary, to the sickness of our souls, sitting comfortable here, while others pour their blood like water forth for those things which alone can make this earth a decent place for men to live upon. What could we do? With all the evils of our nation's life, that we acknowledge and confess with shame, we yet plead before Thee that we have not wanted war, that we hate no man, that we covet no nation's possessions, that we have nothing for ourselves to gain from war, unless it be a clear conscience and a better earth for all the nations to live and grow in. We plead before Thee that if patience and good-will could have won the day, we gladly should have chosen them, and patience long since would have had her perfect work. And now we lay our hand upon our sword. Since we must draw it, O God, help us to play the man and to do our part in teaching ruthlessness once for all what it means to wake the sleeping lion of humanity's conscience.¹

One knows after reading this that the discussion is not an essay, but rather

¹ *The Challenge of the Present Crisis*, p. 46.

the report of "the struggle of the writer to see his way and keep his soul alive in this terrific generation." Dr. Fosdick understands the grim meaning of that struggle through which many a minister has been passing as he has wrestled with the problem thrown upon him by the war and has tried to decide just what and how he could preach to his people. As he says, "One of the most important battles of this generation is being fought behind closed doors, where men are making up their minds whether this war is to leave them social pessimists or not."¹

The world gives little recognition to the reality and significance of the mental struggle through which the ministers have passed since the Great War began; but we have seen it in its intensity and know how searching it has been. Not only the ministers in conspicuous positions have passed through the struggle, but the men in the smaller parishes as well have faced the problem with as great seriousness.

And certainly the experience has sufficed to set forth some values in a clearer light. Ideas and institutions that occupied the foreground in current thinking have retreated strangely into the dim regions of consciousness. It was put in quaint form by one of the early books on the war. The references are to English life, but they are equally applicable to American conditions. The following is a piece of the dialogue:

"I don't know," said Wagstaffe thoughtfully. "War is hell, and all that, but it has a good deal to recommend it. It wipes out all the small nuisances of peace-time."

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 2.

² Ian Hay, *The First Hundred Thousand*, p. 120.

"Such as —?"

"Well, Suffragettes, and Futurism, and ——— and ———."

"Bernard Shaw," suggested another voice. "Hall Caine —."

"Yes, and the Tango, and party politics, and golf-maniacs. Life and Death, and the things that really are big, get viewed in their proper perspective for once in a way."

Surely it is a welcome relief to be freed from the tyranny of some of the nuisances in current thinking. At least the big issues are in the front now, and the preacher can be sure that he speaks to a new temper. We do not quite know just what it all means. The time of definition has not come yet. We can feel it, however, and it acts quite outside our conscious recognition to give a certain depth and reality to preaching that it did not possess before the fact of war laid us under its solemnity and bade us put off all fooling.

At this point it will be worth while to look at the way in which men of earnest spirit and profound seriousness have looked at the war. There is no clearer vision on the part of any man than that possessed by Rev. Robert F. Horton, of England, and this is what he says:

It is one of the greatest moments in the life of the world that we are living through now; one of the greatest steps in the progress of humanity is about to be taken; in human evolution nothing has happened before like this; it is the great step by which nations raise themselves into the moral life and learn to behave to one another on a moral principle and in accordance with the eternal laws of God.³

³ *Christ and the World at War*, p. 81.

Donald Hankey put the motives of the soldier, which must also be the motives of the citizens who are to carry on the work of the soldiers, as follows:

If we fought from blood-lust or hate, war would be sordid. But if we fight as only a Christian may, that friendship and peace with our foes may become possible, then fighting is our duty, and our fasting and dirt, our wounds and our death, are our beauty and God's glory.¹

Now if the preacher can win his own standing-ground in the midst of the current confusion in some such noble way as this he will have the right spirit in which to give his message to his community. And the temper in which he addresses himself to his work is the primary concern in these days. Unless he is thinking clearly and unless his own heart is right he will have no message and the community will look to him in vain for leadership.

THE PREMILLENNIAL MENACE

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To divide Christians by appeal to theological differences in these days savors of disloyalty. We need unity of religious spirit if our national morale is to be strong and hopeful. But the present crusade of premillenarians is not a matter of mere theology. It strikes at the heart of our religion if not of our patriotism. For this reason we discuss it. An assault upon our faith in a God who works through human ideals and national sacrifice for the sake of a better world is too dangerous to be permitted without protest and exposure. Professor Case writes with the facts before him, without bitterness but with warning. Since his paper has been put in type the newspapers report that several of the leaders of one of these movements have been found guilty of disloyal utterances and sentenced to imprisonment.

The American nation is engaged in a gigantic effort to make the world safe for democracy. While pledged to give unreservedly of its blood and treasure for the attainment of this ideal, there are those in our midst who declare that the undertaking is foredoomed to failure. The writer has before him a recent letter

containing these oracular words: "If it were not pathetic it would be silly to think that democracy, if it prevails, will cause wars to cease. The men who believe this are simply chasing a phantom that will always elude them. There is no solution except the coming of Christ as he foretold."

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 241.

The Present Crisis

The teaching which inspired the foregoing quotation is being widely advocated at the present time. In the name of religion we are told that the world cannot be appreciably improved by human effort. A few temporary reforms may be effected here and there, but on the whole the situation must grow constantly worse until God intervenes to destroy the present world and establish a new order of society by catastrophic means. This transformation can be brought about only by the second coming of Christ, whose return is momentarily expected. According to this teaching, commonly known as premillenarianism, it has been divinely decreed that wars shall prevail and other evils multiply rapidly upon the earth as the moment for Christ's return draws near. The present world-conflict, with its exhibition of horrors unparalleled in the history of warfare, is hailed as clear evidence of the nearness of the end.

Under ordinary circumstances one might excusably pass over premillenarianism as a wild and relatively harmless fancy. But in the present time of testing it would be almost traitorous negligence to ignore the detrimental character of the premillennial propaganda. By proclaiming that wars cannot be eliminated until Christ returns and that in the meantime the world must grow constantly worse, this type of teaching strikes at the very root of our present national endeavor to bring about a new day for humanity, when this old earth shall be made a better place in which to live, and a new democracy of nations shall arise to render wars

impossible. While this struggle is demanding every ounce of the nation's energy, premillenarians are advocating a type of teaching which is fundamentally antagonistic to our present national ideal. Who is going to devote himself with zest to a cause of which he is convinced beforehand that it runs counter to the divine decrees and is doomed to failure before it is begun? At the present moment premillenarianism is a serious menace to our democracy and is all the more dangerous because it masquerades under the cloak of piety.

Premillennial Pessimism

Representative premillenarians shall speak for themselves on this subject. They regard social and political reforms as quite incapable of bringing any substantial relief to humanity. No institution of present society, not even the church itself, can effect permanent improvement or direct the procession of human history upward in its course. The present world must grow worse, and they are called misguided church leaders who think and preach that "civic righteousness as seen in clamoring for sanitary tenements, voting out the saloon, purifying the theater and politics, eliminating segregated vice, will regenerate a city."

An oft-quoted premillennial authority protests against those people who "think they see signs of promise in movements of reform. They think to give the church a better shape, and the state a better government, and the world a freer Bible, and that thus the millennium will come. I have no confidence in any such hopes. I see more of promise in the darkest features of the

times than in all these pious and patriotic dreams." More and more is the Christian state coming to be a "tool of Satan," in the opinion of another representative of this school.

In Blackstone's *Jesus Is Coming*, a book that may almost be called the Bible of premillennialism, we read:

Surely then this wicked world, which is so radically opposed to God and under the present control of his arch enemy, is not growing better. On the contrary, judgment, fire, and perdition are before it. . . . The mystery of iniquity which already worked in the days of the apostles shall culminate in the man of sin, the personal antichrist whom even the mass of the Jews will receive and who will be so great and rule with such universal authority that he is to be destroyed only by the personal appearing of the Lord himself. There is no hope then for the world but in the coming of Christ the King.

In an impassioned outburst of desperation at the horrors of the present war a more recent prophet of the premillennial gospel offers a suffering world the same counsel of despair. He sees no help for the situation except through the second coming of Christ: "I am hoping and intensely praying for the return of the Lord in my day and generation to put an end to this suicide of nations . . . and bring in the kingdom of the everlasting peace."

Although premillennarians parade their views under the aegis of Christianity, they uniformly deny the adequacy of the Christian gospel's power to permeate the masses of society and elevate humanity to a higher plane of living. They emphatically affirm, not only that the world is growing no better, but that the church itself is losing its spiritual

power and is destined for the same wrack and ruin that await every other social institution. Romanism, we are told, is already Satan's peculiar possession, and Protestantism is rapidly sinking to the same level of alleged iniquity. Blackstone is confident that no one can fail to see the corrupting influences of the leaven at present permeating even the "evangelical denominations"; and one of the speakers at the "prophetic conference" of 1914 declared with evident relish that "today we witness the apostasy of gentile Christendom."

Still more recently another ardent protagonist of premillennarianism says:

It is quite true that those who accept the Bible as a divine revelation [apparently only premillennialists belong to this favored class] do not look for the transformation of nations and industrial classes through the operation of the moral ideals of the Lord Jesus Christ. . . . The two great outstanding conditions in the days before the flood were "corruption" and "violence," and no two words could be chosen that would more aptly express the existing and rapidly maturing conditions of the present time. . . . So we may be increasingly confident that the time is near when the Lord Jesus Christ shall be revealed from heaven.

Thus the premillennialist throws up the sponge. He raises the white flag of surrender, confessing himself hopelessly incapable of successfully combating the evils of the present world. He passively awaits divine intervention, in the meantime consoling himself with such oft-repeated phrases as, "Surely it could not be worse. This is the most awful destruction the world has ever seen and it surely must be the coming end of the age." "World-conditions

point clearly, unmistakably, and positively to the end of our age. Prophecies relating to that end may soon begin to be fulfilled."

Practical Consequences

The inevitable effect of such teaching upon those who come under its influence, particularly at the present time, is easily imagined. Even under ordinary circumstances this pessimistic outcry against our present social order is sufficiently harmful in its deadening effect upon the individual's civic conscience. If the world cannot be improved, but is destined to grow constantly worse—and the more rapid the deterioration the better, since Christ's coming will thereby be hastened—why should one bother about the futile work of social betterment or attempt to establish more ideal forms of government? At best the game is hardly worth the candle, for any temporary success is a backward step delaying by so much the advent of the new kingdom to be ushered in with the catastrophic end of the world.

Consistent premillenarianism presents peculiar dangers at the present moment. According to its interpretation of national duty, what does it matter whether America is victorious or defeated in the present war? A victory can have no permanently beneficial results. If the end of all things does not come within a short time, then the world must be afflicted with still more terrible calamities in the near future, regardless of who may be the victors in the present struggle. To grow worse is not only the world's inevitable destiny but also humanity's only hope, since by this means alone

will Christ's return be made possible. Hence if Germany can give us a worse world than we now have—and who believes that her capacity for devising horrors is yet exhausted!—the premillennialist might well want Germany to win. A Teutonic victory ought to bring us nearer to the end of the present world.

The issue is a very practical one at present. If premillennialism is true, as its advocates so unhesitatingly affirm, why should the American people make sacrifices and the youth of the land risk life and limb in a cause that in the nature of the case is doomed to failure whichever way the victory turns? Such teaching may easily become, if in fact it has not already become, an effective instrument in the hands of propagandists who wish to undermine the nation's efficiency in the present crisis. He indeed would be a stupid enemy who did not readily perceive that to aid and abet the premillennial movement is one of the safest and most subtle forms of activity in which he can engage. Here he is doubly secure. To discover his real motive is extremely difficult, and when suspected he may take refuge behind America's inherent aversion for anything that smacks of religious persecution. And all the while he has at his disposal a mighty instrument for strangling the pious but unwary citizen's sense of duty toward democracy and humanity.

Extent of the Propaganda

There is something very suggestive about the extent and vigor of premillennial activities in recent times. If these activities were confined to a few ob-

scure sects the danger might be comparatively insignificant, but this virus has been injected into the spiritual veins of large numbers of people in various denominations. A prominent eastern minister in one of the larger Protestant bodies painfully confesses that his denomination is "cracked from sea to sea," some of its most influential pulpits even being occupied by men who are actively indoctrinating their audiences in this vicious teaching. Already the menace has assumed such proportions that Christian leaders among Methodists, Baptists, Presbyterians, and similarly influential bodies are beginning to realize the necessity of actively opposing the pernicious propaganda.

The danger is not restricted to a single locality; it has become nationwide. In a recent publication a southern writer informs us that "this error of the premillennialists is doing a great deal to undermine the faith of our people and lead them away from the things that are worth while. . . . That some very distinguished men have taken up with this error makes it all the more dangerous to our people." From the Canadian Middle West comes the information that "the premillennial propaganda is exceedingly aggressive these days, and our people are not too well informed on the subject and so fail to realize the practical implications of this pessimistic philosophy of life which is especially to be deplored at the present time." Every preacher is admonished to equip himself at once to show "the folly and futility of that most helpless of all gospels, millenarianism, which thrives upon wars and rumors of wars and strikes at the very heart of all democratic ideals."

From north, south, east, and west come similar warnings of danger. One pastor informs us that in his part of the country distinct efforts have been made to establish in almost every church of the various denominations a premillennial control of the management, thus preventing the appointment of any ministers who were not of this stripe. With a thoroughness suspiciously Teutonic the premillennial movement in its present activities is everywhere making its influence felt, and felt in so subtle a way as to threaten our national enthusiasm at one of its most vulnerable points.

Disseminating Agencies

From distributing centers such as Boston, Chicago, Los Angeles, and other vantage-points, the literature of premillenarianism is being spread broadcast over the country in order to win as many converts as possible to the premillennial view. Books, periodicals, pamphlets, and tracts in large quantities are being industriously circulated. Extensive use is made of advertising facilities in both the religious and the secular press. Frequent conferences are held, some on a smaller and some on a larger scale, as a means of creating interest and attracting attention. Special evangelistic campaigns are sometimes devoted very largely to this propaganda. In sending out what he terms "an S.O.S. call" for help to put into the hands of his bewildered people, a New Hampshire pastor says that they have just passed through the nightmare of an evangelistic campaign of which about a dozen addresses were devoted to the advocacy of premillenarianism.

Almost every Sunday numerous well-meaning pastors are vigorously advocat-

ing this harmful delusion, doubtless not realizing the insidious character of their message. Not even the children of the Sunday school escape. The innocent youths upon whose loyalty and devotion to democracy the future welfare of our nation depends are often subjected to premillennial indoctrination by teachers addicted to the use of the well-known *Sunday School Times*, which has now become an open exponent of premillennialism. Nor are the soldiers always spared. Premillennial literature finds its way to the cantonments, and occasionally chaplains or Y.M.C.A. speakers strive to inject this enervating teaching into the blood of our fighting men.

Large amounts of money are being expended upon the propaganda. An estimate of the cost of advertising alone, to say nothing of the still greater expenses of issuing for free distribution books, tracts, and other literature, shows that the enterprise is being heavily financed. Premillennialists resent the suggestion that enemy gold is behind their activities, and one group of them has publicly affirmed that the federal authorities' inspection of their books failed to justify this suspicion. However that may be, we have in the premillennial propaganda as a whole an instance of serious economic waste by which large sums of money are being diverted from projects that might contribute directly toward the success of the war. On the other hand, this money is being employed to cultivate in the people a conviction that the war is futile and that it is not our task to seek to improve the present order of society. Essentially the same injury is done to our national cause, whether it is German gold that is being used to boost pre-

millenarianism or whether would-be loyal citizens by freely contributing of their own resources inadvertently play into the hands of the enemy.

What wonder that government workers speaking in certain communities on behalf of the recent Liberty Loan were accorded a cool reception! How could one expect enthusiastic support for a national enterprise from citizens whose sense of social responsibility had been lulled to sleep Sunday after Sunday by preachers proclaiming the nearness of Christ's return, the necessity of constant deterioration until the end comes, and the utter inability of human effort to establish permanently improved forms of government? Here is a sample situation:

I have been speaking for the third Liberty Loan two and three times each day for the past ten days and have not been in a single community that some evangelist, so called, has not been there recently preaching "the last days" idea. The presentation seems to me to be a great disaster to communities where people accept it. . . . This certainly has the effect of dividing sentiment, if not the turning of the many who accept it from the activity needed now in the prosecution of this war.

I.W.W. Affinities

The principles of premillennialism readily lend themselves to the purpose of the I.W.W. propaganda, with its radical hatred of all organized society and its vigorous anti-war polemic. When one regards the present world as irredeemably bad, it is only a short step to a typical I.W.W. tirade against existing institutions. And if the present war cannot possibly issue in an improved state of affairs, it is by no means inconsistent on the part of those who hold

this belief to use every means in their power in order to avoid personal participation in the conflict. Thus two fundamental premillenarian principles are pressed to their logical issue.

This result is exhibited in a letter received a few months ago. It angrily reviles the church and particularly those ministers who advocate loyal participation in the present war. They are denounced as menials of the rich and in league with the money magnates who are accused of precipitating and perpetuating the war for their own personal gain. A few words from this insane tirade will show its strong premillennial leanings:

Ye go out to all parts of this country and beg and command the people to go over across the seas to save your worthless hides for a little longer. Know you that neither army will ever return nor will any man of them leave the field of battle, for God will rise in his might and thunder from Sinai and send fire from heaven to consume them and their guns and their ammunition, their hospital corps and their trucks, so that where a battlefield now is will be but charred remains and volcanic ash. . . . We draw near to that time, yet you preach only slaughter and send more men to the battlefields where they can do no good.

Patriotic Camouflage

Among premillenarians the Russellites have perhaps been the most ready to press their principles to a logical issue. As a result they, along with their I.W.W. neighbors, have fallen under the ban of the authorities both in Canada and in the United States. Now they hasten to assure the world that they never had any thought of opposing the war, "for the reason that they recognize it of divine permission and could not oppose its progress without opposing the very

foundation of their belief." But this very confession brings its own condemnation. Of course the premillennialist does not oppose the war; what he opposes—always in principle and sometimes by overt act—is any hopeful effort to win this war and thereby so reconstitute international relationships that warfare may henceforth be eliminated as a factor in human experience. It is this negative attitude that constitutes his most serious crime against society and against the nation in its present hour of testing.

Government interference with the Russellites has had a disturbing effect in other premillennial camps and has called forth declarations of patriotism, even though there has been no abatement of effort to proclaim the early end of the world and its irredeemable wretchedness. But this pessimism tends to become more carefully camouflaged. An illustration in point is furnished by the recent call for a "Bible Conference on the return of our Lord." The announcements issued early in April made conspicuous the expressions "Return of our Lord" and "Second Coming." But in later circulars these phrases either dropped out of sight in the headlines or were given a less conspicuous place, while stress was placed upon the study of "prophecy." In the meantime the federal authorities were reported to have suppressed premillennial activities in Los Angeles, and caution doubtless seemed the better part of valor. A patriotic flavor was given the enterprise by placing the imprint of a Third Liberty Loan button upon the stationery and by circulating a leaflet containing President Wilson's advice to soldiers to read their Bibles.

However sincere may have been the motives prompting these patriotic decorations, the pessimistic emphasis of premillennialism has not been changed in the least. Whether boldly pushed to its logical issue, or quietly insinuated into the belief of the masses, all forms of premillenarianism are equally delusive in principle and similarly vicious in practice.

An Ancient Delusion

The belief in a catastrophic end of the present world is a very old and persistent delusion. Various ancient peoples imagined that the ills of life were too powerful to be conquered by a gradual process of human attainment, and so they predicted a cataclysmic end of present society to be followed by the sudden inauguration of an entirely new order. This type of thinking was especially popular within certain Palestinian Jewish circles, where it was offered as a means of escape from sufferings experienced during the first and second centuries B.C. and the first century A.D.

From Judaism this elusive hope passed over to Christianity, where it was linked with the expectation of an early return of Christ in visible form to rescue his disciples from their unhappy position in a hostile pagan world. Down through the Christian centuries first one and then another expectant premillennialist, vainly proclaiming the nearness of the end, was swept aside and forgotten as the stream of human history moved steadily onward in its uninterrupted course. From time to time striking events that seemed temporarily to presage the end always passed, leaving the hope of the second coming

unfulfilled and imposing upon man himself the duty of repairing the damaged world and devising ways to ward off similar disasters in the future.

Thus men have gradually learned that they must work out their own salvation with fear and trembling. To the inner life of the spirit, and not to a cosmic cataclysm, they must look for the help of God who works through human agencies to make known and to accomplish his purposes in the world. An hour of agony such as that through which mankind is now passing becomes a new divine summons to the people of the twentieth century to contribute their part toward the establishment of a better world and the inauguration of a new day for humanity. Concretely our special task is that of defending the sacred rights of democracy and helping to make this ideal supreme in all international relationships.

An Enemy of Democracy

The premillennialist hears no imperious summons to this new task. But that is not all. He insists on being a missionary of pessimism, thereby dampening the enthusiasm of many whose assistance is mightily needed for the accomplishment of the gigantic task in hand. He still clings to the time-honored delusion of the nearness of the end, indulging himself in this antiquated luxury of the imagination, and vainly praying God to destroy the very world that the suppliant himself ought to be loyally struggling to reform. In assuming this attitude wittingly or unwittingly he becomes a pronounced enemy of democracy and a serious menace to the nation's morale in this hour of its need.

THE MORAL VALUE OF PATRIOTISM

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A nation is more than a group of people living under a government and occupying a certain area. Of this we are sure. Yet just how to define the word lies beyond our power. Nationality is as shy of definition as life itself. In many cases it seems to express a common descent and inheritance of the same customs; but some who share these inheritances, like the Slavs, have no political unity. Sometimes, as in the United States, it is the expression of political unity, where there is no community of origin. Sometimes political history, origin, and community of cultural inheritances go to make up national feeling, as in the case of France, England, and Japan, although even in these countries each population may be traced back to different ethnic stocks. Modern nations have their history, but they themselves are more than history. In them all there is the plus element of what for lack of a better term may be called a national spirit. As President Faunce has so well said, "Nationality is a collective memory and a collective hope." Yet when we undertake to analyze and describe this spirit we find ourselves again involved in a maze of forces crossing and recrossing one another, by no means easy to combine either in logic or in fact.

In treating of a nation we thus have to deal with an entity which is more or less logically arbitrary, but virtually real. France, for example, for centuries slowly evolved from a group of feudal states at

last to find a unity in a constitution. But France to the Frenchman—and nowadays to the world—stands for something vastly more than a political unity. It has a place and a mission in the world to which its government is almost incidental. Similarly in the case of Germany. The German Empire as a political unity is vastly less important than *das Deutschtum*.

So it comes to pass that loyalty to one's nation is vastly more inclusive than loyalty to one's government. True, when as in the case of Germany a government is set forth as the state and makes its own ambitions and policies the guiding forces within the group which it rules, it becomes the object of loyalty. But the nation, whatever may be its constitutional aspect, is more than its government. Loyalty to one's nation—or when government is imperfect or lacking, one's people—which is the only workable definition of patriotism, is on the one side a sort of property right in a social inheritance, and on the other side an idealistic devotion to the mission which its citizens believe is the duty of a state to perform.

It follows, therefore, that patriotism gets its highest moral value not from itself as a state of soul. Patriotism no more than sincerity is a guaranty of wisdom. Its moral values are derived from the significance of the nation. If this significance be morally indefensible, patriotism becomes a menace. If the

political, economic, and international policies of a nation are those which are morally justifiable, patriotism is an evangel of peace and justice.

I

Yet at the outset of any attempt to estimate the worth of patriotism we are met by the denial of the legitimacy of the feeling itself. Nor is this denial that of the famous—and too often misunderstood—saying of Samuel Johnson, "Patriotism is the last recourse of scoundrels." It involves the legitimacy of nationalism itself. Radical democracy rejects patriotism because it is loyalty to a national destiny. The socialist is an anti-nationalist. The line of cleavage which he would establish runs between economic classes and not between political entities. To that end he would abolish national loyalties. In the same proportion as loyalty to the nation develops, the follower of Marx sees danger to the development of class consciousness. Three-quarters of a century ago Marx proclaimed the revolutionary doctrine that patriotism and a sense of national unity are the survival of a doomed bourgeois order, a superstition born of the deception of the proletariat in the interest of their subjection to the bourgeoisie. In its place he would have established an internationalism based on the world-wide union of workingmen. From the point of view of Marxian socialism fraternity is identical with a united proletariat and the breaking down of national units. Just how this world wide unity of the working classes is to be accomplished, just what the future is to furnish in place of nations, socialism has not ventured to set forth in any thor-

oughly constructive program. It is content for the present to emphasize the negative side of progress and the destruction of existing social and economic institutions, relegating social reorganization to social revolution itself. Theoretically, therefore, orthodox socialism is opposed to war and to nationality as the great danger to proletarian solidarity. In actual practice, however, nationalism has proved too strong for the socialistic movement. German socialists have supported the war of the Hohenzollerns, and other socialists have rallied to the support of the nations to which they belong.

All this, however, with two outstanding exceptions. The first exception is that of the bolshevik socialism of Russia. How far this movement has been financed by Germany is still a matter of conjecture. At all events it has helped Germany beyond calculation. Its champions, however, are consistent Marxians in their pacifism. They have naïvely sought to attach to themselves the working classes of Germany and Austria, and have brought about a national debacle under the guise of proletarian solidarity. Their red flag flying above their embassy in Berlin is a flaunting of a fatal internationalism in the face of anti-democratic autocracy. Universal democracy as truly as Russia is paying the fearful price of the effort of idealistic sheep to convert materialistic wolves. Brest-Litovsk is the appalling *reductio ad absurdum* of anti-nationalism. Promises of a socialist utopia have been fulfilled in German conquest. For German socialists of the majority group, so far from uniting with their bolshevik brothers in a proletarian world-order,

have supported the Hohenzollern autocracy in the dismemberment of Russia.

The second exception is that of German socialists in the United States. Here the movement has been so thoroughly organized by German sympathizers that it has become the outstanding center of opposition to war by the United States against Germany. Masquerading as opposition to war itself, nationalistic tendencies in Germany have re-expressed themselves among German socialists in the United States. The St. Louis vote of the socialist party has expressed the attitude of Teutonic socialism. Non-socialist Germans in the political campaigns have attached themselves to socialistic opposition to a war with Germany. In their secret propaganda socialists have favored Germany on the ground that the German government was more friendly to the working people than the free government of America. Patriotism has persisted, but it is the German and not the American patriotism. Those who have been suspected of being leaders of American patriotism have been excluded from socialistic groups. Organized socialism in America has turned itself into anti-Americanism, condemning a war of national self-protection and pleading for peace in speech self-betrayed by its German accent. The situation is too plain to need argument. The loyal socialists of the United States are those who have broken with the socialistic party because they have seen the danger which German success threatens to a democratic movement. The bolsheviki may be sincere; the German socialist of America is disloyal.

This sinister situation doubtless is already being controlled by the rise of a

new patriotism which properly discriminates between a nation where socialism is not democratic, and nations that favor democracy without being socialistic.

The issue grows clearer every day: Is nationalism indeed a curse? Is patriotism indeed a virtue? That international crimes have been wrought in the name of nationalism must be admitted. In the name of patriotism strong nations have oppressed the weak. National pride has given countenance to national aggression and brutality. National egotism made Continental Europe an armed camp and drenched whole territories with blood of helpless peoples. Germans, Magyars, Russians, and Turks, not to mention others, have slaughtered millions for their own ends. All this and more must be admitted as legitimate charges against nationalism and patriotism of a certain sort.

But it does not follow that nationalism and patriotism of another sort are of necessity evil. All intelligent patriots must have sympathy with many of the ideas which socialist internationalism seeks to embody. But the central aim of socialism, the world-wide solidarity of the proletariat and the abolition of nationalities, is a reform against history. The chief elements of modern civilization have been very intimately connected with national groups. Civilization is a compound of national achievements. Each nation—using that term in a broad sense—has been a laboratory in which definite cultural ideas have been developed. It is a commonplace that Egypt, Judea, Greece, and Rome, each in its creative national epoch, perfected some cultural element which social evolution has incorporated and placed at the disposal of the entire world. Modern

nations just as truly have their contributions to make to world-life. Without the national life the rights of the individual now so outstanding in democratic states would never have come into existence. Personal liberty is impossible without the protection of the state. Differences in state life enable citizens of one nation to possess rights which are forbidden to citizens of another nation. If it had possessed no national life, how would it have been possible for the American state to work out its characteristic contributions to human welfare—the identification of citizenship with the state, the right of private initiative, the equality of opportunity, the elevation of women into the full rights of persons, the extension of education and the growth of religious liberty, the growing recognition of economic freedom and self-direction of the working classes, the protection of weaker nations, and the regard for international law and arbitration? These inestimably precious advantages have been made possible by national democracy. To expect a reconstruction of human life in a world-state is to confess subjection to impracticable dreams. The fate of Russian radicalism in its dealing with Germany is a warning against enthusiasm for paper utopias.

Unless history is about to reverse its tendencies it is the nation upon which we must build the future. Universal human welfare will result from cooperative nationalism. Great empires have not been possible since the rise of nations. The Roman Empire was able to produce an extraordinarily efficient type of internal organization and to continue through centuries of warfare because it did not have to face the problems of creative nations. The peoples it con-

trolled had no further contribution to make to history, no traditions for which their citizens were ready to die. It was better for them to enjoy the Roman peace as subjects than to attempt revolt, for they had no national ideals worth fighting for. Only in the case of the little Jewish state was the Roman Empire threatened by a serious revolt. That is to say, there was no worthwhile patriotism because the nations had ceased to have the power to make contributions to human progress.

When one compares the Roman Empire with the modern world a difference is at once apparent. It was threatened by no violated nationalism. Napoleon at one time controlled practically the entire Continent of Europe. But he was attempting to control national powers. His empire was short-lived because the inner forces of national life were expansive and yearly increased the strain upon the military unity and control which he imposed. National life was sooner or later bound to express itself in national explosions.

The same thing is even more emphatically true now. If it were conceivable that the German people could establish a military empire like that of Napoleon, the rise of national patriotisms would sooner or later inaugurate a period of rebellion, war, and the re-emergence of national units. We can already see this in the case of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, where the Poles, Czechs, and Jugoslavs are striving steadily for larger national self-existence. They can, of course, within certain limits be restrained and coerced, for they have no national organization to give direction to ethnic loyalty. But an empire composed of conquered nations would compress

national spirit to the point where violent disintegration would certainly appear. Militarism can maintain supremacy in a modern world only as long as its masters are outside the pale of the inevitable development of popular rights. The modern democracies are anti-militaristic, hostile to wars of conquest, and increasingly mindful of international justice. A German world-state would fall like any social anachronism.

Admitting, therefore, that there are dangers in patriotism and that nations are as yet undoubtedly competitive groups, we are all the more concerned with the purposes and ideals of nations. The danger of patriotism to the world-order lies, not in nationality and patriotism, but in the sort of national policies which they represent. If nationality and patriotism are to be identified with German theories of the state, a German national loyalty will result. Nationality and patriotism are then undoubted evils which ought to be remedied. But a nation composed of persons who regard national welfare as consistent with the welfare of other nations is not a curse. Patriotism that prompts a nation to protect weaker nations from their stronger neighbors and seeks to lead in co-operative effort for the welfare of humanity is the promise of a new and better world-order.

Can patriotism thus be made a co-operative rather than a belligerent virtue? Or in the age which is to come after the war must we expect a development of militaristic patriotism? Will the defeat of Germany mean what the success of Germany would mean? Is the world to become a group of mutually antagonistic political units each seeking

its own advantage at the expense of others? Evidently these questions strike through economics and politics into the substratum of moral character of the nations themselves. On the answer given largely hangs our faith in the future.

II

To estimate the relative dangers and advantages of patriotism we must deal with historical tendencies rather than academic definitions. Only by a survey of human experience can we clearly appreciate the worth of the patriotism of democracy.

Patriotism as a loyalty to national ideals is the product of the rise of modern nations. In the Roman Empire there was, it is true, an advance toward this conception in which the state rather than the monarch was the center of loyalty. To be a Roman citizen was to be something more than a subject of the Roman emperor. It was to share in legal privileges and to become a partner in a history that had given birth to law and order as well as to military conquests. In this the national pride of the Roman was different from that of the Greek. Greece, although in Aristotle producing the great philosopher of the state and in the Macedonian Alexander the first man who dreamed of an empire more than military, had no collective memory or hope of a united Greek nation. In Greece as in the Eastern world men were prouder of their cities than of their country. The Athenian and the Spartan, the Theban and the Corinthian, were ready to say with the man of Tarsus, "I am a citizen of no mean city." But the one no more than the other could recall an imperial

solidarity like that which the genius of Rome bequeathed to the Mediterranean basin. In this municipal patriotism there were many things which were noble, and there were incentives to self-devotion; but the failure to achieve a Greek nation prevented that intense love of a national entity which characterized Roman literature and Roman expansion. The Greeks formed colonies which, it is true, had a high degree of unity of culture, but no national nor imperial unity. The Roman colony was a part of the Roman state. The Roman citizen in Asia or Gaul, in Egypt or in Britain, was a citizen of an ever-present state quick to defend its citizens from danger and to punish those who injured them in person or estate. This sense of solidarity was radically different from the old tribal unity with its blood feuds. It was a genuine political conception.

But it was possessed of an inherent weakness. It could not inspire national self-sacrifice. In the days of the Republic Roman citizens were ready to sacrifice and die for their expanding city-state. Under the Empire they hired soldiers to defend their frontiers and lived securely in a disarmed world. The literature of even the Golden Age of the Roman Empire is singularly lacking in that viril note that sounds in the literature of modern states. Vergil appreciated the Golden Age which had come, and uttered his beautiful panegyrics upon the services of Augustus. His successors were equally thankful for the peace which the world could hardly understand, but even in the philosophy of men like Seneca no note of sacrifice, no appeal for political reforms, gives seriousness to their complacency. In the letters of a cosmopolitan like Pliny

admiration for the emperor and business-like discussion of administration give no hint of a readiness to befriend the ideals of a state beyond a keen appreciation of the obligations to maintain order and forestall anything like social discontent.

One cannot help feeling that the history of the later Empire is the outcome of this attitude of mind. The social organization of the Empire based on the labor of slaves, its unwieldy extent, the diversity of component peoples lacking the unifying influence of suffrage, had within it no singleness of soul which could lead its citizens to a united defense of its institutions. Those centuries of disintegration in which the East split from the West, and the West was dismembered by the incoming of hordes of armed immigrants, might have been foretold by the absence of a genuine patriotism. Pride in one's country based upon the achievements of a government in which one has no part is a poor substitute for a loyalty to ideals which a nation as a whole embodies and champions.

So it came to pass that patriotism even in the Roman sense of the term disappeared from the earth during the centuries which followed the barbarian invasions. Europe reverted to the older local and personal loyalty. The feudal social order that emerged in Western Europe had little of true patriotism in it. There was, it is true, a romantic chivalry, the quick response of vassal and vassal to the support of their lord, but in the place of a state there emerged countless groups, most of them small, in which life centered around a feudal lord, and social solidarity found its most effective expression in the respect paid the honor of superiors. The so-called Holy Roman

Empire that hovered over this feudal confusion never was able to evoke anything like patriotic allegiance. The theory left no place for citizenship, for whatever authority it claimed descended upon it from heaven instead of coming to its emperor from citizens loyal to a state. True, there were the beginnings of ethnic solidarities, but the prevailing political note even in the emerging middle class was municipal rather than national. There was no Italy, or Germany, or France, nor, until the middle of the fifteenth century, a Spain. There were kingdoms which, had the course of history run differently, might have developed into nations; but states, and in consequence patriotism, in the modern sense of the word, were lacking.

In one state only can there be fairly well said to have been a steady development of a national patriotism, and that state was England. The reason for this distinctive characteristic of English history is not difficult to find. In England the people as such gradually gained a recognizable share in the government of their land. The thirteenth century for a while gave promise of a genuine constitutional monarchy. The fact that this was lost in the struggle between the feudal houses of England and in the all but complete autocracy of the Tudors could only serve to check the development. Englishmen had rights as Englishmen. The English people gradually grew into the possession of a national consciousness. And as the little island kingdom fought for its very existence against the rich and powerful new states on the Continent, there developed an attitude of mind which was more than the pride of the Spaniard in Spain. It

was a sense of national solidarity, of national future, and of national duty. As compared with this English patriotism the contemporary loyalty of Frenchmen and the almost tribal loyalty of the innumerable German states appear of a different order. Nationalities grew on the Continent, but it was the nineteenth century that evolved the quality of patriotism which marks the constitutional states of Italy and France. In Russia the serfs had no nation to which they could be loyal, and the Little Father at Petrograd was an all but mythical figure, loyalty to whom was hardly more than a survival of the tribal loyalty of the past. In Germany there were Prussians, Saxons, and Bavarians. It required time and the blood-and-iron policy of Bismarck to bring into actual expression a public mind that could in any true sense be called German.

When nations emerged, religious life was identified with this new national patriotism. The reformation produced national churches which served to intensify the exclusiveness of such governmental unities as had appeared. Religious liberty was all but unknown. The citizens of England had their state-church, and the same was true of Scotchmen, Irishmen, Welshmen, Prussians, Saxons, Swedes, Norwegians, and Danes. That the state-church tended to produce a strictly national patriotism doubtless was true, but it also tended to limit this nationalism both in boundary and in outlook. The citizen was required to show loyalty, not only to his sovereign, but also to his church.

The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries furnish abundant illustration of patriotism born of egoistic nationalism.

In that century it is difficult to discover among the nations any dominant sense of mission of service to the world. It was a period of national expansion. Each nation regarded war as a desirable means of national growth. Conquest was regarded without discussion as legitimate. Each nation grew by taking from other nations such territory and population as it was able to win. The boundaries of different states from the middle of the seventeenth to the middle of the eighteenth century were constantly changing. A strongly centralized power like France was able to expand at the expense of the smaller states about it. The policy of Louis XIV was that of self-aggrandizement. So was that of Frederick II of Prussia. Wars were made by a ruling family in much the same way as a modern business house undertakes to absorb the trade of its competitors. The idea of international law, although it had begun to take shape in the works of men like Grotius, possessed little or no influence. Witness the strange negotiations between England and the Dutch Republic. The only loyalty which could be expected of Frenchmen and Prussians was that of obedience to masters over whom they had no control. They were cannon-fodder and tillers of the soil. The absence of constitutional limitations upon the sovereign made it quite impossible for peoples, even had they possessed any definite sense of a common human duty, to express themselves. Prussians and Frenchmen could be proud of their victories, but loyalty raised no question of national morality.

What was true of France and Prussia was true of every other nation in Europe. Even in England, where the people had

some share in the government, the idea of a morality which was superior to the ambitions of national policy in dealing with the rest of the world was not evident. The Commonwealth under Cromwell, though it had more theology, had no higher sense of national obligation than the absolute monarchy of the Bourbons. Yet the beginnings of a higher patriotism are to be discerned even in these centuries. For it was then that America began to make its contribution to national idealism.

The organization of English colonies served to lay the foundations for a broader conception of national mission. Although the colonies themselves were jealous of each other, and in some cases engaged in actual war, there were developing within them moral elements which were destined to lay the foundations both in precedent and in theory for an extension of moral sanctions to national policies, and thus to give rise to a new and better patriotism.

Why the American colonies should be the pioneers in this new field is not hard to discover. They had been established in large measure by Englishmen who had come to the new world for the enjoyment of what they believed to be rights. At home they found such enjoyment limited by the traditions and the institutions of a state in which the power of a king, aristocracy, and church were little limited by anything like a popular will. The rights of Englishmen, however, had already begun to acquire a real content, and when, as Englishmen sought the enjoyment of still other rights, they were transferred to America they rapidly tended to become regarded as natural rights of men. For the rights

of Englishmen gave rise to the doctrines of natural rights.

It seems to be universally true that where an idea of rights originates in a social order it comes as an expansion of rights already partly enjoyed. To expand such rights was the aim of the eighteenth century. The first stage in America and England—the only lands in which popular rights were in any real sense obtained—was that of a struggle to acquire and enjoy privileges which seemed to be properly the people's, but in actual practice had been monopolized by privileged classes. When, as within the American colonies, there was a practical universality of such rights as properly belong to Englishmen, without the sense of exclusion from the enjoyment of other rights enjoyed by privileged classes, the idea of rights belonging to men but not to particular classes, was not slow in finding expression. Such development, though aided by the popular philosophy of the day, found largest opportunity for political expression in the American colonies. The compact made by the humble Pilgrims on the "Mayflower" was in germ a modern democracy. But the rights which this compact expressed were those then already enjoyed, though only in part, by Englishmen. And what was thus expressed in something like actual constitutional form in the American colonies was at the same time developing in the political thought of England and was moving over into the field of French philosophy. That is to say, the idea of rights which had been worked out in the actual experience of Englishmen was given a theoretical basis and expression by English philosophers, like Hooker and Locke, and by their

followers on the Continent. Political practice and social theory reinforced each other and made possible the era of revolutions in the latter half of the eighteenth century. Wherever during that period any people found itself capable of breaking down the wall of partition between those who had rights and those who sought for them, the extension of such rights as liberty and political equality became identified with national mission. Here was a new patriotism. This was particularly true in the case of the United States of America and France, the two countries in which a privileged class was declared to be contrary to the fundamental notion of the nation.

III

It is well, however, to keep clearly in mind the difference between the American Revolution and the French Revolution. In America the Revolution consisted in the break with English political control. It involved no social change or destruction of political ideals in the colonies themselves. The Constitution of the United States was a codification and institutionalizing of political and social precedents already in existence. The right of the people to control the monarch was already recognized in English politics, although within a limited field. The substitution of the popular for royal sovereignty in America had practically already been accomplished before 1776, and the achievement of political independence involved no destruction of the idea of sovereignty which thirteen political entities transferred to the Federal Union formed in 1787. The thirteen individual patriotisms were not altogether destroyed, but supplemented,

and in the triumph of the indivisibility of the Federal Union in the war of 1861-65 became fused in a genuinely national patriotism.

In France on the other hand there was of necessity a destruction of political and social institutions. The new national consciousness involved a reorganization of the entire national life. Feudal privileges and the monarchy itself were abolished. The lands of the church were nationalized and distributed among the citizens. The mass of Frenchmen who had had no share in the government were given participation in new national life through suffrage. Utterly new political institutions were established, destroyed, and re-established without continuing an earlier course of constitutional development.

In both the American colonies and France the unification of a genuinely national spirit was accompanied by disorders, and because of inexperience in self-government in France by great suffering. But in both alike a political liberty purchased at the expense of revolution gave to the people a sense of national mission which has never been lost. They were patriots who were loyal to a nation that had ideals that other nations needed. Both felt that they possessed the duty of inducing other nations to establish for themselves the state of affairs which revolution had brought. The fact that the new nation of the United States was separated from the rest of the world by an ocean on the East and an unexplored continent on the West served to prevent any attempt to spread the gospel of liberty by force of arms. But the general social law that a creative social mind finds its expression

at the point where a nation has developed the largest efficiency holds true. The American colonies never developed a large military efficiency, but did possess at the time of the Revolution a very decided commercial and religious efficiency. Thus on this side of the Atlantic the new liberty found expression largely in the field of commerce and the church and the closely allied field of education; and the new nation entered almost immediately upon that particular type of development which resulted in the United States of today. Its patriotism, therefore, while it made America always ready to recognize a similar movement in European countries, never included the duty of the extension of liberty to other lands by force of arms. Patriotism, in the sense of loyalty to a national mission, was unmilitary and throughout the entire history of the United States has opposed military establishments and military preparedness commensurate with the growth of national power. In this sense it is undoubtedly historically correct to say that militarism and patriotism in the United States have been and are two mutually antagonistic conceptions.

In France on the other hand the necessity of defending the results of the Revolution which had brought about the destruction of the social order led to the development of military efficiency. The period during which the nation re-founded itself was marked, not by the development of commerce and religious liberty, but by the necessary rise of military leaders. A sense of national mission involved the extension of constitutional rights to other nations by force of conquest, and Napoleon was its natural

fruitage. The early campaigns of the French under the leadership of Napoleon were avowedly for the purpose of extending liberty to other people. The fact that such a crusade resulted in an empire should not obscure the fact that the success of Napoleon also assured the extension of new legal and political conceptions over the Continent of Europe. But the outcome was an increase of military preparations. The inevitable result of reliance upon military supremacy was soon apparent in Europe, and in the place of the peaceful and contagious spread of political liberty there followed the subjection of European states to a military empire. Patriotism, which at the start among the French was an unquestionable devotion to the vision of free peoples, was transformed into a short-lived loyalty to a military state. This state fell in a few years because its very success had induced a new group of national patriotisms, each one of which was given its content by the peculiar circumstances of the people, whom a common danger had aroused to a new sense of national significance and a new effort for national self-protection. The new patriotism overcame the mighty attempt to revert to military autocracy.

These two illustrations might suffice to bear out the fact that with the period of revolutions we enter upon an era in which there emerged genuine patriotisms in the sense of loyalty to nations each with its own particular mission in life. Other illustrations might easily be found, but of them all it is necessary to mention only the outstanding instance of England. There the extension of the idea of the rights of Englishmen found its particular expression at the point of Eng-

land's greatest historical significance, namely the development of constitutional government. Since the eighteenth century England has never undertaken to expand by the conquest of European or other politically self-sufficient states. It has established colonies and gained the control of states which, lacking efficient government, furnished commercial opportunities. As a result, during the last hundred and fifty years the English people have organized great democracies in Canada, Australasia, and latterly in Africa. Its sense of national mission has been at once that of loyalty to self-government in its colonies and administrative betterment of peoples who were not possessed of the Anglo-Saxon traditions. But even among these latter peoples, as in the case of India, there has been an increasing recognition of the rights of the people of the conquered territories to an increasing share in the administration of their affairs. The patriotism of Englishmen, therefore, like that of Americans and Frenchmen, has recognized that their country has a rôle to play in history looking toward the extension of the rights of the individual. The loyalty of the Englishman to his country has been expressed, it is true, more than once in the form of imperialism, but this imperialism itself has carried in its heart something vastly more than superimposed sovereignty or the enforced subjection of non-English people to English social ideals. The development of democracy in England has been steady, and with it has gone the abolition of slavery, the emancipation of women, the extension of education and suffrage, and the sharing of governmental functions. And with this developing

*a benign
police
State
rather*

democracy has gone a reconstruction of the British sense of national mission to protect weak nations and deal fairly with rival nations.

IV

It was in America that the new patriotism ceased to be ecclesiastical. Even in England the rise of religious independence was for generations handicapped by the identification of national and ecclesiastical interests. The Act of Conformity and the entire policy of the Stuart family served, however, to intensify the struggle between national loyalty and ecclesiastical uniformity. In no other nation was there a similar struggle.

How rapid would have been the rise of national constitutionalism had religious nonconformity advanced more rapidly in England, it is hard to say; but as it was, the English colonies freed patriotism from subjection to ecclesiastical control. True, with the exception of the thirteen American colonies, English patriotism has developed into that of a co-operative world-state. And it is not beyond the range of possibility that this sense of British solidarity, which today characterizes Canada and Australasia, might have continued in America if English toryism had not been given temporary power by the German junkerism of the House of Hanover. But as history developed, the English people in America first developed a patriotism which was genuinely national and religiously free, developing its own moral inhibitions and sanctions unrestrained by state-churches.

The nineteenth century saw this patriotism first worked out in the laboratory of Anglo-Saxon constitutional history on both sides of the Atlantic spread throughout the world. France after the Revolu-

tion increasingly embodied this idea of personal liberty in its national ideals, but until the last part of the nineteenth century no other great nation included within its patriotism similar ideals. Then for the first time in history there was to be seen the emergence of a democratic patriotism. Under Victor Emanuel, Italy joined the founders of the new epoch, and in the last decade of the nineteenth and through the twentieth century nation after nation has developed in Europe a patriotism of like character. The patriotism of the Japanese developed constitutional government and religious liberty; China under the pressure of the world-spirit cast off its monarchy and has begun the development of a patriotism that includes a national ideal as distinguished from the older pride in a past. Only in Germany, in Austria-Hungary, and in Turkey has the old type of patriotism, which consists in loyalty to a divinely established, irresponsible monarchy bent on the conquest, persisted without serious modifications.

It is not of liberty that the German patriot boasts, but of his *Kultur*, defended and enforced by arms. And when *Kultur* is described by its evangelists it is seen to be a patriotism centering about a state relying upon military power rather than regard for personal rights.

V

Thus in our day there appear two types of patriotism, that of democracy and that of autocracy. By their morals as by their history shall they be judged!

The patriotism of the democratic powers has never been militaristic and has taken up the present conflict with loathing. The patriotism of the German

*Cuba > Philippines? Greece -
American War? Buller?*

is essentially militaristic and regards war as an integral part of a foreign policy. The patriotism of democracy has never demanded that its government should conquer lands possessed of settled national life. It has respected the rights of organized nations and has increasingly recognized the fact that loyalty to one's country involves the recognition of the rights of other nations. The patriotism of Germany has excluded all such recognition and has centered itself vigorously upon aggressive conquest and an immoral disregard of other nations' well-being. Justice, its leaders declare, is a civic virtue. "It is foolish," says Karl Peters (1915), "to talk of the rights of others; it is foolish to speak of a justice that should hinder us from doing to others what we ourselves do not wish to suffer from them." The supreme demand of such a patriotism has been for the extension of national boundaries, the appropriation of other nations' territory, the laying of crushing indemnities. The patriotism of democracy has sought to extend constitutional rights even to those less organized peoples over whom its power has extended. The patriotism of autocracy has subordinated personal rights to the power of a state, deriving its authority from no other source than inheritance given sanction by an appeal to a German God. When the democratic patriotism has turned to God, it is to the God who rules over other nations, who is the God of law and justice. When the patriotism of Germany has turned to God, it has been to a national god whose chief aim is to inspire the courage of those who draw the flashing sword and give comfort to those who have perished in the extension of national power and the

brutal imposition upon other countries of its own national civilization.

Their conception of national obligation and mission has further given to the patriotism of free peoples the conviction that the relations of nations must ultimately be based upon mutual recognition of national rights and national individuality.

Such a development of international feeling was inevitable in democracies. A patriotism which recognizes the rights of one's fellow-citizens is slow to coerce the citizens of other nations. Desire for conquest may almost be said to be inversely as the extent of a nation's democratization. The relations between Great Britain, France, and the United States is a striking illustration of this fact. For more than a hundred years these nations, despite the machinations of those who desired to see them engaged in a mutually fatal struggle, have been at peace. By this token can we see that democracies do not deliberately purpose to prey upon their neighbors. These nations have argued, quarreled, and occasionally threatened each other. But they have preferred arbitration to war.

How far the desire to establish some other basis than war for the settlement of international disputes has spread can be seen by a study of international arbitration. Up to the outbreak of the war in 1914 there had been established 208 bipartite treaties and constitutions between states. In addition to these there had been also one sextuple and one quintuple, the total number of such treaties being equivalent to 233 bipartite treaties. Of these four were superseded or had failed, leaving a net total of treaties in force or expected to be in force of 229.

Of these Austria-Hungary had established 8, Germany had established 1, Bulgaria and Turkey had established none. On the other hand, of those now allied against the Central Powers, Belgium had established 14, Brazil 33, China 2, Cuba 2, France 16, Great Britain 17, Greece 4, Italy 25, Japan 1, Portugal 18, Roumania 1, Russia 7, Siam 5, and the United States 28. Among the European neutrals, Denmark had established 13, Netherlands 7, Norway 13, Spain 31, mostly with the states of Central and South America, Sweden 13, and Switzerland 14. The remainder of these treaties had been established by the republics of Central and South America. In round numbers, of the significant nations concerned in the present war, the Central Powers had established 9 and the Entente Allies 173.

These figures are eloquent, for this new reliance upon arbitration was not forced upon unwilling patriots. It sprang from their own ideals. Democratic patriotism has included the recognition of the rights of other nationalities. A world under the control of this sort of patriotism would be a world at peace. Differences between nations, as in the case of the very important and irritating difficulties between the United States and Great Britain, would be settled by mutual compromise through arbitration.

That this consummation so devoutly to be hoped for has been furthered by the present war it is difficult to doubt. A League of Nations in the interest of the preservation of peace and democratic institutions is already in existence. It is fighting nations trained in a precisely opposite national policy. The difference is more than that of constitutional de-

velopment, for constitutional development is the expression of an inner national spirit. The critical position in which the world finds itself today is the result of an education on the part of the German Empire in which patriotism and religion are made to perpetuate conceptions of national duty and policy which declare wars of conquest whenever circumstances make them appear advantageous. Patriotism of this unethical sort has been born of Prussian hatred of popular rights. When Bismarck began the process of reorganizing Prussia, putting her at the head of a union of the German states, he could build upon a national spirit which had been developing from the days of the Great Elector. True, outraged by the policy of Napoleon and chastened by misfortune, this national spirit for a few years had hoped for liberalism. The great writers who flourished in Germany during the oppression of the Napoleonic military empire had undertaken to give an idealistic and broadly human quality to German, and particularly Prussian, life. They had met with no little success. The spiritual renaissance of Prussia during the dark days which followed Jena was noteworthy above all else for its enthusiasm for the ideals of liberalism which had found expression in America, England, and France, but had been prostituted by Napoleon to his own ambitions. When the Napoleonic Empire fell, all Germany was alive with men who looked forward to the beginning of a new era. Constitutions, although not containing any very great amount of political liberty, had been given to Würtemberg, Bavaria, Hesse-Darmstadt, and Saxony. One had been promised in Prussia. The

life of the country was full of a noble hope. But it amounted to nothing. The Hohenzollerns would not give rights to their nation, and no German people dared to acquire popular rights by revolution. The years that preceded the rise of Bismarck are full of a persistent and successful attempt on the part of the Prussian government to destroy the liberal movement within its own boundaries. On several occasions Prussia was on the verge of revolution, but the Prussian people never went to the last extremity of conquering their rights. The leaders of the liberal movement were imprisoned, executed, or fled the country. The rise of Bismarck was due to the repression of constitutionalism and the institution of a series of wars which brought territorial, political, and economic expansion to Prussia. The machinery of education was set in operation to produce a patriotism which would be ready to justify and follow blindly a policy of national aggression. The rise of social democracy was opposed bitterly, and the franchise was so limited or manipulated after the organization of the German Empire as to make powerless any school of political thought that would check the ambitions of Prussia by a recognition of the rights of other nations. Prussia planned to crush France, to get control of the Netherlands and the mineral deposits of Lorraine; to break at last the British commonwealth; to appropriate small nations whenever desired; and then, especially in the last twenty years, to put the United States "in their place." Parallel with this continental policy Prussianized Germany planned to establish a great colonial system and to appropriate the

colonies of other peoples, especially those of Holland and Great Britain.

Such a frankly brutal policy, however, had to be justified by some idealistic appeal. Germans sanctified anti-internationalistic patriotism by appeal to their *Kultur*. Germans were instructed from infancy to believe in the absolute superiority of German civilization. The mission of the great Empire they have come to believe is to spread this German kultur over the world. There is to be no policy of kultur without a policy of power, declared the manifesto of the 352 university professors and other intellectual leaders of Germany in 1915. The justification of military expansion was set forth, not only from the necessity of commercial expansion and the building of a large economic state supported by the army, but by the need of enforcing the superiority of German methods, art, literature, organization, and education upon conquered nations by military authority. International law became a chimera. To offset the rapidly developing movement for disarmament and universal peace the German government spread the illusion of the danger to the Fatherland from other nations. Disregarding plain facts in the case—that England was without military preparation, that France was so affected by peace propaganda as to be reducing her standing army—the German people were taught to believe, not only that they had this mission of the forcible extension of their own civilization, but also that their actual existence as a state was endangered. The Hague Conference was opposed or hindered, arbitration treaties were refused, patriotism and religion alike were made militaristic. Even dur-

ing the last tragic days before the beginning of the war, as we know now from English sources and the declaration of the German ambassador, Prince Lichnowsky, England, so far from seeking to injure the influence and crush the expansion of Germany, had consented to Germany's having commercial dominance in Mesopotamia.

But all this was concealed, and the people were given to understand that the Fatherland was in danger. Most of the grounds upon which this absurd view was taken have been made to disappear, some of them by German authors themselves. But the patriotism of the people had been so thoroughly shaped by the governing house that it was a force to which the Hohenzollerns could appeal. A great chorus of intellectual and junker protestations of loyalty to the German Empire broke forth with a loud paean of *Deutschland über Alles*. The only fair way to describe this type of patriotism is that it is the old obsession for conquest which ruled in Assyria and in Rome, masquerading in an appeal to a highly organized and stimulated belief in the mission of Germany to force its civilization over an unwilling world. Even in the spread of *Kultur* the German state, and not human welfare, was the dominant note in patriotism.

The difference between the patriotism which thus lies back of the German policy and that which lies back of the Anglo-French-American policy is grounded in a difference in the recognition of international justice. Democratic patriotism has never sought to spread by conquest the blessings which the various democratic nations possess. The United States and Great Britain have

been the outstanding representatives of the spread of Christian civilization through foreign missions. Enormous sums of money have been raised for the purpose of establishing schools and churches among non-Christian peoples. Such Anglo-American civilization has never been enforced by military power. In India the British have been particularly sensitive to the prejudices of the natives, and in the Philippines, where the United States has established itself by military power, the people have been encouraged and permitted to take over an increasing control of political affairs.

It cannot, of course, be claimed that such extension of the best elements of our civilization has been conducted without mistakes. We must admit whatever facts go to show that methods have been used which are not consistent with the ideals for which we have stood. It must be admitted that the Germans also have to a considerable extent placed missions and schools among non-Christian people. But the great contrast lies in the general policy and tendency which the two types of patriotism have set forth—the one making central the German state and the other the furthering of human rights. While the final decision as to the finality of the two types of patriotism must be left to the arbitrament of the future, it is already apparent that the two are morally different and lead to radically different policies both at home and abroad.

VI

We may then challenge any man who claims to be a patriot to answer this question: For what does your nation stand? Does it stand for the imposition of a national civilization upon nations

whose inhabitants have been killed and starved and deported? Does it stand for the elevation of force into a religion and the organization for war as a legitimate and inevitable method of national expansion? Or does it stand for liberty and opportunity for the individual, the right of weak nations to maintain their independence and their national traditions, the submission of international disputes to arbitration, and the hatred of war as a curse?

When we as Americans face such questions as this there need be no hesitation in our answer. It is time that we repudiated the slander which Germany has sedulously championed and propagated, that the United States is materialistic and dollar-mad. What nation in all the world has been more scrupulous in its regard of the rights of other nations? We have made mistakes. We have had our early period when we believed with other nations that it was right to conquer. But for seventy years we have dared follow ideals which are worthy of a Christian people. A war for four terrible years removed slavery from our constitutional life. We fought a war with Spain that Cuba might be free. And when we came into possession of the Philippines we not only paid an indemnity for our victory, but deliberately undertook to educate the Filipinos in the ways of democracy and self-government. We gave back an indemnity to Japan and refused to take a punitive indemnity from China. We have preserved the Western Hemisphere from European spoliation, and we have helped our

neighboring weaker republics into financial health and international safety. We have refused to intervene in Mexico at the behest of concessionaires. We are at this moment fighting a war entailing unmeasured sacrifice, not only that we may be free from the terror that intrigues by day and arms by night, but that the whole world may share in the same freedom.

The citizen of the United States need not be blind to the crudities, the blunders, and the national shortcomings of his nation. Criticism is not tabooed by patriotism. We have done some things we ought not to have done and we have left undone some of the things we ought to have done; but by the grace of God there is health in us! We may wholeheartedly declare that we stand for a nation that has a mission; that dares to help other nations who are in distress and is determined to right wrongs it may have done. This is the patriotism of the future, a loyalty to a nation which by its own morality and purpose seeks, not only to make the world safe for democracy, but to make democracy safe for the world. The millions of fathers and mothers who see their sons swept into the maelstrom of war have no conflict with their consciences. These sons are not the creatures of the will to power, but of the will to serve. Our patriotism dares glory in its outlook and its hopes because it knows that the triumph of our land is the triumph of the cause of a better humanity. And because of this vicarious nationalism it dares pray a God of justice to give it victory in battle.

*unpopular
at home
criticism
no retreat*

THE PARADOX OF MODERN BIBLICAL CRITICISM

LOUIS WALLIS

Chicago, Illinois

Patriotism cannot be separated from religion without danger to both. The religion of Germany is a religion of authority. The religion of democracy must be the religion of the spirit and the truth. The war is freeing us from many an outgrown attitude of mind. Unless signs fail, not the least of its emancipations will be from the identification of merely destructive criticism with biblical science, for the democracy of the future will refuse to think its religion in the concepts of the autocracy it has destroyed. Mr. Wallis makes this plain. Only the truly scientific use of the Bible can make its revelation of God's will intelligent and dynamic in the new age now in the making.

Although German scholars have done a great deal to promote scientific investigation of Scripture, these scholars live under a government whose autocratic heresy laws make it impossible to popularize modern biblical knowledge in Germany. All German clergymen must base their preaching on strict orthodoxy. All German youths are given orthodox religious instruction by authorized teachers who represent the junker system of church and state. All German professors of biblical criticism are virtually put into a genteel quarantine. The so-called "academic freedom" enjoyed by these professors is freedom to disseminate their ideas to scholars. Germany has a false reputation for intellectual liberty, and this reputation should be quickly killed by the simple recital of plain facts. These facts ought to be mastered at once by all thoughtful persons in the allied countries and then advertised everywhere as part of the drive against Kaiserism.

Most of us are aware that the English-speaking nations encourage a greater

intellectual and religious liberty than does the German Empire. But not many of us have had the time or opportunity to examine this remarkable difference with care. The status of Bible-study in the Anglo-Saxon world contrasts very sharply with the narrow, hidebound paternalism which rules the subjects of the Kaiser. We have become quite familiar with the fact that Germany is politically subject to her master-class, but we have yet to realize the depth to which the virus of autocracy has penetrated the religious life of the German people.

Of course it will be asked at once, Have not the biblical scholars of Germany led the world? Have not American and British theological students by thousands gone across the water to sit at the feet of German professors? And are not the libraries of British and American divinity schools crammed with volumes of German critical scholarship? So simple and easy do the facts appear that the reactionaries and the millennial dawnists eagerly come forward

proclaiming that they have a clear case against all divinity schools in which criticism is recognized. They assure us that Germany invented criticism in order to make the Bible a scrap of paper and find an excuse for the war. Consequently all theological professors who have adopted critical methods and conclusions and who would now prove their patriotism should forthwith "hit the saw dust trail"!

This is the paradox of modern biblical scholarship. First Prussianism puts German higher critics in quarantine. Then Germany gets a camouflaged reputation for intellectual liberty. Then British and American theological schools import the books of German professors whose teachings the Kaiser will not allow in German churches. Then popular evangelists brand these theological seminaries as pro-German because they teach doctrines which no German pastor can recognize without losing his position.

The answer to the charges now being laid at the door of Anglo-Saxon biblical scholars is threefold: (1) Biblical criticism was not invented by Germans, but was imported into Germany from other countries. (2) After critical methods were adopted by German investigators the governmental authorities of that country took up a hostile attitude, putting restrictions on liberal professors of theology, forbidding popular propaganda of their views, and making it illegal for the German pulpit to base its ministry on the results of modern scholarship. (3) Biblical criticism is not an instrument of autocracy, as orthodox theorists now endeavor to make out, but on the contrary its tendency is to make plain the essential

democracy of the Bible, helping us to trace the channels through which God has entered the heart and mind of humanity, lifting the children of men gradually upward from barbarism into an ever more intelligent faith that the world is founded on divine laws of justice and righteousness. Those who raise an outcry against theological seminaries where scientific methods are followed, and seek to stampede the public mind with millennialism are holding back the progress of democracy and are doing exactly what the Kaiser wants them to do. Their attitude is Prussian.

Let us consider these points seriatim: First as to the claim that biblical criticism is an invention of the German intellect. The introductory proposition of modern biblical scholarship is that the Law of Moses, in its present form, originated at the end of Hebrew national history instead of at the *beginning*; and that the Law took its present form after the Babylonian exile, as a compilation from earlier documents, traditions, and primitive legal codes. But this view is not original to Germany. It was distinctly foreshadowed by a Spanish Jew, Ibn Ezra, the most eminent biblical scholar of the Middle Ages, far back in the twelfth century A.D. The idea was taken up by the English scholar Hobbes, in his book *Leviathan*, published in 1651; by the Frenchman La Peyrere, in his book *Pre-Adamites*, issued in 1655; and by the Jewish philosopher Spinoza, of Amsterdam, Holland, in *Tractatus-Theologico-Politicus*, which came out in 1670. In the meanwhile the Frenchman Louis Cappellus in 1650 published his *Critica Sacra*, demonstrating the

imperfect and fallible condition of the Hebrew vowel points. In 1678, Richard Simon, another Frenchman, put forth a volume entitled *Critical History of the Old Testament*, showing that the Mosaic Law was compiled and edited centuries after the time of Moses. In 1753 appeared a work by Astruc, a French writer, identifying the so-called Jehovist and Elohist documents in Genesis. In 1800 was published the *Critical Remarks* of Alexander Geddes, a Scotchman, who denied the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch. And although German scholars in the nineteenth century did more for biblical interpretation than did the scholars of other countries, they were matched in critical acumen during that period by Renan of France, Colenso of England, and Kuenen of Holland.¹

Having seen that biblical criticism did not originate in Germany, let us inquire more closely into its fortunes after being adopted in that country. The policy of the junker government was foreshadowed in the case of Professor Kant, of the Prussian University of Königsberg, in the latter part of the eighteenth century. Kant's *Critique of Pure Reason* and his *Religion within the Limits of Mere Reason* excited the alarm of the junkers and pietists. Kant was an admirer of the new American Republic, and when the French Revolution broke out the philosopher exclaimed, "Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, for mine eyes have seen

thy salvation!" With these facts in mind it is highly instructive to read the letter of warning sent to the Königsberg professor by the reigning Hohenzollern:

1st Oct., 1794

Our gracious greeting first. Worthy and high-learned, dear liegeman, our highest Person has already since considerable time observed with much dissatisfaction how ye misuse your philosophy to disfigure and depreciate many head and foundation doctrines of the Holy Scripture and Christianity: which thing ye have especially done in your book *Religion within the Limits of Mere Reason* and likewise in other shorter treatises. We had expected better things of you; for ye must see yourself how little your action herein answers to your duty as teacher of youth, and to our paternal interests in the land, whereof ye are well aware. We desire at the earliest your most conscientious conformity, and expect of you, if ye would avoid our highest disfavor, that ye henceforth be found guilty of no such acts, but rather, as your duty bids, apply your influence and talents so that our paternal intention may be more and more attained: contrariwise, with continued obstinacy, ye have infallibly to expect unpleasant measures.

This letter, written in the name of the Prussian king, by the Prussian minister of education, is a monument of that German theological censorship which has continued until now, and which has developed along a line contrasting greatly with Anglo-Saxon policy. In Kant's reply he promised to say nothing more in public about religion

¹ For Ibn Ezra, see Professor G. F. Moore's introduction to Bacon's *Genesis of Genesis* (Hartford, 1891). On the general subject, S. I. Curtiss, *Sketches of Pentateuch Criticism* (Bibliotheca Sacra, Oberlin, 1884); Addis, *Documents of the Hexateuch* (London, 1892), preface; Cheyne, *Founders of Old Testament Criticism* (London, 1893); Carpenter Harford, *The Composition of the Hexateuch* (London, 1902), chap. iii; Duff, *History of Old Testament Criticism* (New York, 1910).

or the Bible. Another example is found in the case of Professor Martin Lebrecht de Wette, of the Prussian University of Berlin, in the first part of the nineteenth century. As Wellhausen says, De Wette was the first German "clearly to perceive and point out how disconnected are the alleged starting-point of Israel's history and that history itself." The able and brilliant De Wette was ejected from his biblical chair on a mere pretext, over the objection of the entire theological faculty at the University of Berlin, led by the celebrated Schleiermacher, who was himself in great danger of the same treatment.¹

Biblical scholarship in Germany to-day is an intellectual curiosity to which no German pastor can give public attention. The higher criticism in Germany is bottled up in professorial sanctums and lecture halls. The professors write books about it. They quarrel with each other over the details of it. And before the war they condescendingly delivered lectures to hopeful youths from England, Canada, Australia, the United States, and other countries, who labored under the delusion that there was more intellectual liberty in Germany than in other lands.²

The legal partnership of orthodoxy with junkerism has been especially hateful to German workingmen in the great industrial centers of the Empire. Ger-

man proletarians behold the aristocracy enthroned in the midst of a social system propped up for ages on church orthodoxy. The German ecclesiastical machine is prostituted to the will of the imperial government. The German socialist hates both God and the church because German religion is identified with aristocratic rule. Religion and the church, in the eyes of the German socialist, are a cloak for the robbery of the common people by the economic and political masters of Germany. The socialistic workingman therefore believes that he has a *moral reason* for hating the only God of whom he has ever heard. Is it any wonder then that the extreme forms of atheistic socialism, spreading over the world like some foul poison, should have originated in the industrial centers of the nation with which we are at war? Cause and effect along a number of lines now begin to stand out distinctly.

German orthodoxy draws a pre-emptory line of demarcation between the "holy" and the "worldly." God sits on high above the people, as an autocrat in the fashion of the Kaiser, passing down the divine law from heaven in the same way that the Kaiser passes down his decrees. Religion comes "from above." Hence the masses are bidden to "look up." Orthodoxy proclaims the duty of *submission*. Be obedient to the authorities, look for

¹ On Kant, see Überweg, *History of Philosophy* (New York, 1898, trans.), II, 140-42. The Hohenzollern letter is given in the book on Kant by Professor Wallace, of Oxford, published by Lippincott, Philadelphia. On De Wette, see Wellhausen, *History of Israel* (Edinburgh, 1885, trans.), pp. 4-5. Also, Cheyne, *op. cit.*, chap. iii.

² See "The New Prussian Heresy Law and Its Workings" in *American Journal of Theology*, XVI (April, 1912); and "Another Case of Discipline in the Prussian Church," *ibid.*, XVII (January, 1913).

your reward in the "other world," and in the meanwhile leave the affairs of *this* world to the government. The clergymen of modern Germany must live in the realm of traditional theology, repeating obsolete shibboleths and worn-out formulas, because orthodoxy fits the state of mind which the junkers desire to maintain among the masses.

But on the other hand the liberal professors of theology stand for an intellectual movement which, if given free rein by the authorities, would threaten the docility of the German people. Critical scholarship, in the eyes of the junker, would undermine the existing order of church and state. It is contrary to conventionality, and its advocates are therefore potential transgressors. But since Germany cannot afford to suppress its intellectuals *entirely*, the government has learned to handle the problem by putting its potential criminals on a pension and isolating them in an academic quarantine where they are out of real and vital connection with life. And to crown it all the Kaiser tickles the vanity of liberal professors by inviting them to visit him and talk about higher criticism! Great progress has been made since the days of De Wette and Kant. German autocracy has reduced bribery to a fine art. The *Herr Professor* belongs to a class which associates with royalty, and he is too dignified to impart his esoteric heresies to the common people. The trick is quite simple. Instead of shooting a heretic, you invite him to lunch!

Having seen how German biblical scholarship fares at the hands of German imperialism, we now inquire what becomes of the democracy which we

have attributed to higher criticism. Here we enter upon a new and still more fascinating aspect of our theme. The democracy of higher criticism thus far has been implicit rather than explicit. German scholars, expressing themselves in the respectable obscurity of polysyllabic jargon, declare that the orthodox idea of the Bible is *wrong*. They say that the biblical doctrine of God was not thrust autocratically into human life from an outside realm. But they are destructive rather than constructive. They fail to supply in the place of orthodoxy a clear-cut, well-rounded view of the Bible which can function spiritually in the life of the German people. And the reason why German scholarship has this limited, unvital character is because German autocracy limits these professors themselves in their contact with life. Placed in a cramped, artificial position, breathing the arid, poisoned atmosphere of imperialism, standing out of real and vital connection with the community, it is inevitable that they should misunderstand life. And hence they fail to interpret the Book of Life in a living way.

Although successful in vindicating certain concrete methods and results, German biblical scholarship has failed in the practical, reconstructive task that faces modern theologians. This is tragically evident in the almost cynical confession made by Professor Wellhausen a few years before the war. He declares that we cannot tell why the religious experience of the Hebrew nation has functional value and significance for the world at large, rather than the religious experience of any other ancient people. His words are: "We

cannot tell why Jehovah, of Israel, rather than Chemosh, the god of Moab, became the patron of righteousness and the Creator of the Universe."¹

More than thirty years prior to this declaration Wellhausen himself wrote the epoch-marking book *Geschichte Israels*, which gathered up the results of previous Old Testament criticism into a statement so clear and cogent that Bible-study everywhere took a new start. Wellhausen indeed has been the leading figure in biblical research during the last generation. His *Geschichte* was published in 1878, seven years after the founding of the present German Empire, and in the midst of the upheaval attending Bismark's promulgation of the "May Laws" against socialism. Wellhausen reverses the orthodox formula "The Law and the Prophets" so as to read, "The Prophets and the Law." In the critical restatement of Hebrew history the force which leads up to the adoption of the true religion is found in the work of Jehovah's prophets, who stand opposed to the *kings*, and who champion the cause of justice for the common people. Here surely is material for democracy! But what avails it for the German churches and the German people?

The prodigious effort needed to establish this view in the face of entrenched orthodoxy, the intellectual and spiritual revolution required for the vindication of critical methods and the official disfavor of a government hostile to every manifestation of liberalism and progressivism—all these considerations have resulted in slowing down the complex process of scriptural interpretation in

Germany, making it of no effect as a positive influence in the life of the Empire. German divinity professors themselves have taken the social standpoint of the aristocracy, have been satisfied to be let alone in the enjoyment of their stipends, and have been permitted to develop the minute analysis of biblical documents in cloistered isolation.

Turning away from the depressing spectacle of autocratic Germany, we are now prepared to glance at the Anglo-Saxon world. British churchmen have a legal and social status unknown to subjects of the Kaiser. Although there are legally established churches in Britain, as there are in Germany, the religion of Britain stands on a vastly freer basis than the religion of the Hohenzollerns. The constitution of the United States goes a step farther still, providing that the national government shall make no "establishment" of religion—similar measures being in effect in the state constitutions. The religious life of English-speaking communities marks a tremendous advance over the spiritual tyranny of the Kaiser. Thus in Britain it is legal for the clergy to speak in terms of modern biblical scholarship. A number of court decisions bearing on religious freedom were delivered by the English courts in the nineteenth century. The first and most remarkable of these decisions was given more than fifty years ago by the highest tribunal of the British Empire.

A number of Episcopal clergymen contributed separate articles to a volume which appeared in 1860 under the title *Essays and Reviews*, and which gave utterance to ideas at variance with

¹ "Israelitisch-jüdische Religion," in *Kultur der Gegenwart* (Berlin, 1909), Teil, I, 15.

orthodoxy. The book is very moderate according to present standards of liberalism; but at the time of its appearance it seemed very dangerous in the eyes of many good people. One of the writers, a professor in Oxford University, said, "Interpret the Scripture like any other book. . . . This can only be done in the same careful and impartial way that we ascertain the meaning of Sophocles or of Plato. . . . Excessive system tends to create an impression that the meaning of Scripture is out of our reach, or is to be attained in some other way than by the exercise of manly sense and industry. . . . Let us not set out on our journey so heavily equipped that there is little chance of arriving at the end of it."

In a panic of wild alarm proceedings were instituted in the Arches Court of Canterbury by the high-church party, acting through the Bishop of Salisbury. One of the authors of the book was charged with denying the plenary inspiration of the Bible, and another was indicted for denying the doctrine of everlasting punishment. The court found these charges proved, and thereupon suspended the accused from the exercise of their official functions. But the defendants appealed to the Supreme Court, the "Crown in Council," which, in the year 1864, reversed the lower court. The overruling decision was written by Richard Baron Westbury, Lord High Chancellor. A facetious observer characterized this weighty judgment as "dismissing hell with costs, and

taking away from the orthodox members of the Church of England their last hope of eternal damnation."¹

Another landmark of spiritual freedom is furnished by the case of Bishop Colenso, who was sent to Africa as a missionary. In trying to convert a Zulu chief to Christianity, Colenso was greatly embarrassed by critical questions which the black man raised with regard to the stories in Genesis. The bishop had not paid much attention to the Scriptures up to that time, but stimulated by Zulu criticism, he now proceeded to investigate the Bible with a new interest, and in 1862 published a book entitled *The Pentateuch and Joshua Critically Examined*. (When mentioning biblical critics outside of Germany in the earlier part of this article we overlooked the Zulus.) Colenso's originality was acknowledged by continental scholars. In England his book produced results identical in character with those in the *Essays and Reviews* case. An attempt was made to convict the bishop, but he was triumphantly vindicated by the British courts.²

Religious liberalism was now seen to be inevitable. The publication of Wellhausen's book in 1878 accelerated the spread of the new views; and thenceforward the growth of critical opinion was very marked in Britain and the United States. The democracy of these nations, as compared with Germany, is shown in a very significant way by the outcome of several heresy trials during the eighties and nineties on both sides

¹ Nash, *Life of Richard Baron Westbury* (London, 1888), Vol. II chap. iii. See also the *Quarterly Review*, April, 1864.

² See Cox, *Life of Colenso* (London, 1888); Kuenen, *The Hexateuch* (London, 1886), pp. xiv-xvii; Cheyne, *op cit.*, chap. ix.

of the Atlantic, which established in still greater degree the rights of intellectual and spiritual freedom. The foremost theological seminaries of the English-speaking world are now manned by faculties which, contrary to the German divinity schools, are preparing young men to base their ministry on the newer interpretation of the Bible. At the same time large numbers of mature clergymen who graduated under the old régime, are quietly adjusting themselves to the changing environment. As our church life, with irresistible momentum, swings away from the older orthodoxy to which the Kaiser's ecclesiastical machine remains anchored, the contrast between Germany and the Anglo-Saxon world is more and more sharp. The transformation which is now going forward represents a democratic triumph whose possibilities have not yet been fully realized. The educational process immediately ahead of us will be abridged by the shock of war.

During the time in which our churches have been permeated by modern biblical criticism they have also been stirred by the new social awakening. Here again Germany can show nothing like this movement which is now sweeping over the religious life of Britain and America. The "Forum" meetings, held in the United States under church auspices and giving a novel emphasis to the claims of democracy and justice, would be impossible under Prussianism. At first glance the social awakening seems to bear no relation to biblical scholarship. But as we study the deeper forces of history we begin to see that this movement is preparing us to understand the fundamental meaning of biblical criti-

cism. Various forces indeed are combining to make the new epoch.

It should now be clear that, while German *scholars* did more for Bible-study during the nineteenth century than did the scholars of other lands, the Anglo-Saxon *people* are today in a far better position than the people of Germany to grasp the meaning of the Bible as revealed by modern science, and to take the next great step in church progress. German religion is bound hand and foot in the toils of autocracy. But our churches move onward in the atmosphere of spiritual freedom.

For *democracy* is the ultimate meaning of the new biblical interpretation. The paradox of criticism arises from the conflict between aristocratic and democratic forces in the church life of modern civilization. The shock of the great war is preparing us to realize the logic of Christianity and the Bible. The whole drift of Hohenzollernism—and indeed of orthodoxy everywhere—is to obscure the tremendous fact that the Jewish and Christian churches were developed out of ancient heathenism through the powerful force of social movements based on justice and brotherhood. Amidst the terrible agony of a struggle for human rights, in a time when arrogant wealth bestrode the masses and mighty empires crushed out the liberties of small nations, the biblical faith in the one true and righteous God was born. Every church spire is a symbol of democracy and a threat against autocratic power. The church has grown up out of the struggle to make the world safe for government by the people.

It is this wonderful religious evolution, with God at the center of it, that modern biblical scholars are investigating. Hebrew history assumes ever growing reality as we discard the orthodox formula "The Law and the Prophets," and replace it by the critical formula "The Prophets and the Law." Opposing the kings and upholding the cause of justice for the common people, the prophets of Jehovah led forward to the final victory of monotheism over the heathen gods. The democracy of the Bible cannot be really understood by German critics who live in the poisoned atmosphere of tyranny. If they comprehended Scripture they would have to teach that the religion of Jesus and the prophets is against the system of junkerism; and their failure to do so proves that the usefulness of German biblical scholarship has come to an end.¹

What the awakening church needs is not orthodoxy but a *conservatism* which maintains all the religious values enshrined in the Scriptures. Orthodoxy is a human theory about the origin and nature of a religion which was established among men long before orthodoxy itself was ever heard of. Our Bible and our faith are calling for interpretation today in terms of the awful crisis through which the world is now passing. We must gird ourselves for a task which widens beyond anything hitherto at-

tempted by the church. We must explain the Bible in clear, honest words that can be understood by the people; and if the crasser supernaturalism of our fathers must go, it will be replaced by a deeper supernaturalism which finds God in the commonplace events of history, and in which the evolution of the world gives expression to the personality of the Most High. And while the church cannot formulate the political and economic program of democracy, it must become as a city set on a hill, the inspiration of social justice and the dynamic center of public righteousness.

The religious emotion and idealism of the people constitute a great fund of social strength which must and will be put behind the drive against Kaiserism and back of the movement to make the world a fit abode for mankind. These emotions were operative in the times of the prophets and Jesus Christ, the early church, the Reformation, the Puritan revolution, and the American Civil War. The time has now come when they must inevitably give direction and purpose to the currents of civic energy now being unloosed in such astounding measure. The Kaiser cannot afford to have the German people understand the Bible. But the world will move onward through the flames of war into the splendid franchise of the gospel.

¹ The democracy of criticism will be more apparent when it is generally realized that the struggle of the prophets against injustice was identical with the warfare against false gods, growing out of the development of Hebrew nationality at the point of assimilation between Israelite worshipers of Jehovah and Amorite worshipers of Baal. See article by the present writer in *Biblical World*, XLV (April, 1915), entitled "Amorite Influence in the Religion of the Bible."

PRESENT-DAY REPENTANCE¹

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Acts 17:30: The times of ignorance therefore God overlooked; but now he commandeth men that they should all everywhere repent.

This is the peremptory summons with which the gospel of Christ comes to every man, every nation, every age: "Repent." That young Chinese was perfectly right who, when he was studying Christianity with a view to its personal acceptance, said to the missionary: "If I become a Christian I shall have to acknowledge and abandon at once the wrong things I have been doing, for your Christian God is a confessing God." And there is something very true to a genuine Christian experience in that story of the two Manchurian neighbors who had been bitter enemies for many years because of an old quarrel over the boundary between their farms. When the Korean revival spread over into Manchuria several years ago they were both soundly converted. The missionary who told the story in my hearing was an eyewitness of what happened the next time they met. Each rushed up to the other with the cry, "It was all my fault." "No," was the instant reply of both, "it was all mine." And then, amid tears of joy, their arms about each other, they were reconciled in their mutual repentance.

It is no accident therefore that this sharp summons of Paul calling the Athenians to repentance is the same

summons—for that matter the very word—with which according to Matthew Jesus began his public preaching: "Repent ye; for the kingdom of heaven is at hand." Dean Bosworth has strikingly paraphrased this summons of Jesus in words which I want to borrow today as a working definition of what repentance really means: "Change your life; for God is introducing among men a new order of things." True repentance means more than, "Be sorry for what you have done"; it means also and no less, "Do differently from now on." That was the command of Jesus when, in Mark's simple but pregnant phrase, he "came into Galilee, preaching the gospel of God." It was the command of Paul in Christ's name as he preached on Mars Hill and in all the great centers of the eastern Roman Empire. From that day to this it has been in the forefront of the message of every true Christian preacher and worker and missionary—this age-long, world-wide summons of Christian evangelism: forsake your old life, turn over a new leaf and begin a new one; for God wants you and will help you to change, not only your mind, but your heart, your purpose, your whole way of living.

Now this text of Paul to the Athenians tells us several things about Christian repentance that we very often forget or overlook, and that I want particularly to impress on you. It tells us, for one

¹ Sermon preached before the Northern Baptist Convention, Atlantic City, May, 1918.

thing, what is God's standard of judgment, by comparison with which men can tell whether they need to repent, and in which direction they must change their lives. In the very next verse Paul goes on: "He will judge the world in righteousness by that man whom he hath ordained." Now like every good Baptist I believe in the right of every individual to interpret the Bible for himself, in the light of the most careful study and with the illumination of the Spirit of God dwelling in his own soul, and I am entirely willing that you should interpret what Paul has to say in this verse about the day of judgment, in whatever way seems to you most in accord with sound scholarship and the spirit of Christ. But on any reasonable interpretation it seems clear to me that what Paul means is this: God has revealed to us men in Jesus Christ our Lord, plainly and finally, the divine standards of character and the divine spirit of service to which he expects us as his children to conform. Wherever, putting our lives alongside the life of Jesus, we discover a discrepancy, there we must repent and amend our ways. Whenever such a discrepancy discovers itself to our consciences and we let it go unrepented of and uncorrected, there is sin. And by our increasing conformity to that divine standard revealed in Christ, or our careless and contented lapses from it, God will finally judge every man of us.

This standard of judgment revealed in Christ applies, not only to us as individuals, but to all of us together as groups and classes of men, and to our social habits and institutions. In the text Paul is speaking to his hearers, not only as men one by one, but together as

residents of the city and citizens of the state—"Ye men of Athens" he calls them. And he summons them to repent, not only of the idolatry which they practiced each man for himself, but of the superstition of which their whole city was collectively guilty. That is always characteristic of God's calls to repentance as it is of his judgments: both alike fall equally on our personal and our social sins and shortcomings. He bids us compare our fads and our fashions, our customs and our institutions, our ways of doing business, our economic régime, our whole social order, with the standards and the spirit of Christ. Wherever we find a glaring discrepancy, there he commands us to change our ways, however venerable and generally accepted they may seem to be. Wherever such a discrepancy persists uncorrected, there is social sin. For by its increasing conformity to the divine standard and spirit revealed in Christ, or by the yawning divergences which we put up with because things always have been that way, will God finally judge our social order—and some of us fear that he will condemn it.

But there is implicit in this great text an even deeper truth about the Christian call to repentance, to which we Christian people have always been too willingly blind. We have too often supposed that repentance was a duty which you discharge once for all at the beginning of the Christian life and have then done with; that the only people called to repentance are those, particularly those outbreking sinners or those heathen nations, that have not yet begun to follow Christ at all. Now this is a very comforting and a very comfortable

doctrine for Christian people and Christian nations, but it does not square with the plain teaching of Jesus or with the plain facts of Christian experience. You remember that deep saying in John's Gospel: "I have yet many things to say unto you, but ye cannot bear them now. Howbeit when he, the Spirit of truth, is come, he shall guide you into all truth. . . . He shall glorify me; for he shall take of mine, and shall declare it unto you." Jesus evidently expected that under the guidance of the indwelling spirit of God in their hearts his followers would understand him better and better the longer they followed him, and that new aspects of his character, new applications of his teaching and spirit, would be revealed by that same indwelling Spirit to successive generations of his followers. Surely this expectation has been confirmed in the personal experience of every sincere and growing Christian. You and I started to follow Christ long years ago and repentance then meant to us, rightly, the abandoning of some old habit, of some familiar sin, that was at open variance with him. But in the years since we have been discovering new demands of Jesus upon us, new conflicts between our natural dispositions and attitudes and his. We have found him reproving our consciences, not only for sins of the flesh and of the will, but for sins of the disposition and temperament, and particularly for unchristian attitudes toward other people that formerly we had not realized to be sins at all. Every one of these emerging divergences between his life and ours has thus enlarged and deepened our sense of sin and of need for forgiveness; and every one of them has been a new

call to repentance. For in every growing Christian life repentance has a progressive character: it is the continual renouncing of the things in us that one after another appear un-Christlike, and the constant striving, in the words of the children's prayer,

To grow more like thee every day.

Not only in our personal lives but in our social history does this same progressive summons to repentance under the enlarging judgment of Christ go on. Over and over again has it happened during these nineteen centuries since Jesus lived. Let me give you a very familiar illustration. There were long centuries after Jesus lived before it ever dawned upon men's minds or consciences that there was any deep and essential conflict between Christianity and human slavery. Paul in his epistles accepted slavery as a matter of course, just as he accepted a great many other social institutions of his day and nation, including the use of alcoholic liquors. It is a significant indication, by the way, of the grave dangers and easy errors of that literalistic method of interpreting the Bible which is still so popular among many of our Baptist brethren, that a century ago men were defending slavery, just as fifty years ago they were opposing temperance, by an appeal to the very words of the New Testament that was irrefutable on literalistic grounds. Verily it is as true of social progress as Paul said it was of real spirituality, that "the letter killeth, but the spirit giveth life." For two centuries ago the consciences of Christian men began to see that there was a fundamental and irreconcilable conflict between Jesus' teaching that all human

beings are of infinite value and immortal destiny, because all alike are children of one common Father, and the current practice of buying and selling black men as personal property. A century ago this feeling had deepened into a conviction in England and the North. Through fifty years of bitter controversy God and her own Christian conscience judged America for what by that time was plain as the sin of slavery; and in the blood and tears of the Civil War she repented.

If another illustration is necessary, take the history of monasticism in the Christian church. It was long centuries before sincere Christian men had any idea that there was any inconsistency between Jesus' spirit of unselfish service and the absolute concentration of the mediaeval monk or nun on the task of saving his or her own soul, regardless of the needs and claims of body or of kindred, of fellow-men or of posterity. Only gradually has there come to our modern world the realization of the deep meaning of the parable of the Last Judgment: that in the eyes of Jesus and of God self-absorption even in religion is wrong and must be repented of; and that the way of unselfish service is the way to life more abundant both here and hereafter.

These personal and social experiences may help us to understand what Paul means by that very striking first phrase of the text. In this progressive revelation of God's standards and purposes through Jesus Christ our Lord, his divine judgment extending itself steadily over all the ranges of human life, there must inevitably have been what Paul calls "times of ignorance." He recognizes

frankly that there was a time when sincere and pious Athenians did not have the least idea that idolatry was anything to be repented of. Just so there was a time in our early Christian experience when we did not realize that we must repent of some things that now Christ has shown us we must abandon. Just so there was a time when God-fearing Americans never dreamed that human slavery was wrong; when devoted monks and nuns really thought that through their ascetic self-absorption they were offering to God the highest service. These "times of ignorance," says Paul, "God overlooked," and does not condemn men who lived up to the best light they had. "*But now*" . . . it is entirely different. We are living in a time when Jesus Christ has laid bare the true character of these same things judged by his standards. And now that has happened, "God commandeth men that they should all everywhere repent" —*of those things.*

Now you and I are living in such a day of judgment as human history has hardly known before. I am not anxious to debate questions of theology or exegesis. I am entirely willing that each one of us shall interpret the relation of the day in which we are living to the day of judgment of which Paul speaks, according to his own light in good Baptist fashion. But surely it needs no proof to say that during the last four years the conscience of the free peoples of the world, and particularly of the Christian men among them, has been roused from haziness and torpor to new sensitiveness and new conviction on certain questions that have suddenly become the burning moral and spiritual issues of our momentous

time. The judging spirit of Jesus Christ, ranging up and down our human life, has challenged certain things that for generations and centuries have been taken for granted. These past "times of ignorance" we believe that God overlooks for us and for our fathers as he did for the Athenians. Our fathers need no excuse or defense for these things, for they were living up to all the light they had—often with a devotion that puts ours to shame. "*But now*" the living, judging Spirit of God is revealing to us through Christ higher standards and tasks different from those given to them. We cannot excuse ourselves in God's present-day judgment by pleading that because our fathers did these things it is therefore right for us to do them; for we have more light than they did. It does *not* follow that what was good enough for our fathers—slavery, for instance, or idolatry, or monasticism—is good enough for us. The very virtues of one generation may become the vices of the next. "The times of that ignorance God overlooked. *But now*". . .

We are living, for one thing, in a day when God is judging the old system of relations between nations and calling us to repent of our international anarchy. For long centuries men have honestly thought—Christian men too—that the highest duty of the citizen and the last word in the policy of the state is self-interested patriotism. Every morning our leading Chicago paper prints at the head of its editorial columns the famous motto which is the complete expression of that ancient view: "My country, right or wrong." But the tragedy of the last four years has been showing us with awful clearness just where that motto

leads. That is exactly the philosophy which the military leaders of Germany have used to lead their people blindfold into launching the most terrible war in history. Quite apart from the crimes which have caused and then heightened the horrors of this war, we can see now that this same philosophy—every nation for itself and the Kaiser take the hindmost—is the evil nest in which breed and thrive those snaky policies that spread war in the earth: the ruthless pursuit of your own national interests regardless of the rights of other smaller nations, the commercial and colonial exploitation of backward peoples, the pressing of economic interests with armed force, and the resulting competition of armaments in a precarious balance of power. There are three things which we must do if we would deliver humanity from that horrid brood which makes wars in the earth. First and foremost, by a decisive military victory we must stamp out the breeding nest in that European country where it has made its home and has its way. Secondly, we must kill the stray snakes of jingoism and militarism that are loose in the democracies of Italy and France, of Britain and of our own America too. Let us not forget that less than two years ago a whole section of our press and our business interests were clamoring to do in Mexico substantially what Germany is doing in Russia today. "The time of that ignorance God overlooked; but now he commandeth men that they should all everywhere repent." And thirdly, the measure of our repentance will be the earnestness and persistence with which we lead the other free peoples of the earth toward the creation of a new international order—the formation of a

League of Nations that shall make war more difficult and finally impossible. That was the splendid vision of the young Pole in Chicago, who on the day on which he was drafted into our new National Army wrote on a postcard to his chum at Hull House:

Hurrah! I am a soldier of the United States Army. We shall fight the last great battle for perpetual peace. We shall bring about the federation of the world. Your soldier of liberty,

MORITZ.

We are living, again, in a day when God is judging our social order and bidding us repent of our competitive individualism. It was the theory of the economists of a century ago, and has been the practice of the lawmakers and industrial leaders ever since, that the welfare of society is best served when every man looks out for himself and each class in the social order stands up for its own rights, fights for them if necessary in strike or lockout, and gets them if it can. The result has been the sprawling individualism, the cut-throat competition, the ruthless exploitation of the slow-witted and the weak by the shrewd and the strong, and the glaring contrasts between grinding poverty for the many and corrupting luxury for the few, which characterize our present capitalistic and most unchristian industrial régime. Already before the war our consciences were troubling us about it, as we remembered the sympathy of Jesus for the poor and the downtrodden of his day, and his declaration that it is not the will of God that one of these his little ones should perish. But under the sudden strain of war the old order of things has been before our eyes trembling to its fall. Already radical reforms that would

otherwise have had to wait for generations have come to pass, and every forward-looking man can see that still more radical reconstruction must follow the war. Just what forms it will take no man can say—though the leaders of the new British Labor Party have seemed to see farther and clearer than any of the world's statesmen as yet. But we can see that the new order will set far more store than did the old by the common human welfare, and give far less chance for undue personal advantage; that it will be based much less upon competitive struggle and much more upon co-operative service; that it will attempt a much fairer division of the products of industry; and that it will make much more earnest with the principle "No cake for any until all have bread." That surely seems much more Christian than the old ways. "The times of that ignorance God overlooked; but now he commandeth men that they should all everywhere" change their lives, for God is introducing a new order.

When God is thus judging the nations and the social order as sternly as he is today we need hardly think that the Christian church will escape altogether. In a day when the very structure of industrial and international relationships is in process of reconstruction it is not likely that our ecclesiastical system will survive unaltered. And I wonder if there is any area of modern life where the judgment of God's present purposes revealed through Christ is any clearer than it is on the Christian churches themselves. We were beginning to be uneasily conscious of this before the war, as we pondered the prayer of our Lord "that they all may be one . . . that

the world may believe." No wonder the world does not believe, if, as Jesus himself suggested, the evidence that will convince it of his claims is the union of his followers; for that evidence has never yet been given to the world—and the fault is ours, not his. As we faced our great missionary tasks at home and abroad we began to realize the truth of the report of our Christian statesmen at the international missionary conference at Edinburgh in 1910: "We fall back frankly before this great, world-wide task if it is to be faced by a divided Christendom."

And now the war has reinforced this judgment manifold. How can we summon the nations to unite in a League of Peace until we in the Christian churches set the example? How can we preach to American business men, and particularly to capital and labor, the duty of co-operation rather than competition, when the Christian churches themselves, deeply divided and therefore sadly inefficient, are practically competitors in hundreds of cities and thousands of towns and villages throughout the land? A divided and competitive church cannot speak with authority to a divided world and a competitive social order, else they will surely say to us this proverb, "Physician, heal thyself."

But there are abundant signs that the spirit of Christ and the providence of God are leading us rapidly out into a new era of closer Christian co-operation and truer Christian union. Every observer tells us that the Christian men in the camps are sure to come back with far less interest in the maintenance of denominational fences and far greater sense of fellowship with all their Chris-

tian brethren. What the outcome of these strong unifying forces in the new age before us will be, no man is wise enough to say; nor can we even predict the external forms which the church of Christ in the future may find itself led to assume. The experience of our own Baptist fathers in other days has made us rightly doubtful about the desirability of organic unity as an end in itself. We believe, as Paul did, that the "unity of the spirit" is the all-important thing, and that this inner unity will in due time find its own best outer forms. We Baptists hold in trust certain great and precious truths for which our fathers fought and suffered, and we regard it as a part of our stewardship to see that these truths are safeguarded in all of the developments of the future.

We believe that the church and state must always be separate if civil and religious liberty are to be maintained; and we welcome the help which all Protestant bodies will evidently give us in the eternal vigilance which is the price of that liberty. We believe that the religious competency of the individual soul before God, without the intervention of any priest, ceremony, or creed, and the right of the local church to self-government in all matters of purely local concern, must be safeguarded if Christianity is to keep its vitality and the church its initiative; and we rejoice that other Protestant bodies besides ourselves now share this faith and practice. And we especially believe with all our souls that the fundamental requirement for membership in the church must always be, not subscription to any creed, not submission to any rite, not assent to any formula, but personal

experience of the grace of God revealed in Christ, and personal purpose to follow him as Lord and Master; and we rejoice that in the actual practice of Protestant churches this principle has now been widely accepted. These great Christian principles, maintained for centuries by Baptist champions, are the living stones which we bring with pride to the building of what Paul called the "holy temple in the Lord," into which "each several building" is to "grow," and of which Jesus Christ himself is the chief cornerstone.

But as the eye of our faith contemplates that common Christian temple for the building of which the Master so earnestly prayed, does not his spirit summon all Christian people, and not least us Baptists, to repent of some things? Not the true pride of stewardship that leads men with joy to contribute their share to the common stock, but the false pride of self-absorption that leads to sectarian pettiness and provinciality and prejudice—these all Christians, ourselves included, must repent of. Not the convictions that in humility before God and in the peaceable spirit of Christ we hold in trust, but the unwillingness to enlarge our horizons and to learn new truth as the living God is ever revealing it to us by his indwelling spirit—these all Christians, ourselves included, must repent of. The disposition to thank God that we are not as other churches, to regard ourselves as alone the chosen people and alone fully obedient to Christ's commands, the fixing of our eyes on the secondary things that divide instead of on the primary things that unite us as Christians, the false sense of separation from our

brethren in Christ that so easily results—these banes of sectarianism all Christians, ourselves included, must repent of. We must cultivate a new appreciation of other Christians and other churches, a new understanding of their distinctive convictions, some of them just as valid as our own, a new toleration of honest differences of opinion and interpretation among equally sincere followers of Christ, a new readiness to work with all who will co-operate in his name and spirit in our common Christian tasks. This is the unity of the spirit which is more important to the Christian church than anything else. God grant it to us Baptists and to all Christians in answer to our common repentance and our united prayers, and make us leaders and not laggards in the closer drawing together of the churches of our common Lord and Master.

Do we say that these are hard tasks and stern demands, that they are not in line with the comfortable practices and conventional traditions of other days? Our boys who are taking their places on the Western Front have responded to a call that involved a sharp break with all their habits and traditions and that may cost them life itself—and they have done it to bring in a new order of things on earth. We shall not be worthy of these brothers and sons of ours if in days like these we quail before great calls of Christian duty simply because they are hard or because they are new; and these men will not be proud of us if, having become new men in a great new crusade, they come back to find us no bigger and no better Christians than we were before.

And then—have we forgotten God? He is not the God of the dead—the dead

past or the finished work—but of the living, the new task and the present duty. In this closing moment let us go back and down to the great foundation of Paul's whole appeal for repentance: it is all a message about God. That is the message, that is the faith which our time above all other times needs. Let us remember that for men who believe in

God "fear is as wrong as selfishness, and faith as essential as service." Only God can give steadiness and perspective to our convictions as we look at things from his point of view; only God can give strength to our purposes as we seek to do his will. And like the soldiers we shall find him with us as we go forward at whatever sacrifice in the doing of his will.

THE RELIGION OF THE GERMAN KAISER

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This striking article by Dr. Gilbert complements that of Louis Wallis in this number of the BIBLICAL WORLD. It should finally answer the question whether the religion of an autocrat, ruling by "divine right," is fitted for a world which has learned the meaning of the gospel and repatriated Jesus in the religion he founded.

This is a day of bewildering and painful contrasts. We have seen the Temple of Peace at The Hague rise amid the congratulations and good wishes of most of the great nations of the world, and then after a brief interval we have seen those same nations devoured by war. The voice of universal alliances for peace has been heard over the earth, supported by vast foundations dedicated to the same end, and anon that voice has been lost in the wild tumult of international strife. An era without parallel in history for its wide and splendid Christian missions has suddenly been merged in barbarism, and this dire transition has come about through the working of forces at the heart of Christendom itself. An age

rich in culture and warming more and more toward noble ideals of life has been plunged in heathenish night. And the strangest paradox of all is the fact that the man who is chiefly responsible for this infinite calamity to the world is the constitutional head of the Christian church of Prussia and regards himself as the chosen instrument of God in all the work of his life.

Very frequently and explicitly the Kaiser avows his Christian faith, and sometimes in an impressive and persuasive manner. He preaches. He makes religious addresses to military and naval recruits. He takes a prominent part at the dedication of churches. He is concerned for the religious education of the young. He assures his people that

not a morning or evening passes without a prayer by him on their behalf. At the outbreak of the war he concluded a short address to the residents of Berlin with a solemn command to go to their homes and pray. No other great ruler in Christian history has publicly declared his faith so often as has the Kaiser. And yet the question may be asked—yea, rather the question forces itself upon one in view of the Kaiser's great prominence in what appears to be the most colossal crime in history—whether his religion has any vital kinship with the gospel. What shall be the answer to this question?

The glory of the Kaiser in his own eyes is the fact that he is a Hohenzollern. The old classical motto, "I am a man, and nothing that belongs to man do I count foreign to myself," must be modified to fit the Kaiser, and must read, "I am a Hohenzollern, and whatever belongs to the Hohenzollerns is glorious in my sight." It is well known that the Kaiser has always been a passionate admirer of Frederick the Great. His worship of the Hohenzollerns is lavished especially on this founder of Prussia (1740-86) and on William I, his grandfather, to whom he wrongly ascribes the glory of having founded the German Empire. It must not be thought that he sees in Frederick simply great military genius, which indeed many see in him. No. This Prussian king, one of "the great bad men" of history, was, in the Kaiser's thought of him, the chosen of God, a favorite of heaven. The Kaiser says that God "never left him in the lurch." From the battlefields where he displayed his prowess, from Pirna and Leuthen

and Rossbach, God has been the "ally" of the German people. Thus the Kaiser sees in Frederick one on whom the favor of God rested in an uncommon measure, one through whom a new era of divine grace to the German people was introduced. Accordingly, when the Kaiser thinks of heaven, as on the occasion of his speech at Döberitz in May, 1903, he sees "assembled around the great Ally above" Frederick and William I with their numerous generals, field marshals, and paladins.

Let it be remembered that it was this Frederick who said, "It is not very wise in a king to have any religion himself," for "religion does not agree with those great political views which a monarch ought to have." It was he who said of war, "It is a trade in which the least scruple would spoil everything"; who said of justice, "We must do justice to all men and especially to our own subjects, *when it does not overset our own rights or wound our own authority*"; and who counseled his successor "not to commit that stupid folly of not abandoning an alliance whenever it is your interest so to do." It was this Frederick who wrote against the principles of Machiavelli, and then himself applied those infamous principles with consummate mastership. This is the character, this despot who feared not God nor regarded man, this wholesale robber, this worshiper of brute force, whom the Christian Kaiser, the *summus episcopus* of the Prussian church, urges his people to emulate!

It is highly significant that the Kaiser's most striking religious utterances, though made in times of peace, are frequently warlike in character and

seem to have a military end in view. Even the conception of God has not escaped a subtle transformation at his hands. Perhaps at no point has the Kaiser exercised a profounder religious influence than just here. He has given common currency to a warlike and national designation of God in the term "the great Ally" or "the old Ally." It appears that in the Kaiser's thought God is especially useful in war and is especially interested in German wars. This notion is not peculiar to the Kaiser, but he is the one who has forced it upon the minds of his countrymen.

When Bismarck by falsifying the Ems dispatch made war with France probable if not inevitable, von Roon, the Prussian Minister of war, who with Moltke was dining with Bismarck, exclaimed, "Our God of old still lives and will not let us perish in disgrace." That is to say, our old God is a God of war, and by giving us at length another war and its glory he will again prove to us that he is still alive. This is about the same thought of God that was held by the Germans in the time of Tacitus, five centuries before they had been touched by Christian influences. Well may the German historian Janson say that when this people were converted to Christianity their warlike character was not changed.

We have said that the Kaiser's designation of God contains a conception which is national as well as warlike. But these two aspects of the thought belong together. The warlike God is a *German* God. Ever since the days of the Elector and of Frederick, God has been "the great Ally" of the Germans.

This thought of divine favoritism looks strange indeed in the light of the twentieth century. We expect to find it among uncivilized peoples: it is part of the narrow intellectual outlook of barbarians; but here it appears in a modern European sovereign who is proud of his culture and constant in his claim to the Christian name. Here is the way he speaks: "The German people will be the rock of granite upon which our Lord God will build and complete the work of culture in the world." "The words of the poet will be fulfilled when he says, 'In contact with German life the world will grow well again.'" "Just as the great king [Frederick the Great] was never left in the lurch by the old Ally, so our Fatherland and this beautiful province [Silesia] will always be near his heart." "We shall conquer everywhere even though we be surrounded by enemies on every side, for there lives a powerful Ally, the old good God in heaven, who ever since the time of the great Elector and the great king has always been on our side." "I hope it will be granted to our German fatherland through the harmonious co-operation of princes and people, of its armies and its citizens, to become in the future as closely united, as powerful, and as authoritative as once the Roman world-empire was." There is yet a statement of the Kaiser that should not be overlooked in this connection. He was writing, in 1903, his views of the Old Testament and of God's modes of revelation. He mentions ten historical characters as conspicuous illustrations of the men through whom God makes himself known to the world. The ten are Hammurabi,

Abraham, Moses, Homer, Charlemagne, Luther, Shakespeare, Goethe, Kant, and "William the Great." The list contains one Babylonian, one Greek, one Englishman, two Hebrews, and *five* Germans, and one of these five to be ranked with Abraham and Moses is the Kaiser's grandfather, the man whom Bismarck's craft and violence made the first ruler of the German Empire!

The sole aim in quoting these passages is to call attention to them as an index of the value of the Kaiser's appreciation of Christianity. Their significance in this regard should not be overlooked. They are a unique phenomenon. No intelligent Christian, however great reason he may have had to glory in the achievements and the power of his people, has ever rivaled these words of the Kaiser. It is obviously impossible for a man to hold the Christian religion intelligently and fail to see that its first and fundamental conception is that of the universal fatherhood of God. To presume that the German nation, were it tenfold stronger and a hundred fold more humble and brotherly, is more dear to God than Serbia, or Belgium, or Poland, or Japan, or China, or India is to darken Christianity and mix its highest teaching with common paganism.

There must be no mistake at this point. It is crass heathenism to represent the God of Jesus as the fond "Ally" of Frederick the Great. If there was one man in Prussia in the eighteenth century who in spirit and aim was conspicuously alien to the principles of the gospel and whose influence on his own and subsequent generations was conspicuously bad, it was that ancestor

of the Kaiser whom he puts in the front rank in the heavenly world. If the man who judges thus is sound morally, he must be spiritually blind to the central conception of the Christian faith. The Kaiser's doctrine that the German nation, like the House of Hohenzollern, enjoys the position of a favorite in the sight of God is not only ridiculously presumptuous but also profoundly unchristian. It is inconceivable in anyone who claims to be a Christian unless his mind is preoccupied and controlled by some essentially unspiritual passion. It is such a mind that the Kaiser revealed when he charged the troops on their departure for China to do two things—to smite the Chinese so that they would not forget the blow in a thousand years, and to open a way for culture once for all! These words reveal in a flash the Kaiser's thought of "culture" and differentiate it absolutely from Christianity. He spoke as Mohammed might have spoken.

Again, the fruit out of the Hohenzollern root is seen in the Kaiser's conception of life; that is, the life of a German. He regards the army as the crown of glory of the German people. The highest honor of a Prussian is to appear in the king's coat, and his sublimest work is war. The punishment of God upon the Germans at the beginning of the nineteenth century, the Kaiser tells us, was a punishment meted out to them because they had forgotten their proper business of being warriors. To be worthy of having God as their "Ally," the German, says the Kaiser, "must give himself body and soul" to the army and its duties. He who does

this is a good Christian and everyone who is a good Christian does this.

When speaking to the recruits in Berlin, November, 1897, the Kaiser said: "He who is not a good Christian is not a brave man and is no Prussian soldier," for the highest qualities of a Christian are "self-control and self-abnegation," the latter quality meaning for him "unconditional obedience and subordination" to those who are appointed over one. Again, in March, 1905, when addressing naval recruits in Wilhelmshafen, he declared that "a good Christian is synonymous with a good soldier." It is not the Kaiser's habit to speak of the good Christian as a good neighbor or a good citizen, a friend of the weak and a promoter of world-peace: he is interested in him primarily as a good *soldier*.

The Kaiser is a man of many interests but of one passion, and that is identical with the passion of Frederick the Great.

It may be noted that if "self-control and unconditional obedience to superiors" are the highest Christian qualities, it becomes difficult to separate between Christian ethics and the ethics of Sparta, for example, or Rome. But this limitation of Christian ethics is precisely that which might be expected from a passionate upholder of absolutism.

It is obvious that neither of the Kaiser's epigrams on the Christian and the soldier is true. A good Christian is *not* a good soldier in the Kaiser's sense of the words "good soldier." He does *not* give himself "heart and soul" to those placed over him, and he is *not* ready, at the command of his superiors, to shoot even his father and his

mother, as the Kaiser says a good soldier should do.

And, further, a good soldier, in the Kaiser's understanding of those words, is not for that reason a good Christian. The Spartans were surely good soldiers; so were Caesar's legions; so were the men who captured Port Arthur; so are many radical unbelievers in the Kaiser's army. When the Kaiser makes Christianity synonymous with being a good soldier, and a *Prussian* soldier at that, he betrays his passion for militarism and his ignorance of the gospel.

We pass to the Kaiser's view of the church. This also bears the Hohenzollern stamp. As he has made the great educational system of Germany more and more subservient to the end of producing soldiers, so he has used the church to promote political and military ambitions.

In the speech at Aachen, June 19, 1902, the Kaiser declared that the state needs the church to help it overthrow the power of socialism. That statement is frank and clear. The church is regarded as a tool for the accomplishment of political ends. The Kaiser reminded his hearers on this occasion that "the sole protection of the church in these times of trouble and unbelief is the emperor's hand and the shield of the empire." These words too are illuminative of the Kaiser's conception of the church. It needs his hand to support it and the shield of the empire to protect it! It is to be hoped that this is not really true of the present religious life of Germany, for then must it be indeed a degenerate vine. A faith that arose without any king's permission, that spread for three centuries in the

face of many attempts of kings to crush it, and which flourishes today in every republic on earth, does not, in Germany or elsewhere, depend on an emperor's favor.

The Kaiser as king of Prussia is the head of the Prussian church, but it is evident that this high office is regarded by him as altogether subordinate to his position as head of the army. His grandfather told him to remember always that the basis of Germany's greatness is the Prussian army, and in the Kaiser's first speech to the army he declared that they were "born for each other." From that day to the present he has lost no opportunity of glorifying the army. In his address of January, 1, 1900, he declared that it was "the rock on which Germany's might and greatness rest." In comparison with the army the church has a small place in the Kaiser's life, and that a place, not of worthy independence, but of manifest subordination to the army. The army, according to a recent German writer, is the one great organism of culture which comprises the entire people. The Kaiser might not admit that the army is the *sole* organism of national culture, but he speaks and acts as though it were by far the most important one. Army officers enjoy the highest social rank on the German earth and, if the Kaiser's vision is true, in the German heaven as well, for the immediate circle around the "great Ally" consists, not of Luther and others like him in the service of religion, not of the great musicians and poets—Händel and Mendelssohn, Goethe and Schiller—not of the great teachers and scientists, like Froebel and Humboldt, but it consists, as we have

already seen, of Frederick the Great and William I "with their generals, field marshals, and paladins." What Christian would not rather be in purgatory with Vergil and Plato than be in this Prussian paradise!

In the autumn of 1898 the Kaiser made a trip to Palestine, and spoke under the spell of the sacred associations clustering around such places as Bethlehem and Jerusalem, but even there the political and national note in his conception of the church was not wanting. Thus, after saying that the influence of Christians in Jerusalem had sunk to its lowest state, he proceeds as follows: "And now *our* turn has come. The German Empire and the German name have now acquired throughout the empire of the Osmanli a higher respect than ever before. It is for us at present to demonstrate what is really the essence of Christianity and to show that the exercise of Christian love is our plain duty even toward the Mohammedan population. The Kaiser seems not to have heard of the Hamlins and Posts and Blisses who founded flourishing colleges in Mohammedan lands and preached the gospel of love by their lives years before he was born."

More noteworthy still is the following utterance in the Jerusalem address. "What the German people have become," says the Kaiser, "they have become under the banner of the cross of Golgotha, the symbol of self-sacrificing love of our neighbor." But we must read these words in the light of the Kaiser's habitual references to the source of German greatness, which locate it in the House of Hohenzollern. But surely the House of Hohenzollern, as

described in history, has never been deeply inspired by "the symbol of self-sacrificing love of our neighbor." The Hohenzollern "love" for its neighbors has been habitually and systematically expressed in "eating" them. It was thus that Frederick the Great "loved" Maria Theresa of Austria, thus that Bismarck "loved" Schleswig-Holstein, and thus that William I "loved" France. These and lesser men of their kind are the ones who have made Germany "powerful and respected," to use the Kaiser's phrase, and it is to them that he usually gives the glory. Does he then regard "the banner of the cross" and the double-headed black Prussian eagle as equivalent symbols? Does he think of the rattle of the Hohenzollern sword as the natural accompaniment of "self-sacrificing love"?

One who follows the Kaiser's thought from 1889 to 1914 cannot be in doubt as to which of these antagonistic symbols has been the master-motive of his life. If he has a sincere personal interest in Christianity, he subordinates it completely to his passionate interest in his army and navy. He does not, like the cynical Frederick, frankly use religion as a mere tool of Prussian statecraft, but nevertheless, as a simple matter of fact, he makes the church of which he is the head subservient to political ends.

We should take at least brief notice of the Kaiser's use of the Bible. As his view of God, of German life, and the German church is thoroughly militarized, suited to the aims of a military absolutism, so also are his view and use of the Bible. If the Kaiser did not assume to be a preacher and an interpreter of the Scriptures, competent to speak the

final word on how the Assyriologist must handle the Bible, and also to declare what the essence of Christianity is, we might pass lightly over his views or ignore them altogether; but now we are not at liberty so to do.

The Kaiser's knowledge of the Bible, unlike that of Lincoln or Tennyson, for example, is conventional and superficial—such an acquaintance as the obligatory Bible-study of his boyhood might have given him. One would search his religious utterances in vain for evidence that he ever came under the spell of the great Hebrew prophets, as one also looks in vain for evidence of his appreciation of the central message of Jesus and the significance of his life. He employs certain orthodox formulas relative to these subjects much as Constantine might have used them sixteen centuries ago.

That part of the Bible that appeals to the Kaiser is the part which is most foreign to the teaching of the Master: the military deeds and military spirit of certain sections of the Old Testament.

It is noteworthy that the only sermon by the Kaiser that has found its way into print is that on the battle between Israel and Amalek in the days of Moses, a sermon preached on board the "Hohenzollern," July, 1900. The modern "Amalek" was the Chinese, who, the Kaiser said, were hindering "the triumphant progress of Christian morals, Christian faith, European commerce and education." It was the command of God to go forth and fight this "Amalek."

The main part of the Kaiser's sermon was on the duty and the power of prayer, i.e., prayer for the German soldiers, that their arms might be "strong to

punish the assassins," and that "with the mailed fist" they might set right "the murderous disorder" and then come home with "the laurel wreath on their helmets and the medal of honor on their breasts."

It is instructive to listen to the Kaiser's words to the troops on their departure for China, for these make yet plainer what he meant by his words on prayer on board the "Hohenzollern." The prayers of the people at home were to help the troops to do what the Kaiser told them to do. And what was that? These are his words: "Quarter is not to be given. Prisoners are not to be taken. Use your weapons in such a way that for a thousand years no Chinese shall dare to look upon a German askance. Show your manliness. . . . Open a way for culture once for all."

Both sermon and address reveal a conception of prayer far more in keeping with the times of Amalek than with the spirit of the twentieth century. It is absolutely untouched by any faintest gleam of the Christian spirit. It is proud, hard, conscienceless, militaristic.

Having now completed our survey of the Kaiser's religion, let us state the conclusion of the whole matter. The Kaiser, judged by his own words spoken through a quarter of a century prior to this war, presents an unparalleled personal illustration of a thoroughly

militarized Christianity. The reader can judge for himself whether the events of the past three and a half years overthrow this conclusion, or, on the contrary, establish it forever.

We have good reason to regard Christianity as the highest and most beneficent religion known to men, but we also have good reason to regard a thoroughly militarized Christianity, like that of the Kaiser, as the lowest and most harmful religion ever developed on earth. It is the lowest because it systematically stifles the better instincts of the heart, and it is the most harmful because it blots out the great central truth of the universal fatherhood of God.

Militarism is barbarism, and a militarized Christianity is simply barbarism in disguise. The spirit of Christianity has fled; only the mocking name remains.

It is a relatively trifling matter that the German people should be subject to an emperor, but it is a matter of infinitely serious import, both for them and for the world, that they should continue to be subject to an emperor in whom and in whose government Christianity has become thoroughly militarized.

The curse of Hohenzollernism is nowhere so heavy and damning as in its ruthless perversion of the religion of democracy, the religion of brotherhood and freedom, and in its transformation of this great gospel into a tool of personal and national ambition.

THE BIBLE IN JAPAN

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The most interesting exhibit in the Imperial Museum, among the cherry groves of Ueno Park, in Tokyo, is what one may call the Department of Japanese Christian Antiquities, if the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries may be spoken of as antiquity. Beside the rosaries, crucifixes, and similar relics there displayed lies a letter on parchment, couched in mediaeval Latin, from the hand of his holiness the Pope, commending the bearer, Francis Xavier, a faithful servant of the church, to the good will and kind offices of those among whom his lot might be cast in the prosecution of the enterprise upon which he was about to proceed. This enterprise, it will be remembered, was nothing less than the evangelization of the heathen world, from Africa to Japan. It was carried on by Xavier with a courage and devotion not surpassed in missionary annals since the days of that other world-evangelist, the apostle Paul. From the eastern coasts of Africa and the southern coasts of Asia he came to Japan. With the uncounted millions of China waiting for the gospel he could not tarry long in a little country like Japan, but in the two years which he did devote to it he was able to lay the foundations of a work which presently overspread the empire and counted its adherents by the million.

Xavier and his colleagues and successors appear to have depended for the success of their mission on the preaching

of the gospel with the living voice, and to have made no attempt to place the written word in the hands of the people. No copies of Scripture portions, nor even fragments of Christian literature, such as tracts or catechisms, have come down to the present time. The nearest approach to such literature is in the still extant prayer-books used by the Christians of those days in their worship. Several specimens of these lie in these glass cases in the Museum. The open pages have a Japanesey look, but on examination are found to contain merely portions of the Latin prayer-book in a Japanese costume, that is to say, not translated into Japanese for the edification of the worshiper, but simply transliterated into the Japanese *Kana* or syllabary, thus enabling him to enunciate the revered Latin words, albeit uncouthly, and in utter ignorance of their meaning.

Early in the seventeenth century arose the Great Persecution, perhaps the most determined and effective attempt to root out Christianity from a nation that has ever been made in any country. Two million Christians are said to have perished, and the authorities believed that they had succeeded in extirpating the hated foreign religion, which thenceforth remained under the strictest ban and interdict down to modern times. It is a striking testimony to the vitality of Christian truth, even when mingled with much of error

and superstition, that without leaders, churches, sacraments, or opportunity for public worship or for religious fellowship, and without even the printed word, there continued to be, down to the opening of the modern missionary period, many adherents of the interdicted faith who in secret, under fear of death, maintained private and family worship, handing down such knowledge of Christian doctrine as they possessed from generation to generation by word of mouth. The descendants of these hidden believers are now, to the number of thousands, included among the hundred thousand adherents of the Roman Catholic church in Japan. A large proportion of them are found on the islands lying south and west of Kyushu, where they form 10 per cent of the island population and are known as *Hanare*, the "Outcasts," or "Separated Ones."

The Bible in Japan, during the three centuries which elapsed between the coming of Xavier and the coming of Perry, was not in manuscript or printed page, but in fragments of the teaching of Jesus and the apostles treasured diligently in the hearts of believers, or made visible and tangible in the crucifixes and other sacred images or pictures which formed their most precious treasures and heirlooms. These images or pictures were taken over, in some cases, into Buddhist worship, introducing new gods into the Buddhist pantheon. In a certain temple in the coast town of Shiogama, near Sendai, was jealously guarded as the temple's chief and most sacred treasure a small image or idol presumably of gold. Too holy for common mortals to gaze upon, it

was kept well wrapped and cased, and was worshiped "unsight, unseen," as the children say. The fame of the potency of this god and of the benefits received by its worshipers went far afield, and many came from all parts of the empire on pilgrimage to its shrine. Especially did it have the reputation of affording aid to women in childbirth and to those desirous of having children. It was a women's and children's god, indeed a lover and patron of the home. So its blessing was much sought after, and to those who could not make the journey were taken charms from the temple to convey that blessing. The Japanese government decided some years ago to make a thorough investigation of the Buddhist and Shinto shrines and objects of worship, and in due time the officials came to Shiogama, to the temple of the god who had a tender heart for women and children, and demanded that the image be brought to view. Under protest the priests obeyed and set before the officials an image of a woman with a child in her arms. Then the question arose, which of the goddesses worshiped in Japan was represented by the image. It was not Benten, nor was it Kwanon, the goddess of mercy. Finally it was discovered that this famous and potent image was no other than that of the Madonna and Child, which in some way, generations ago, had been concealed in the inmost shrine of the temple.

The years and centuries rolled by, and in the fulness of time Perry's black ships steamed into Yedo Bay, and Japan was introduced into the family of modern nations. In 1850, the first treaty ports having been opened, the pioneers of

Protestant missions to the empire entered the country. Unlike Xavier and his associates these modern apostles counted it a vital necessity to put the people into possession of the Scriptures, and no sooner had they acquired a moderate knowledge of the language and gathered about them Japanese believers who could assist in such an undertaking than they set their hands to the task.

It may be of interest, before proceeding to speak of the methods and results of their labors, to notice briefly several attempts of an earlier date made by missionaries in neighboring countries to prepare Japanese Scriptures against the time when the empire should again become accessible to the gospel. Dr. Karl Gutschaff, of the Netherlands Missionary Society, who labored in Batavia and Siam, has the honor of making the very earliest of these attempts, about 1838. An eminent linguist and scholar, he gave the New Testament to the Siamese and had also a share in the translation of the Bible into Chinese *Wenli*. Some shipwrecked Japanese sailors having come to Bangkok, being forbidden by the stringent laws of the Shogun's court to set foot again in Japan, Dr. Gutschaff seized this opportunity to learn from them something of their language, and with this meager outfit he prepared a translation of the Gospel of John. The Japan Baptist Theological Seminary counts a copy of this as one of its chief treasures. It makes interesting and sometimes amusing reading, as might be expected of a version so much indebted to rough sailors of the forecastle. For instance, the opening verse of the Gospel, if

translated from the Japanese into English, reads, "In the beginning was the Sagacious One, and the Sagacious One was with Paradise, and the Sagacious One was Paradise."

A very few years later a similar attempt was made in China by the famous scholar and missionary Dr. Samuel Wells Williams, widely known for his great book on China, *The Middle Kingdom*, and his monumental *Dictionary of the Chinese Language*. Not content with his prodigious labors for China, he gathered Japan also into his heart. A Japanese vessel having been cast away on the Chinese coast, Dr. Williams accompanied the shipwrecked crew to Japan to plead for their repatriation. Failing to win the Shogun's consent he took the men back to Shanghai and found room for them in his own house, and in return they taught him what they could of their native language. Into this sailors' Japanese he translated Genesis and Matthew. He also translated the heart of the gospel into terms of daily life, and several of these befriended sailors saw and understood, and embraced Christianity, the first-fruits of Japan so far as Protestant missions are concerned.

In the middle decades of the nineteenth century there was laboring at Naha, the capital of the little island kingdom of Liu Chiu, a Dr. Bettelheim, pioneer in Protestant missionary work in those islands. The Liu Chius were at that time a debatable land between Japan and China, with the Japanese gradually gaining the ascendancy. The native line of kings traced descent from one Toritomo, who headed a filibustering expedition from

Japan in the twelfth century. Dr. Bettelheim found the native Liu Chiuans without a written language or any literary records and speaking a dialect quite unlike Japanese. Instead of reducing their language to writing and giving them the Scriptures in their vernacular, he made his translation in Japanese, evidently looking on that as the language of the future, Japanese already having a certain vogue in the islands.

But let us return now to our missionary pioneers on Japan's sacred soil, establishing themselves at Nagasaki, Yokohama, and Tokyo, and making ready to win the Island Empire for Christ. There were Scriptures in Japan in those early days, though not Japanese Scriptures, which contributed something to the success of their work, Dutch Scriptures, for example, and Chinese. When the Spanish and Portuguese, being Catholics, were driven out and barred out, clergy and laity, the Protestant Dutch were permitted to hold a small trading-post at Nagasaki. Some of the Japanese learned Dutch, and some of the Dutch traders had Bibles. The earliest case of the conversion of Japanese, on Japanese soil, to Protestant Christianity, is said to be that of Wakasa-no-Kami and his family, resulting from his finding a Dutch New Testament floating on the harbor at Nagasaki. As for the Chinese Scriptures, missionary work in the Flowery Kingdom had been established for fifty years, and the Bible had long since been published in several versions. Educated Japanese could read these without difficulty, and much use was made of them during the first two decades of Protestant Missions.

The first Scripture to be translated and published in Japan was the Gospel of Matthew, by Jonathan Goble, shoemaker, sailor, missionary, boat-builder, colporteur, and inventor of the jinrikisha. Goble was one of the picturesque figures in the pioneer group. Shipping before the mast on one of Perry's ships, he had come to Japan on a voyage of discovery, and in 1860, after taking a course of study, had returned to the country, this time as a Baptist missionary.

In 1874 the Yokohama Translation Committee was organized to undertake in a systematic way the translation of the whole New Testament. On this Committee were men whose names have become household words among lovers of missions—Hepburn, Verbeck, S. R. Brown, Nathan Brown, and their fellows. They associated with them the best available Japanese scholars. The work was completed in 1879, and the version produced was speedily put into circulation by the Bible societies which had established agencies in Japan—the British and Foreign, the Scottish, and the American. It has continued to be the common or Standard Version, being also constantly referred to as the Committee's or Societies' Version. During the past forty years it has passed through many editions and either as a whole or in portions has been distributed in many million copies.

Other translations have appeared from time to time. The earliest of these is the so-called Baptist Version, which was published complete in 1870, a few months before the Committee's Version came from the press. Dr. Nathan Brown in his early missionary life had given to Assam the New Testament and

a hymnbook, and when almost an old man came to Japan to confer a like boon on the Japanese. For some time he sat on the Yokohama Committee, but, having some difference of opinion with his colleagues on principles of translation, resigned his seat and undertook the preparation of an independent version. His Greek scholarship and experience as a translator enabled him to present very faithfully the meaning of the original, and his Japanese assistant, Mr. Kawakatsu, for many years the leading Baptist pastor and evangelist, had the wisdom to clothe the thought in simple language. This translation, in spite of its acknowledged excellence, has not been much used outside of Baptist circles.

In 1900, or thereabout, there was published the Nicolai or Greek Church Version. Bishop Nicolai was for more than forty years the devoted and honored head of the Russian Orthodox church in Japan; and the church as a whole, the great cathedral in Tokyo, and the version of the New Testament published under his direction are all known among the common people by his name. The translation is said to be the work of the well-known Japanese scholar Mr. Takahashi Goro. Having a very large admixture of Chinese words it is not well adapted for the use of the common people, but is no doubt of value to the clergy and the educated laity for reading and study.

In 1910 the Raguét or Roman Catholic Version appeared. Pere Raguét, a Belgian priest, is a learned and lovable man. In producing this version he had the aid of a Japanese scholar, Mr. Nakae, and between them they have

given to the Roman Catholic Christians in Japan a translation with many admirable features, though a trifle too learned perhaps for the rank and file of church members. Thus each of the great divisions of the Christian church in Japan had received, by the close of the first half-century of modern missions in that country, its own version of the Word of God as contained in the New Testament.

Meanwhile the missionaries had not forgotten that there was an Old Testament, and in 1876 the Tokyo Translation Committee was formed to take up the heavy task of rendering it also into Japanese. They brought their work to completion in 1888. Some portions of this translation, notably the Psalms and parts of the Prophets, are admirable, but as a whole it falls below the Committee's Version of the New Testament. "While the style of the translation of the latter is for the most part clear, idiomatic, and graceful, that of the former is stiff, deformedly literal, and inelegant." This is one reason why the Old Testament has a very limited circulation and has never come to its own in Japanese Christian thought and life.

It must not be supposed by the reader that any of the translations mentioned were in the everyday speech of the people, or in anything as nearly approaching that as the English of the King James or the Revised is to ordinary English speech. A student of Japanese soon learns that there are several distinct styles of the language, such as the classical, the colloquial, and the modern book style. Of these the early translation committees adopted the clas-

sical, and later translators have followed their lead. It has the advantage over the modern book style of being more purely Japanese in vocabulary and idiomary, and over the colloquial of being more concise and precise and also more dignified and sonorous. Its vocabulary, however, is somewhat meager, its range of idioms narrow, and its syntax too inflexible. And being a literary language, almost a dead language, it does not speak home to the hearts of the common people. While for educated readers with a knowledge of the Japanese classics and for liturgical purposes this style seems to be the most suitable and the translators doubtless acted wisely in rendering the Scriptures into it, it is to be hoped that in the not distant future there will be also a colloquial version through which the common people may learn in their everyday speech the wonderful works of God. That a book so evidently written for the common people and in the common people's language as our New Testament should be given to a nation today only in the language of scholars is an anomaly.

Recently there appeared in some of the American dailies a brief cable message from Japan to the effect that the Revised Japanese New Testament was about to come from the press. By this is meant the revised version of the translation prepared by the Yokohama Committee. Talk of revision was in the air twenty years ago. At the all-Japan interdenominational missionary conference held in Tokyo in 1900 one of the principal topics considered was that of the advisability of an early revision. It was agreed that a revision was needed,

and the feeling was general that it should not be long delayed, though some favored its postponement until the Japanese church and Japanese Christian scholars should be ready to undertake the work independent of the missionaries. This, however, was felt to be a counsel of perfection, and in June, 1906, the "Permanent Committee on the Translation, Revision, Publication, and Preservation of the Text of the Holy Scriptures," as its rather large-sounding title reads, met in Tokyo and took the first definite steps toward the proposed revision. It was hoped that a Revision Committee might be organized which would be the joint representative of the Permanent Committee—and so of the Protestant missionary body and the Bible societies—and the Evangelical Alliance of Japan—and so of the Japan Protestant church. Just at this juncture the Alliance was disbanded to make way for something better, the Federation of Churches, and pending the establishing of this the matter of the creation of the Revision Committee was allowed to lie on the table. A federating of churches, however, is not the work of a day, even in progressive Japan, and in 1909 the former members of the Executive Board of the Evangelical Alliance, in the name of the Japanese church as a whole, requested the Permanent Committee to proceed with the work of revision without further delay. Accordingly in January, 1910, the Committee, in consultation with representative Japanese Christian leaders, chose eight men for the task, four missionaries and four Japanese. The personnel of the Revision Committee was as follows: Rev. Umenosuke Bessho, Rev. C. S.

Davison, B.D., Right Rev. H. J. Foss, D.D., Professor Torachi Fujii, Rev. D. Crosby Greene, D.D., Rev. C. K. Harrington, D.D., Rev. Masue Kawazoe, B.D., Rev. Takayoshi Matsuyama. Of these, Dr. Greene and Mr. Matsuyama had had a large part in the preparation of the version now to be revised. Bishop Foss, an Englishman, is a veteran in missionary work and a careful scholar. Mr. Davison, who like Dr. Greene is an American, is the son of a missionary, born and brought up in Japan and using the language like his mother-tongue. The four Japanese members were experts, each in his own way. The Committee represented in its membership the various Episcopal, Presbyterian, Methodist, Congregational, and Baptist Missions at work in the empire. Midway of the work of revision Dr. Greene was removed by death, and Dr. Learned, of the Doshisha University, a missionary veteran and deeply versed in the Scriptures, was chosen in his place.

The work was begun in April, 1910, and completed in February, 1917. On account of the necessity for careful proofreading the remainder of the year was required to put the first edition of the new version through the press, and, as mentioned above, it is only recently that word has come that it has been put into circulation.

The revisers have worked under much more favorable conditions than those amid which the translators found themselves forty years ago. The latter were without that intimate knowledge of Japanese language and thought which comes only from long residence in the country. The Japanese who assisted them were but newly introduced into

the circle of Christian ideas and, while scholars after the old style versed in their own literature and in the Chinese language and learning, had no knowledge of Greek and probably little of English, to say nothing of other languages, and could not avail themselves of the aid afforded by versions and commentaries. Apart from the Chinese translations they were dependent upon the foreign members of the Committee for the meaning of the text, often very imperfectly conveyed. Moreover, the Japanese language lent itself in those days much less readily to the expression of Christian thought, not having yet adjusted itself to the wide circle of Christian ideas which have found a place in the life of the nation. At the present time all this is changed. There is a richer vocabulary, a spiritual vocabulary, upon which to draw. There are Japanese Christian scholars who measure up to the standards of Christian scholarship of the West, able to read the New Testament in the original, conversant with English, Latin, French, and German, and not second to their missionary brethren in an intimate acquaintance with biblical thought. The missionaries of today, on their part, have among them men who have become gray in the service, who have mingled familiarly with the Japanese for thirty or forty years. There are also missionaries of the second generation with whom the difficult Japanese speech is a mother-tongue. Such men, such Japanese, and such foreigners, and the most suitable of each available in the empire, sat upon the Revision Committee. On the tables before them, in their Jerusalem chamber—the big, sunny room on the second

floor of the Methodist Theological Hall, at Aoyama, in Tokyo—lay the several Japanese versions that had already appeared, and many other versions, in Hebrew, modern Greek, Latin, German, French, English, and Chinese, each one contributing something day by day to the elucidation of the text. One of the members even brought a Gaelic Testament to the Committee room; but as none of the company was of Highland stock its presence there was purely inspirational.

The Revised New Testament is rather a new translation than a mere revision. The work has been done directly from the Greek. The sole thought has been to express accurately and fully and in simple, idiomatic, attractive Japanese the sense of the original. There is hardly a verse in which some change may not be noted. The style adopted is a modified classical, archaic forms being discarded and some approach made to modern Japanese. It will undoubtedly be more readily understood than the former version by the man in the street and the woman at her loom. It is hoped that through its greater simplicity of speech it may fill a large place in the evangelization of rural and industrial Japan, which is the next great task before the Christian church.

It is expected that the new version will speedily take the place of the old. The latter is not so deeply rooted in the affections of Christian people as our "King James" was in the hearts of English Christians. The Japanese too are keen on anything new, especially if it is supposed to be an improvement on the old. But apart from this the

societies will henceforth publish only the new version, which will thus in time become automatically the New Testament of Protestant Japan. Some day, when the Japanese spoken language has found itself, there will be a truly vernacular version; some day that vernacular version will be printed in the Roman alphabet instead of in the strange and bewildering mixture of Chinese ideograms and Japanese syllabaries which is in use today. Meanwhile it is hoped that the present revised version may present Christ and his teaching somewhat more vividly and intelligibly to the common people of Japan.

Within the empire of Yoshihito are spoken six languages, not including those of the strangers within her gates. The Ainu of the far north, the Liu Chiuans of the far southern isles, the Chinese and the wild tribes of Formosa, and the people of Korea—to all these the Japanese Bible is a sealed book. Neither the Ainu nor the Liu Chiuans had even a written language. Mr. Batchelor, the apostle to the Ainu, has given the gospel to that primitive people, and a Christian Liu Chiuian, Mr. Iha, a notable linguist and a graduate of one of the imperial universities, is preparing a translation of the Scriptures in his native tongue. In Formosa the Chinese have the Bible in Chinese, translated long ago by missionaries on the mainland; but so far as the writer is aware the head hunters of the mountains are still without native Formosan Scriptures. As for the people of Korea, among whom during the past thirty years Christian work has had such phenomenal success, through the labors

of the earliest missionaries to the Land of the Morning Calm they have had the Word of God in their own tongue.

But the Bible in Japan during the past threescore years has not been merely the printed word. It has been the lives of Christian men and women from overseas, and the lives of Christian men and women native to the soil. It has been deeds of mercy and love. It has been hospitals, asylums, rescue homes. It has been Salvation Army work and Christian movements for social reform. It has been the introduction of Christian ideas and Bible sayings into the native literature and the impact of Christian ethics upon the domestic, social, and industrial life of the people. It is something that at present in a single year there are put in circulation in Japan about half a million copies of the Scriptures, or of Scripture portions; it is something greater that the Christian standard set forth in those Scriptures, the mind of Christ, is being interpreted into Christian lives and institutions.

The Bible in Japan, whether in cold print or warm in the hearts and lives of those who love it, has before it a wide field in which to exercise its power. Practically the whole rural population still waits for its message. The great industrial classes of the cities are well-nigh untouched. Moral conditions, both in city and country, are almost incredibly bad. One-third of the marriages end in divorce, and one-third of the births are illegitimate. In a single year the guests in the licensed houses of shame number over sixteen millions and spend in vice twenty million dollars, and probably the clandestine houses could show even higher totals. Japan is represented in

the countries around the Pacific by an army of 22,000 prostitutes, gone forth to poison the life of the nations. Japan herself, by social vice, intemperance, and wretched industrial conditions, is destroying her own physical and moral health. The ordinary laboring-man spends a sixth of his small income on liquor. To supply the wastage of human life and health in the great factories half a million new workers, largely women and children, must be recruited annually from the countryside. In these factories the day's work is from twelve to sixteen hours, and the operatives live and labor amid most unwholesome conditions, sanitary and moral. Japan is mortgaging her future life as a race in order to win a high place in the industrial world. Surely the Bible, with its Christian standard for the personal life, for the home, for society, for industrial and economic life, has a great work before it in Japan.

Christian thought when brought into actual contact with the Japanese heart meets a prompt and warm response. They are a people of fine strong qualities, to which moral and spiritual truth can make appeal. The social and industrial wrongs mentioned above must be attributed to special conditions, not to anything essentially evil in the national character. The writer, who has spent half a lifetime in Japan and has become somewhat intimately familiar with many of the Japanese people and has learned to love them, is glad to bear witness to the many admirable virtues which adorn the Japanese character—to the industry, the thrift, the self-control, the loyalty, the courtesy, the kindness of the people. Thoughtful, alert, impress-

ible, hospitable to new truth as the Japanese are, Christianity with its wide spiritual outlook and its noble appeal to the highest and best in man cannot fail to become the dominant force in the national life. And because the Japa-

nese are a nation of readers, with illiteracy reduced to a vanishing-point, it is largely through Christian literature and especially through the Christian's Bible that the realm of Yoshihito shall become a part of the Kingdom of Christ.

THE MORAL AND RELIGIOUS PSYCHOLOGY OF LATE SENESENCE

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Much has been written about the child and youth, subjects which are always attractive; but the period of late senescence, from about fifty-five years on, has attracted comparatively little attention, and yet the wreckage of this period seems to be greater proportionately than even that of youth. This statement may be disputed, for while the wreckage of youth is spectacular and more evident, that of late senescence is not so discernible, because the forces producing it are more subtle and insidious and their results are not so apparent.

Early life, vigorous, appealing, will always occupy the thought of man because of its plasticity and infinite possibilities; but surely attention ought to be directed to that life which has come through all the vicissitudes of changing periods, a life which ought to mean the realization of all that is best in the individual, and which ought then to have come to its fullest fruition of capa-

city and ability. Surely the period of culmination of all that has gone before ought to receive proper consideration in order that there may be a prolongation of the useful activities of a life fully ripened and richened for greatest service. 'Tis true that "youth will be served," but too much has been said about the present age being the day of young men. Even the church has not fully learned the problems of the late senescent, and how to care morally and spiritually for him. Because late senescence seems to have come into quieter waters and has its own consolations, there has been little realization of all the peculiar temptations arising out of its infirmities and a positive lack of intelligent encouragement to go on in life rather than to hang on to life. Maturity in terms of years seems to signify security, and the silence of age to mean satisfaction. The tendency to overestimate the moral and spiritual strength of the late senescent and the

belief that old age has its fully compensatory rewards lead children, society, and the church to become negligent of the continuous development of the moral and spiritual life of the late senescent.

He is thought too old to need advice and help, morally and spiritually. Physical comfort and mental solace seem chiefly to enlist the sympathy of those who minister to his greatest needs. His habits are considered fully formed, and his character is thought to have been firmly established. He is thought to have passed through the period of spiritual storm and stress, and he seems so sensible, so lacking in sentiment, and so experienced in life-problems that he takes disillusionment more easily because of his widened knowledge gained during the many years of "competitive struggles with a selfish world of man." He is believed to have no "taste or inclination for indulging in spiritual misgivings, doubts, cynicism, or the heart-searchings that seem natural enough for youth at life's threshold."

But such a conclusion is woefully incorrect, for the late senescent is the prey of bafflingly new and unexpected temptations which must be anticipated and overcome by one who goes on "stodgily in the old-fashioned way of stiffened habits and beliefs." He feels temptations more keenly than when he was a youth, and he does not understand them any better than youth understands its own peculiar temptations. The senescent temptations are not fewer, nor less powerful, though less gross, much more subtle and insidious, more deadly and blighting, than those of youth, which calls to its

assistance enthusiasm, buoyant hope, vigorous strength. They are more of the spirit, though also of the flesh.

The late senescent is taxed to his utmost by his courageous effort to keep life clean and honorable in the face of the unrelenting temptation to yield to life's seductive compromises, its wrongs, cruelties, abuses, as seen in the fierceness of the unrelenting conflict with the world, the flesh, and the devil; to continue the struggle for personal righteousness and untarnished integrity, and for such moral and spiritual adequacy as develops passionate devotion to high ideals, unflinching courage of convictions, and unswerving loyalty to certain great causes, in spite of the dishonor and duplicity of friends and foes. The late senescent certainly has his period of storm and stress, of uncertain, perplexing doubt and cynical skepticism; and he must struggle through these experiences, more insistent, baffling, and insidious than of old. Looking "more wistfully than ever before for a way of courage, strength, and victory," he must fight on when "the freshness of youth and of early hopes is gone," and when "the tide runs swiftest against him, when cares and fears multiply as life's resources dwindle," or losing heart, "sit cowed beneath the blows of evil fortune," or revolting, in despondency and pessimism heap abuse and cynical contempt upon life and what it has to offer. But a senescent always fears to pull down around him the ruins of his life and shrinks from facing the fast approaching culmination of his life. It is then that the church must present a light in darkness, a solace amid woe, a faith triumphant over all.

A discussion of this subject inclines us to believe that the most dangerous period of life, morally and spiritually, is not the period of sowing wild oats, that between sixteen and twenty-six, but the period between forty-five and sixty-five years of age; and that the wreckage of the late senescent, from about fifty-five years on, is proportionately greater, although not so easily discernible, because it is more subtly and insidiously wrought in the finer and more spiritual sphere of human life.

The discussion may be gathered under the following heads:

I. Late Senescence the Period of Tendency to Low Ideals

Professor Dewey, of Columbia University, in his important educational work *Democracy and Education* (p. 50) says: "There is excellent adult authority for the conviction that for certain moral and intellectual purposes adults must become as little children."

Thomas Hood also must have sounded the depths of senescent experience when he wrote:

I remember, I remember
 The fir-trees dark and high—
 I used to think their slender tops
 Were close against the sky.
 It was a childish ignorance,
 But now 'tis little joy
 To know I'm farther off from heaven
 Than when I was a boy.

Youth is the period of tendency to lofty ideals. The possibility of realizing ideals is the panoply of youth and the propelling force which drives on even the disciplined imagination of developing manhood; but Gibbons well expresses the condition of the late senescent when

he states that "I must reluctantly observe that two qualities, the abbreviation of life and the failure of hope, will tinge with browned shade the evening of life."

With the abbreviation of life there may come the failure of the mental faculties, the loss of the power of initiation, the dimming of hope which is deferred or defeated, and the realization that moral and spiritual realities are growing dim, noble qualities of the soul are becoming unresponsive through lessening ability or mere attrition.

Youth, ardent, ambitious, responds to the strong appeal of high ideals ever beckoning on to joyous adventure, but the late senescent is normally inclined to believe that he has become all that he can hope to be; then enthusiasm wanes, for life is no longer an alluring experiment. Its shams, duplicities, wrongs, and cruelties have been revealed, and disillusionment follows. He has lost his first wind. The tedium vital, the imperceptible loss of interest in living, even to a cessation of love of life, often implies an instinctive feeling that work, exertion, and effort are not always worth the doing. "the game is not worth the candle." In reality, though he may not realize it, he is not willing to pay the price, the sacrifice of the strong endeavor required to maintain his high ideals of duty, honor, and other worthy ends; hence his high aspirations pale, he aims lower, he yields to the pressure to bring his ideals down to the low level of conventionality, desires to become more comfortable and at ease, and inclines to look after his own interests. When the high ambitions of earlier years have not been

realized, illusionments and disappointments have come, the possibilities of further large attainment have passed, and enthusiasm is spent, then the optimistic cry "Excelsior" no longer rings in the ear, former ideals pale, and new ideals, if formed, seem to lose their power to inspire faith in one's self and to retain the unspoiled enthusiasm for humanity and for the performance of life's duties. When such hope dies, the natural man is disarmed and all security is gone, as ideals seem to be but traditional and conventionalized, and one aim or course is as good as another. And when the conventional palls on one, as is often seen in the case of married men and women, when former standards seem too ideal for this matter-of-fact world, the late senescent may do what pleases him, though not in accord with current ethical standards, or not agreeable to associates, or not consistent with previous records and results. Such changes eventually lead to moral and spiritual disintegration, with a vital change in character. Cheap pleasures secured with little effort now satisfy. Titillations, which survive the wreckage of years, lead, especially on the part of the unfortunate, the rich, the idle, to indulgence intemperately in the pleasures of the table, drink, drugs, or vice, because these seem to provide the easiest way of reviving some of the intensities of the former actual life.

**II. Lowering of Ideals Normally
Tends to Lowering of Living
and Liberalizing of Creeds
Governing Conduct**

This conclusion is justified by experience and by a knowledge of physiological psychology. During this period of

senescence there may be a decided shrinkage of the frontal lobes, accompanied with marked changes in the faculties dependent upon the associational areas of these lobes. These changes characterize those who cease to grow, to hold their own, or to be inspired to prolong the period of endeavor. Then the powers of attention, concentration, inhibition, and the ability to make nice moral distinctions fail, and the edge is taken off the desire to distinguish between the right and the wrong, the true and the false; and there follows a reversion to the primitive man, with characteristic indulgence of original tendencies and instincts, passive attention with its momentary appeal, irresponsible dispositional changes, and erratic moral choices. Then is realized in part the statement, "Twice a child, once a man." Now the powers of initiation, aggression, and resistance, which require effort and expenditure of nervous energy, flag, and a general contentment takes the place of strong ambition. There is a disposition to feel satisfied with keeping in the beaten paths and performing the tasks which employ only the habitual reactions. Age has been allowed to mechanize all, to reduce all to the habitual basis and a system, and there is no inclination to undertake new tasks which require readjustment to new demands and new conditions, and this adjustment will not take place if the motor areas have been allowed to disintegrate through inactivity. The tendency is to rest on one's oars, to rely on the past. This is the mental rut which means that the brain is set for the habitual reactions; that fixed points of view are estab-

lished; that the apperceptive mass, the sum total of knowledge, is allowed to interpret and to color all new ideas. Thus new ideas are not able to shape or change the apperceptive mass, which results in an inability to form new concepts, while the old concepts will not fit the new conditions, the new environment. Hence the constant looking back to the past rather than forward into the future, and the lamenting that things have changed, that "the good old days were the best," that the world is going to the "bow-wows." This mental deterioration is accompanied by a corresponding moral and spiritual inability to adjust the late senescent to an increasingly progressive and complex life.

Not only are moral choices less keenly and discriminatingly discerned, but will-power and the power of resistance also lessen as tissues harden. Self-control and courage lessen. Great deeds, involving continued arduous work, are not readily undertaken, nor all obstacles removed or difficulties overcome. High purposes are more easily lost to view. The pleasure of commanding others, of imposing one's will on others, lessens. There is a greater tendency to ask for advice, and to be influenced by the opinions of younger men. The politician understands this fact, for when he must elect a candidate during a political or moral upheaval he selects a complacent though most honorable man of advanced age, who will become a pliant tool because his powers of resistance, of virility, are gone and he does not care to fight for his principles, deluding himself into a belief that he is conciliatory rather than pliant. On the other hand,

if in early life the late senescent was characterized by the indulgence of some trait or instinct, as the combative instinct, which leads him to indulge the mistaken notion that he is unswervingly loyal to a principle, and that he will "do right though the heavens fall" rather than "do right and the heavens won't fall," it is the natural man who is indulged rather than the man of high integrity and unswerving courage.

He may now also think that his character is fully and correctly formed, and that he is proof against all undermining and debasing forces. Secure in a belief that he is made, he may fail to realize that when he thinks he is strong, then he is weak, and ceasing to watch his peculiar infirmity, his besetting sin, he may walk into temptation, dally with it, and become a wrongdoer. This is peculiarly true of the late senescent, for he forgets that old age is not fool proof, is not proof against folly or the proneness to overt acts of wrong doing, and that "there is no fool like the old fool," and he is then in the "Fool's Paradise," within which discerning men and unprincipled women stalk their prey. The old man falls prey to the allurements of the world, the flesh, and the devil; for he reverts to his former self, yields to the appeals of selfishness, the acquisitive, curious, and secretive instincts, envy, jealousy, avarice, or any other primitive characteristic. He is urged on into evil thinking by the propelling influence of experiences supplied by past years and recalled by memory and an imagination oftentimes stimulated by the decrepit passions of former youth; all of which

results in a lowering of life and a liberalizing of the creeds governing conduct; for temptation is first subjective, then objective; but even though the objective, overt act may not follow, there is the subjective sinning of which Christ speaks when he refers to the man who sins when with the heart he lusts after that which appeals through the eye or other sense.

Such lowering of life always leads man to construct a broadened creed in order that conscience may be eased and not exact the penalty of accusation and remorse. This explains the too frequent spectacle of collapse into moral ruin of a late senescent of previously known integrity and Christian character. He may have been at first unconscious of a lessening of moral and spiritual strength, but later came the conscious knowledge of secretly maintaining a life of duplicity.

III. This Period Also Characterized by a Lessening of Emotional Intensity

The late senescent may now become emotionally soggy. From infancy to the full maturity of the adult the emotional side of the individual is at its highest; then it begins to diminish in intensity as it is eclipsed by the higher mental, more rational elements. The imaginative, imitative, religious, adventurous, belligerent elements of the mind are strongly developed during the early plastic period; therefore actors, preachers, explorers, soldiers, poets, and dramatists, who are subject to the dominion of the emotions, do their best work in early life; but when the deeper and more rational elements of cerebration develop, then those who

no longer feel the impelling, driving emotional force either cease to work, or unconsciously change to meet the altered conditions. Poets turn to prose; epic poets, preachers, musicians, and others turn to the more didactic features of their work and preserve and re-inforce former faculties by the reasoned experience of maturer years. Scientists, philosophers, and statesmen show no special aptitude for their tasks until the emotional period is past. The cynical satirist and the dry, kindly disposed humorist appear after emotional intensity and affective interest wane and then lampoon or ridicule society as they see its bitter wrongs and injustice.

Disappointed men may now become cynical, morose, petulant, vicious, as the intellect only rules; or if life has brought success, men become reasoned optimists, philanthropists, or religionists. This lessening of the emotional power is especially noticeable a few years after the climacteric, or the period of change, especially on the part of women, and the family tie can only be maintained by the establishment of a rational basis of firm friendship, or comradeship, or a sense of mutual helpfulness and dependence which makes amends for the lessening of emotional fervor and passion. Those ignorant of the meaning of this lessened affective interest too often seek a solution of the problem in the divorce court, or the male may spend more time at cards or games, or at his clubs, or at the saloon. The woman may take refuge in the work of the clubs, or of the church. If, however, the social and gregarious instincts pall on one, social functions may become a bore, friendships may not be readily maintained, visits to friends and rela-

tives may become more infrequent, and loneliness may overtake old age. On the other hand, during this period many persons become the prey of varied dispositional and emotional changes and of obsessional feelings which lead to incipient insanity, or worse. Strange ideas obsess the mind in a dominant and irresistible manner. Sometimes the feeling may be laughed away or reasoned down, but often a "logic-tight compartment" is established, and the idea and feeling cannot be reasoned out of the mind. Sometimes the obsessional feeling is associated with a hobby, which is a system of connected ideas with a strong emotional tone and a tendency to produce a certain definite character (*Current Opinion*, January, 1910). Such a system of emotionally toned ideas becomes the complex, which is really built around the manifestations of a primitive instinct, usually the sex instinct, the social, or the tendencies arising from instincts which are opposed and thwarted by conditions imposed upon the subject by environing circumstances; then there may arise conflict in the mind of the subject, which is allayed only when disassociation of the complex from personality takes place, when insanity with mental disintegration may begin, or senile dementia may appear. When the social and the sane instincts lose in the conflict, then may follow loss of interest in current affairs, a tendency to be unsociable, to desire solitude, and to become indifferent to the ordinary conventions of society.

The obsessional feeling may be associated with any idea or act: a real or fancied sin of the past; the fancied neglect of a duty to a dead child, a business failure due to an unsent letter

or an error in an old account, a wrong done to an old friend, and sometimes a belief that someone is in love with the senescent, for there are records of banns being announced in church, of furniture being purchased in anticipation of a fancied wedding. Such imperative ideas may be of various kinds and may be promotive of great individual and social harm. Moreover, when the emotional force and interest are lessened, the propelling force which drives men out into action is gone, energetic activity is impossible, or is spasmodically evidenced, for the senescent may yield to a mood, a temporary indulgence of a tendency to indulge a certain emotional state, or may yield to an indulgence of temperament, a tendency to indulge permanently a certain emotional state of the mind.

IV. A Radical Error in Religious Teaching

A radical error in religious teaching in some quarters is also seen reflected in the popular misconception of the Old Testament statement "Be sure your sin will find you out," which leads many persons tacitly to believe that if they do wrong they will sooner or later be found out by others and surely punished; but as the years have come and gone, this promise does not seem to have been fulfilled, for many mistakes of life have not been discovered by others, and the wrongdoer has escaped the consequences—exposure, mental suffering, disgrace, public execration, loss of vocation, property, friends. Therefore men have learned to fear only the consequences of their evil deeds, to dread punishment rather than sin itself, and to believe that exposure and the suffering of the

consequences of sinning are synonymous. And since they have been able to escape even these consequences of sinning, there is bred a careless contempt of secular and moral law, and they take greater and greater risks, indulging in greater wrongdoing.

The late senescent prefers to be respectable and righteous; but if the test is respectability and unrighteousness, he would live according to the canons of respectability, with the retention of business, position, and the conventional status in society, with no public break with the decencies of life, even if his unrighteous living is not altogether hidden, for he cannot take such losses in society as he could during youth. Until age realizes that it reads, "Be sure your *sins* will find *you* out," not that others necessarily will find out, sin itself will not be abhorred, and the enormity of evil done while conscience slept will not appear more awful than punishment and suffering. If during late senescence one is only conventionally virtuous, the removal of possibility of being found out and of this world's penalty for sinning will often lead the sin of the heart to express itself in the overt act of sinning. Sin will be indulged, for sin is not hated as are the consequences.

V. What Has the Church to Offer the Late Senescent?¹

We may now well ask what the church has to offer the late senescent with which he may thwart the natural tendencies of old age, and which may inspire him with faith, hope, and courage; for it

is a glorious spectacle to see the hoary-haired come through all the warping strains of life's experiences and of the blighting power of doubt and perplexities with that silent satisfaction and unquenchable confidence in God and his righteousness which enables old age to tap a new reservoir of energy, vigor, joy, and enthusiasm.

The church offers its best to old age, a faith in Jesus sent of God; a faith more precious than that of youth, because more dearly bought. It is not merely a faith in the old, time-honored, traditional inheritance of education, or of inexperience based upon external authority. Not a faith in mere orthodox confessional creed, dogma, doctrines, worship, or in participation in a sacrament, or in sacrificial gifts. It is even deeper and more significant than mere acceptance of the great doctrines of God and the soul (helpful, directive, and protective as they are); but a faith, a habit of the soul, the whole attitude of the soul toward God and his world that is like that of Jesus toward the power and goodness of Almighty God. It is the faith which is the fruitage of an experience of self in relation to God, which is founded on the authority of a living, spiritual experience developed in response to the call and message of God revealed in the personality of the historical Jesus, who manifested unwavering and complete faith in God. It is a spiritual experience of grace, mercy, and truth that came by Jesus Christ speaking through conscience, intellect, emotion, will, with the authority of the eternal God, whose voice it echoes.

¹ This section is largely shaped by the series of articles in the *Biblical World*, Kingman, "The Faith of a Middle-aged Man," XLVII and XLVIII (1916).

THE TEACHING OF JESUS IN MARK'S GOSPEL

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We do not usually look to Mark's Gospel for the teaching of Jesus, but rather to Matthew, Luke, and John. In fact it is now almost a commonplace in New Testament criticism that Mark and Q (the Logia of Jesus) are the two main sources of Matthew and Luke. Maurice Jones regards this discovery as "the most notable achievement in the department of New Testament criticism."¹ Sanday says pointedly, "We assume what is commonly known as the 'Two-Document Hypothesis.'"² The document termed "Q" (*Quelle*, "Source") by criticism is represented by the non-Markan material common to Matthew and Luke. A good discussion of it appears in Harnack's *The Sayings of Jesus: The Second Source of St. Matthew and St. Luke* (trans., 1908). It is not yet settled how much Q contained. It was certainly mainly the discourses of Jesus with a minimum of narrative. The extent of Q is discussed by B. H. Streeter³ and C. S. Patton.⁴ It is held by some critics

that Mark was familiar with Q and made some use of it.⁵ Bacon is quite sure that the canonical Mark is embellished at points by the use of Q.⁶

However that may be, there is an undoubted contrast between the objectivity of Mark's narrative and the discourses in the other Gospels.

Neither Matthew nor Luke considers his task performed without embodying the substance of the sayings or teaching of the Lord. Matthew in particular regards it as the very essence of an evangelist's duty to "teach men to observe all things whatsoever Jesus had commanded." Mark certainly was not ignorant of such teaching or commandments of the Lord, even if we refuse his acquaintance with the particular document employed by Matthew and Luke. And yet he leaves his readers completely without information on the law of Jesus.⁷

We may admit that Mark was familiar with Q. He avoided using Q because that was already in use precisely as the Fourth Gospel mainly supplements the Synoptic Gospels. Stanton⁸

¹ *The New Testament in the Twentieth Century* (1914), p. 189.

² *Oxford Studies in the Synoptic Problem* (1911), p. 2.

³ "The Original Extent of Q," *Oxford Studies in the Synoptic Problem*, pp. 185-208.

⁴ *Sources of the Synoptic Gospels* (1915), pp. 97-122.

⁵ Cf. Streeter, "St. Mark's Knowledge and Use of Q," *Oxford Studies in the Synoptic Problem*, pp. 165-84.

⁶ Bacon, *The Beginnings of the Gospel Story* (1909), p. xxi.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. xxvii.

⁸ *The Gospels as Historical Documents*, II (1909), 109-14.

and Moffatt¹ deny that Mark made any use of Q. "Peter's teaching may have contained nearly all the sayings of Christ which are reported by Mark."² Swete says that "St. Mark does not write with a dogmatic purpose."³ Similarly Salmond says: "One of the most marked characteristics is the simple objectivity of the narrative. It is not the product of reflection, nor does it give things coloured by the writer's own ideas. It has been called a 'transcript from life' (Westcott)." And yet it will not do to say that Mark had no purpose and no plan in his Gospel. Bacon sees it and says: "His effort is simply to produce belief in his person as Son of God."⁴ Pfeiderer admits "a comparatively clearer and more naïve presentation of tradition" and "an earlier stage of apologetic authorship,"⁵ but he insists "that even this oldest Gospel writer is guided by a decided apologetic purpose in the selection and manifestation of material."⁶ Gould⁷ notes that in Mark's Gospel, Jesus is presented as a herald of the kingdom, then as a teacher with the note of authority, then as a prophet, then as a miracle worker, the Son of Man, and finally as the Messiah, the Son of God. "Now Mark's method begins to appear. Jesus does not lay down a programme of the Messianic Kingdom in a set discourse,

but the principles regulating his activity are slowly evolved by the occasions of his life." Gould is undoubtedly correct in this view of Mark's plan in his Gospel. Mark's Gospel proves the deity of Jesus mainly by the force of the work which he did. "But it is evident that Mark has grouped his material for a purpose. He wishes to show how, with one occasion after another, the teaching of our Lord acquired substance and shape and encountered a sharp and well-defined opposition."⁸

There is in Mark a minimum of teaching by Christ, but the teaching is present and is worth our study. Jesus is repeatedly called "teacher" (4:38; 5:35; 9:17, 38; 12:14; 13:1). Bacon thinks that in Mark 8:27—10:52 "here at last we do find our evangelist giving the content of Jesus' message. . . . This Division of the Doctrine of the Cross is Mark's Sermon on the Mount."⁹ He attributes this portion to Paul's influence on Mark: "The Paulinism of Mark is supremely manifest in this evangelist's whole conception of what constitutes the apostolic message."¹⁰ Pfeiderer had already taken the same position and charges Mark with inventing these "Pauline" speeches and attributing them to Jesus. "The pupil of Paul is most evident in the speeches, which the evangelist did not find in his

¹ *Introduction to the Literature of the New Testament* (1911), pp. 204-6.

² Plummer, "St. Mark," *Cambridge Bible for Schools* (1914), p. xxi.

³ *Commentary* (1898), p. lxxxviii.

⁴ "Gospel of Mark" in *Hastings' Dictionary of the Bible*, p. xxvii.

⁵ *Christian Origins* (trans., 1906), p. 217.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 219.

⁷ *International Critical Commentary* (1896), pp. xix-xx.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. xxii.

⁹ *Beginnings of Gospel Story*, pp. xxvii f.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. xxviii.

source-book or in the Palestinian tradition, but created independently and for the first time fitted into the traditional material as the leading religious motives for the judgment of the history of Jesus."¹ Indeed Pfeleiderer pointedly charges Mark with being partly responsible for theologizing the Jesus of history into the Christ of Paul. "Such a man might well have been the author of the Gospel which unites the Jesus of the Palestinian tradition, the energetic hero of a Jewish reform movement, with the Christ of the Pauline theology, the suffering hero of a mystical world-salvation, and thus paved the way which was finished two generations later in the Gospel of John."² It is quite to the point, therefore, since a purpose like that is attributed to Mark, to see what he really does represent Jesus as teaching.

The headline properly describes the book. It is "the Beginning of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, the Son of God." But it is the method of Jesus with which we are here concerned, not that of the gospel. "We must pause again to notice Mark's method, and to say now that it bears all the appearance of being the method of Jesus himself. He meets questions as they arise, instead of projecting discourse from himself. But the wisdom and completeness of his answer anticipate the controversies of Christendom."³ This is the method of Jesus in his teaching. He seized the occasions as they came to proclaim the message of the kingdom, now on this point, now on that. "It is their opportunity, but then it is Jesus' opportunity

too. It gives him his chance to strike at traditionalism and ceremonialism, the two foes of spiritual religion."⁴ But the teaching of Jesus is coherent and consistent in spite of its incidental occasion and aphoristic form. One has only to think of Socrates as reported by Plato and Xenophon to see how this can be true. Let us then turn to the sayings of Jesus in Mark and see what they teach us.

The first logion of Jesus is in 1:15 and reminds us of the message of the Baptist in 1:14. Like John, the Master announced the fulness of the time and the nearness of the Kingdom of God. We are not told what the word "kingdom" means in the mouth of Jesus, but the event shows that Jesus conceived it to be a spiritual reign in men's hearts, not the political rule looked for by the Pharisees. The duty of repentance was urged, a turning of the heart and life to God. Faith in the gospel was commended. Jesus had a definite message (the gospel) or good news, and he expected men to believe it. This saying of Jesus is the theme of the Galilean ministry.⁵

The next logion of Jesus is in 1:17. It is the call to Simon and Andrew to follow Jesus permanently, with the promise of making them "fishers of men," the only really "big business" in the world. The call caught the hearts of these two enterprising laymen and also won James and John, who left their business to go into the bigger task of winning men to Christ. The message of Jesus thus has point and

¹ *Christian Origins*, p. 220.

² Gould, "Mark," *International Critical Commentary*, p. xxv.

³ *Ibid.*, p. xxiv.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 222.

⁵ Cf. Bruce, *The Galilean Gospel*.

force. It is public and personal. Jesus won these four followers by direct personal appeal. He claimed them and they acknowledged his authority. He drafted them for service.

The next logion is in 1:25 to the demon which Jesus commanded to come out of the poor man. Jesus here recognized the reality of demon possession and exercised his power over the evil spirit. The demon had addressed Jesus as "the Holy One of God," but Jesus commanded him to be silent, not wishing testimony from such a source. The demoniacs seemed to know that Jesus was the Son of God and loudly proclaimed it (cf. 5:7 f.).

The next saying is in 1:38 and concerns the purpose of Jesus to leave the crowds in Capernaum and push on to the next towns. Only one more incident comes in chapter 1, the healing of the leper, to whose pitiful appeal Jesus said, "I will; be thou made clean" (1:41), and then told the man to go and show himself to the priest (1:44). But these logia reveal Jesus as Lord and Master of men, as Teacher and Prophet, whose words and deeds had set Galilee ablaze.

In chapter 2 the teaching is more prominent. In fact, Jesus forgave the sins of the paralytic before he healed him, and, when challenged, asserted his power to forgive sins and his consequent equality with God and proceeded to heal the man in order to prove that he possessed the right to forgive sins (2:5-11). This incident illustrates well how the teaching of Jesus in Mark's Gospel is associated with the actual events. The profoundest sayings of Christ burst forth spontaneously out

of the everyday work. Here Jesus revealed a consciousness of his equality with God quite Johannine in tone, and that was considered blasphemy by the scribes present. The use of the phrase "the Son of Man" is also characteristic. It is messianic in fact without giving his enemies a technical ground for arresting him. It also puts Jesus, though the Son of God, as the Father called him and as the demon understood (1:24; 5:7), on a level with men in sympathy and love as their representative and ideal.

In 2:17 we have one of the crisp parables of Jesus that throw a flood of light on himself and his enemies. The Pharisees posed as righteous and called other men sinners, as we know from the Psalms of the Pharisees. "Righteous" and "sinners" are here then class distinctions. Jesus does not mean to admit that the Pharisees are really righteous, but only that their claim to that class reflects their complaint at him for preaching to, and eating with, the publicans and sinners. It is a neat turn of unanswerable wit and is a complete justification for Christianity's mission to the so-called sinful classes. As a matter of fact, Pharisaic pride (cf. Matt., chap. 6) is one of the worst and most hopeless of sins.

In 2:19-22 Jesus is again on the defensive and justifies the conduct of his disciples in abstaining from one of the stated fasts which the disciples of John and the Pharisees were observing (2:18). The three parables (the Bridegroom, the Undressed Cloth, the Wine-skins) all show how radically Christianity differs from current Judaism (the Pharisaic orthodoxy). Jesus makes it plain that

Christianity has burst the swaddling-clothes of Jewish ceremonialism and can never again be put back into such bonds. And yet various types of Christianity have tried to put clamps upon the life of the spiritual man. Jesus here attacks sacramentarianism as a system, while commending fasting when it is the national expression of real grief, and not mere custom or display. Jesus also reveals foreknowledge of his approaching death and shows a messianic consciousness, calling himself "the bridegroom."

Few things irritated the Pharisees more than Christ's failure to observe their rules for sabbath observance. His defense against their attack made them more angry than ever by reason of his claim of superiority to these rules and even to the day itself as the Son of Man. Indeed he asserted that the day was for man's blessing, not for his injury (2:25-28). Jesus challenged the Pharisaic punctiliousness concerning the sabbath as slavery to the letter and a refusal to do good and willingness to let men die on that day (3:1). This attitude of Jesus widened the breach between him and the Pharisees and healed that between them and the Herodians, who joined hands plotting his death (3:5 f.).

In 3:22-30 Jesus not only defends himself against the charge of being in league with the devil by a series of brief parables, but also attacks the Pharisees with tremendous force and shows that they are guilty of an eternal sin which has no forgiveness, since they attribute to the devil the manifest work of the Holy Spirit. Jesus here denies universal salvation and proclaims eternal punish-

ment for some. In sharp contrast with this incident note the beautiful words of Jesus in 3:34 f., when he finds his mother and his brethren among those who do the will of God. This he said at the time when his own family supposed that he was beside himself and had come to take him home.

Chapter 4 is the parable chapter in Mark. We have only a few specimens of the many parables spoken on that day (4:2, 10, 33 f.). The parable of the Sower is given and explained by Jesus and shows the variety of hearers who hear the word that is spoken, as every preacher finds out to his sorrow. The place for the lamp is on the stand so as to give light. How careless men are with their opportunities. The mysterious growth of the kingdom in the heart is illustrated by the story of the seed growing of itself. The expanding power of the kingdom is shown by the mustard seed's development.

And yet with all the care in Christ's teaching the disciples were still fearful and timid in their faith when caught in the storm. The power of Christ over wind and wave amazed them (4:41), and shows that only gradually were they grasping the truth about Christ's person and mission. In 5:10 Jesus told the former demoniac to go home and tell his friends what great things God had done for him, whereas he told the leper not to tell (1:44). But this was in gentile territory where there was no danger of undue excitement, especially as Jesus was leaving the region. In Nazareth, Jesus revealed the fact that he knew how unable the people in his home town were to appreciate him at his real worth (6:4). The directions

that Jesus gave the Twelve for the Galilean tour were particular and special and not meant to apply to all mission campaigns (6:8-11).

The feeding of the five thousand was the occasion of much teaching (6:34), but Mark has not given it, probably because Peter did not tell it. However, the power of Christ is revealed in the miracle and in the walking on the water. Jesus taught the disciples how to face great problems and to be of cheer in time of stress and strain.

Chapter 7 gives one of the revolutionary discourses of Jesus when he accused the Pharisees of preferring tradition to truth and twitted them with their hypocritical practice of "Corban." The doctrine that, not ceremonial contaminations, but only the sinful thoughts of the heart really defile a man astonished even the disciples so much that they interviewed Jesus privately about it. Peter's amazement lasted till his experience on the housetop at Joppa (Acts, chap. 10), and Mark notes what Jesus said to the disciples "making all meats clean" (Mark 7:19). In 7:27 Jesus proclaims to the Syrophenician woman the doctrine that the gospel comes to the Jew first. He tests her and then grants her request. Jesus knew that he was to be the Savior of the world, but the chosen people had the first privilege.

In 8:2 f. Christ shows his pity for the multitudes. For three days they have been with Jesus listening to his teaching. Now he desires to feed their stomachs as well as their souls, lest they faint on the way. It is good to use the kitchen as well as the pulpit, if one does not let the soup kitchen take the

place of the gospel. Christ first fed their hearts and then satisfied their hunger out of pity. We are prone to use hunger as a bit to entice men to hear the gospel.

Jesus had much to try his spirit. The captious criticism of his enemies made Christ refuse to perform signs to order, especially signs from heaven to conform on their theological implications about the messiahship (8:11 f.). The dulness of the disciples distressed Jesus greatly when they took his parable about the leaven of the Pharisees and the leaven of Herod literally for actual bread (8:15 ff.), an absolutely jejune performance. Jesus took them to task sharply for intellectual inertness (8:17-21). Every teacher has his times of discouragement when it seems useless to go on. But better days come to us all, as they did to Jesus. Near Caesaria Philippi, Jesus tested his disciples concerning their opinion of him. People had various ideas of Jesus then, but Peter spoke up for the Twelve and said, "Thou art the Christ" (8:29). Jesus was pleased at the confession, though he urged them not to tell it publicly. John's Gospel shows that Jesus revealed himself to some as the Messiah at the beginning of his work. The public announcement of this fact, however, came at the end of his ministry and helped to precipitate the crisis, as Jesus foresaw it would. The value of the confession of the disciples "is in the fact that it is not their assent to his claim, but their estimate of his greatness. They, as Jews, had inherited an idea, an expectation of a man in whom human greatness would culminate. . . . The race has culminated in him, and he is

therefore the Messiah whom we are to expect."¹

Jesus had reached a crisis in his work, and the disciples are true to him even after the great Galilean defection. They are now in a position to be told the truth about the cross of Christ, his sacrificial death as the Savior from sin. "And he began to teach them many things, and be rejected by the elders, and the chief priests, and the scribes, and be killed, and after three days rise again" (8:31). The time had come "and he spake the saying openly." A surgeon often probes deep enough to find inflammation where all seemed to be healed over. "And Peter took him and began to rebuke him." Peter could not bear to have Jesus interfere with his messianic theology by talking about his death. That to Peter spoiled everything, absolutely everything, for he still had the Pharisaic notion of a political Messiah and kingdom. The word of Jesus cut Peter to the quick: "Get thee behind me, Satan; for thou mindest not the things of God, but the things of men" (8:33). Dazed as Peter was, it is doubtful if he grasped clearly the profound words of Jesus that followed concerning the philosophy of life and death, of finding life in death, and death in life. And yet he treasured them in his memory till he did understand them, and Mark wrote them down. One may gain the whole world and forfeit one's soul, like the madness of Alexander the Great, or Napoleon, or the Kaiser. The Son of Man is the judge of this world and will be ashamed of those who are ashamed of him (8:38). The words of

Jesus in 9:1 have puzzled many. What does Jesus mean by those still living who would see the Kingdom of God come with power? His own resurrection, Pentecost, the destruction of Jerusalem, the second coming? Each view has its difficulties. We have come upon the eschatology of Jesus, a theme that bristles with difficulties. Schweitzer² makes eschatology the chief thing in the teaching of Jesus. He is thus a mere apocalyptic dreamer with only "interim" ethics and no world-program. Sanday answers this one-sided view well in his *The Life of Christ in Recent Research* (1907). See further, Dobschütz, *The Eschatology of the Gospels* (1910); Muirhead, *The Eschatology of Jesus* (1904); Jackson, *The Eschatology of Jesus* (1913); Oesterley, *The Apocalypse of Jesus* (1912); Winstanley, *Jesus and the Future* (1913); Worsley, *The Apocalypse of Jesus* (1912). We are face to face with the question whether Jesus had adopted the cataclysmic view of the current Jewish apocalyptists and expected a sudden demonstration of power that never came and a personal return within that generation. In a word, we are asked to believe that Jesus was grievously mistaken in the very thing concerning which he claimed superior knowledge, viz., the Kingdom of God. He did use apocalyptic imagery, as in chapter 13, the so-called "Little Apocalypse," the Sermon on the Mount of Olives, in which he foretold the destruction of Jerusalem and finally the end of the world. The language is symbolic and highly figurative, but Jesus expressly disclaims knowledge of the time of the

¹ Gould, "Mark," *International Critical Commentary*, p. xxvi.

² *The Quest of the Historical Jesus*, 1910, trans.

end of the world (13:32), and that makes us wonder if he can have that idea in mind in 9:1 and in 13:30. We have not reached the end of this debate, but the eschatological side of Christ's teaching in the apocalyptic form must not be made the major thing in his teaching to the neglect of the ethical and clearly spiritual notes which we can understand.

We have no word from Jesus on the Mount of Transfiguration, but he manifests keen disappointment at the failure of the disciples to cure the epileptic boy while he was on the mountain (9:19), and tells the father that faith is the door to all power (9:23)—faith and prayer (9:29), which the disciples had omitted, obvious explanation of much failure today on the part of workers for Christ.

The time drew nearer when Jesus must make plain the fact of his coming death (9:30-32). Not only did the disciples not understand his teaching on this point, but apparently took no interest in it, for they were bent on settling their own rank so as to be ready for the chief places in the political kingdom which they expected the Messiah to set up (9:33-37). Jesus made service the test of greatness and childlikeness the mark of discipleship. The rebuke of John's narrowness is pertinent today when men are often overzealous about punctilios, and partisanship overtops loyalty to Christ.

The position of Christ on marriage and divorce is challenged by many today as then. Easy divorce has always been popular in times of loose living. Mark (10:5-12) does not give the one ground for divorce found in Matt. 5:32 and 19:9, and Mark quotes Christ as forbidding wives to divorce their hus-

bands. Only Jewish women of prominence could do that, women like Salome, Herod's sister, and Herodias. Christ's love for little children is shown by his tender words in 10:14 ff., and his love for a young man in the grip of a great sin appears in 10:21. Jesus spoke plainly about the terrible power of money over men's lives (10:23-31). His words amazed Peter and the rest, but in these days of war-profiteering and national land-grabbing it is easy enough to see the point.

The plain prediction of the death of Jesus still failed to impress the disciples, for James and John came right up to ask for the chief places in the kingdom. But at least we get from the incident the profound words of Jesus concerning his atoning death as the crowning illustration of devoted service for others (10:32-45), words whose depth we still cannot fathom.

Faith made blind Bartimaeus whole, Jesus said (10:52), and faith can remove mountains still (11:23-25), faith coupled with the forgiving spirit. Jesus purposely proclaimed himself Messiah by the triumphal entry, and claimed messianic power in cleansing the Temple (11:17). Nowhere does the mastery of Christ stand out more clearly than in the wonderful debate on the Tuesday of Passion Week, when Jesus routed his enemies in a series of attacks in the Temple (11:27-44). Pharisees, Sadducees, Herodians, Sanhedrin, and students, all went down before the storm and fury of Christ's withering words. The more they winced, the more the common people rejoiced, and Christ remained the master-teacher of the Temple, to the rage of his foes.

The eschatological discourse on the Mount of Olives (chap. 13) followed on that same afternoon, with its wondrous picture of the woes impending upon Jerusalem and the warning against that day of doom and the remote judgment of the world. The apocalyptic language symbolizes the power of Christ, and the pictures flashed upon the dark background like the play of lightning on the storm clouds. We falter as we seek to interpret these symbols, but we must not rob them of all pith and point.

Mary of Bethany alone showed insight concerning Christ's death, and he defended her deed in words of immortal sympathy that angered Judas and spurred him on to make his hellish compact with the puzzled ecclesiastics (14:1-11). But Jesus did not hesitate to point out the betrayer during the last Passover meal, though the rest seem not to have grasped the signal (14:12-21). The words of Christ in the institution of the Supper plainly show that Christ was conscious of the sacrificial aspect of his atoning death for the sins of men (14:22-25). The warning to Peter brought only boasting (14:27-31), and the privilege of watching with Christ in his agony in the garden found the chosen three inert in body and unable to keep awake while the Son of Man writhed on the ground with the load of

the sins of mankind. The cry for help to the Father was wrung from the broken, but not rebellious, heart of God's Son, who submitted wholly to the Father's will (14:32-40). Jesus meets his betrayal, arrest, trial, and crucifixion with an air of innocence and of triumph (14:41-15:37). He is fully aware that he has voluntarily surrendered his life for the life of men, and his courage to the end is not really marred by the cry of loneliness after three hours of darkness, when he felt so keenly that the Father had withdrawn for the moment his conscious presence (15:34). Jesus on oath before the Sanhedrin claimed to be the Messiah, the Son of God (14:61 f.), but he also claimed that, though they killed him, he would come in glory on the clouds and judge the whole earth.

Thus it will be seen that, while Mark's Gospel does give only occasional sayings of Christ in connection with the historical occasions that called them forth, it in no wise gives a "reduced" Christianity. These extracts have the same flavor that we find in Matthew, Luke, John, and Paul. The "samples" prove the quality of the whole. The teaching of Jesus in Mark's Gospel is clear and consistent concerning the Father, the Son, sin, salvation, the kingdom, and the moral regeneration of men.

CURRENT OPINION

The League of Nations

A signed article in the *New Republic* of May 25 from H. N. Brailsford sets the proposed League of Nations in a new light. The writer argues that the discussion has been too much confined to Englishmen and Americans. There is danger that when our scheme is produced it will be rejected by European powers. Their outlook is different. The risk of invasion colors their whole attitude toward war; it is only a dim possibility for America or England. In the second place America and Britain are satisfied powers while the European nations feel the need of changed conditions.

Continental powers will be intensely interested in the question of security and risk. America may safely gamble on the success of the league. But suppose states remain outside the federation or secede from it. Would the league be a security for France with Germany outside? Would all the league nations at once attack the seceder? For example, would it be a simple matter to have Austria join Italy to coerce Germany? Or England join Germany to coerce France? Would Holland declare war on Germany if she should offend? The risk is too unequal. Devastation may overtake these powers before the forces of the league could arrive.

The league will have to be based on an elastic pledge. It might be enough to agree not to help a nation which enters upon war without conference and to defend it if attacked. This would always leave the offender isolated.

The bias of American and English thought shows again in the matter of the enforcement of the recommendations of the league. How will the intolerable situations which make war be removed? Dissatisfied, growing states must have a changed world. To pledge the nations

to enforce awards to satisfy these states might destroy the league. To refuse to grant the awards would mean that these restless states would seek their real life outside the league. The whole matter of sanctions and enforcement is so difficult that it seems inevitable that some basis must be found which will evoke the spontaneous loyalty of nations. Armed force, the boycott, trade war must certainly end in failure—the world does not want a league which will stand over it like a criminal law. It must be based on such a commercial arrangement that great advantages flow from membership so that no nation could afford to remain outside or to step outside. "A charter of positive benefits would act as a continual cement to the league creating a mutual interdependence of interests so close that the league would figure in the daily life of every trading people as a persuasive benefactor." Free trade, open colonies, open door for capital in non-exploited lands, and no monopoly of raw materials must be elements of the league agreement.

Catholics and the League of Nations

Catholic opinion in regard to the League of Nations is concisely presented in the April 15 number of *Les Nouvelles religieuses*. They who plan the future league forget two great facts: (1) that the Catholic church realized in the realm of international organization the most powerful and efficient world-society the human race has seen; (2) the Roman papacy was the center from which the lines of peace and concord ran out to all the nations. In the Middle Ages Europe was really a social and organic unity with a common spirit in all its parts. Wars were still possible but the "peace of God," the "truce of God," the use of excommunication, the ban, and

temporal sanctions gave the pope power to hold in check many potential wars. It would be difficult to conceive a more perfect League of Nations than that of the Catholic church in the Middle Ages.

It seems like an impossible task to reconstruct this masterpiece in the modern world torn by its moral, political, and economic differences. Catholic thinkers reject the idealistic dream of internationalism and in its place urge the Catholic supernaturalism. An international organization crowned by the moral influence of the Roman church would be ideal. To give to laws and findings of such international tribunals as that of the Hague the necessary prestige to make them efficient the influence of the papacy is absolutely essential. The pope has millions of subjects in every nation of the world. He is not entangled in alliances or political and economic combinations. He should be to the nations the august mediator of the peace of God. Let the Holy See share in the future world-assizes as a sovereign power and the findings will be laid authoritatively upon the conscience of the world. Other churches and non-Christian groups will follow the attitude adopted by the pope of Rome; so the new code of the law of nations will be established. "Has contemporary society so much moral and social strength working for order, justice, love, and loyal reverence for all that is right that it can with a light heart neglect the powerful help of the Roman pontiff?"

The Worthy Victory

A clear statement of the dangers which wait in the path of the League to Enforce Peace is given in an editorial of the *New Republic* for May 25. The advocates of the league insisted at the meeting at Philadelphia in the second week of May that permanent peace now depends upon victory for the Allies in this war. President Lowell of Harvard expressed the developed opinion

of political thinkers when he said: "Another great war could scarcely avoid becoming a war of extermination. Civilization as we know it has reached a point where it must preclude war or perish by war, and war can be precluded only by a conquest of the world by a single power, or by an organization of many nations to prevent its recurrence." The American people are now fighting to bring into existence a society of nations bound together by the constructive purpose of world-pacification. Only by such a consummation can the war be really won.

But it is necessary to work for a worthy victory. There is now a tendency to seek enduring peace by the overwhelming military defeat and unconditional surrender of Germany. No matter how favorable the terms of peace which might be offered, they must be rejected. To take this attitude is to throw away a strong moral asset. Both President Wilson and Hon. A. J. Balfour have kept to the position that "if any representative of any belligerent power desires seriously to lay before us any proposals we are ready to listen to them." This is the attitude also of the British and French labor leaders. Since the allied aim is to organize an international society in which a well-behaved Germany would share with other nations the privileges as well as the responsibilities of world-citizenship, why attach to victory a purely military meaning which disregards the conciliatory nature of the allied purpose? While willing to fight until the political objects of the war are won yet the alternative should be kept open of ceasing to fight as soon as these objects can be secured without further bloodshed.

They who fight for permanent peace are subject to two dangers: (1) that their pacifism may relax their grip on the sword; (2) that the establishment of peace by war may result in an unworthy peace. There is no danger now of the first element. The

danger lies in the second. A democracy which is fighting for peace needs to retain even in the fury of war its faith in the principle of consent and its belief in the ultimate ability of moral ideals to overcome force. The sword may remove obstacles to the structure of good-will, but the structure itself must be reared by democratic workers toiling in a different spirit with different materials.

New Ideals for Peace

The peace that is coming to the world as the conclusion of this war will not be a dynastic peace, nor a diplomats' peace, nor a secret peace, but a people's peace. Mr. Frederic C. Howe outlines the elements of such a peace in the May number of *Century*. All nations seem to be moving to the conclusion that an imperialistic peace is not a peace but a truce leading to new war. Hence the peace congress should be a body representative of civilization in which all nations great and small would be present. The day of nationalism is done. The new internationalism will toil for the advancement of the world. The settlement must be based on principles so just that all mankind will readily accept it. The elements of such a peace, in summary, are: (1) It must put an end to imperialism, which has been the moving cause of so many wars. (2) It must be a negotiated, not a dictated nor a punitive, peace. (3) Economic freedom must be assured to the interdependent nations of the world. (4) All nations and all peoples should be guaranteed the right to use the seas, the passageways to the seas, the land routes, like the Bagdad railway, free from any actual or potential menace from any power: all such arteries of commerce should be under international control. (5) It should provide for the fullest possible development of all peoples along the line of their racial genius. (6) Age-long wrongs of subject peoples must be corrected by some

kind of federation ideal which will give to small-subject peoples freedom and economic rights. (7) It will strive to prepare conditions so that small nations and weaker peoples shall be guaranteed protection by the united action of the world. Each of these scores of dependent peoples should be allowed to contribute its distinctive culture to the world. (8) The great powers will assume their responsibility to help the weak, dependent, and exploited peoples to a new development. This will apply especially to Syria, Mesopotamia, India, China, and similar territories. (9) It will open the way to free trade for the world and thus gradually eliminate boundary lines. (10) It will end the old policy of protecting investments with the national arms and establish international machinery to guarantee investments and to guard against harsh exploitation. (11) It will depend for its permanence upon its justice, upon the fact that it is a people's peace, upon the fact that it is backed by the democratic public opinion of the world.

There are only two alternatives: (1) a just peace based on freedom and equality of opportunity to all; and (2) an imperialistic peace followed by another struggle. We should choose the people's peace. The world will never be safe on any other terms.

Foundations of a Lasting Peace

Another contribution to the immense literature that is growing up about the idea of world-federation and the problem of establishing permanent peace comes from Robert Goldsmith in the May number of the *Bookman*. While the great duty of the hour is to win the war, yet America should not neglect to prepare to meet the problems of peace settlement with intelligence and determination. We seem determined upon one thing, at least—that the coming peace must be permanent. To be permanent a peace must be: (1) general, so as to include all nations; (2) genuine,

founded upon justice and principles of public right, not a mere temporary truce based upon expediency; (3) generous, a peace without vengeance; (4) guaranteed, that is, the structure of peace must be founded upon international covenants, international courts, an international constabulary, and international co-operation. It must be underwritten by the people of the various countries—the workers and the women.

The international tribunals would hear all disputes among nations, a court of justice to decide cases for which laws exist, and a council of conciliation to compose difficulties by mutual compromise and concession. The powers would agree to exhaust every peaceable means of settlement before going to war. If a nation of the league violated this promise the other members of the league would bring all powers, diplomatic and economic, to bear to stop the aggressor. If that were not sufficient then all would unite their military and naval forces for the defense of the nation attacked.

An international constabulary of some kind will have to be formed to give sanction to the terms of the international covenant. But perhaps most important is the element of international co-operation. Privilege must be destroyed. It may be that international free trade will ultimately be the most potent factor in eliminating war.

The question of membership in the league must be left undecided. Some argue that the only possible league would be the English-speaking nations plus France. Others feel that it would be a mistake to leave Germany out. At any rate America must forsake her ancient policy of isolation and prepare to play an important rôle in the drama of history.

The Aims of Labor

The *Nation* for May 11 gives space to a discussion of the British labor movement as set forth by Arthur Henderson in his

recent book. The great human formula for the coming era of revolutionary change is equality. The aim of labor is to secure for every producer his share of the fruits of industry and to insure the most equitable distribution of the nation's wealth on the basis of the common ownership of land and capital and democratic control of all the activities of society. Yet labor does not set itself over against other classes, for real political democracy cannot be organized on the basis of class interest.

When social control of the economic bases has been secured labor will make four demands: (1) A series of national minima, designed to protect the people's standard of life, with guarantees as to wages, employment, leisure, and such things. (2) Democratic control of industry with the abolition of the wage system through common ownership of the means of production. (3) A revolution in finance, designed to bring about a system of taxation regulated not by the interests of the possessing and profiteering classes but by the claims of the professional and housekeeping classes whose interests are identical with those of the manual workers, a system intended to prevent the accumulation of great fortunes and to discourage individual extravagances. (4) The use of surplus wealth for the common good, through education, development of science and art, public provision for the sick and infirm, and similar measures. Such demands mean a revolutionary change in the social basis.

Mr. Henderson says: "By peaceable methods or by direct assault, society is going to be brought under democratic control. And the choice of method does not primarily rest with democracy: it lies rather with those classes who own the machinery of production and control the machinery of the state to decide whether necessary changes are to be peaceably introduced on the basis of willing co-operation or resisted to the last ditch."

The question confronting us therefore is not *whether* the economic and social organization shall be democratized, but *how* it shall be democratized. All the world's best brain power should be devoted to this problem that the adjustment may be made peaceably and not through force.

Education and Social Direction

The wonderful efficiency of Germany in the war has caused many Americans to desire to add to American idealism the Prussian system of authoritative education. Professor John Dewey points out in the *Dial* of April 11 that this is pure stupidity—that the envied German habit of mind can only be secured at vast human cost. The obedient human mind, the passionate aspiration for subservience, cannot be secured by school discipline alone. All the resources of all the social institutions have to be continuously centered upon it.

There is no danger of such Prussianization, but the very suggestion shows that we are still far from realizing what is required to secure an effectively loyal democratic citizenship and a social unity and control on a democratic basis. The lament over the failure of American education to secure social integration and effective cohesion puts emphasis on the relations of personal authority and personal subjection or upon the regulative power of ingrained habits. "And anybody who hasn't put his soul to sleep with the apologetics of soporific idealism knows that at the present time the power which would fix the ends to which the masses would be habituated is the economic class which has a selfish interest in the exercise of control. To cater to this class by much talk of the importance of discipline, obedience, habituation, and by depreciation of initiative and creative thought as socially dangerous may be a quick path to favor." Unfortunately sociology has tended to reinforce this dangerous attitude by its emphasis on the doctrines of social control and discipline.

Our day does not require in education such an antithesis as that of social control and individual development. We need a heightened emotional appreciation of common interests and an understanding of social responsibilities. To set the individual over against the social is dangerous. The problem which democracy must solve is the construction of an education which will develop that kind of individuality which is intelligently alive to the common life and sensitively loyal to its common maintenance. "We want that type of education which will discover and form the kind of individual who is the intelligent carrier of a social democracy—social, indeed, but still a democracy."

Gassing the World's Mind

In the *Outlook* for April 24, Mr. W. T. Ellis warns against what he calls "the three greatest menaces of the present hour." The first is the current cult of internationalism. It is a worse menace than Prussianism to the welfare of the world. "It hopes to make everybody a nobody and then suddenly to produce the perfect man and the perfect state." Russia is the tragic example of a nation destroyed by this cult. Internationalism meant there a vast disloyalty. It was a cloak for mental and moral laziness. It meant a repudiation of clear and tangible and undoubted obligations to the people of the country and to its national allies. One does not help to build up humanity by wrecking his own nation. "Passionate, pulsing, purposeful patriotism" is the most direct service a man can render to the human race as a whole.

The second menace is the prevalent hysteria about the destruction of human life. America has been a great sufferer from this malady. "Safety first" had almost become a national slogan. Pain and suffering were terrible to our national mind. This doctrine is poison. "Far better that three-fourths of the race should perish than that all should live in cowardice

and corruption of spirit. There are a thousand worse fates than being dead." Surely the very genius of the Christian religion is the spirit which offers life freely for the sake of love and loyalty and righteousness.

The third menace is the lowering of the ideal of personal chastity and sex morality. Russia and Germany are endangering our standards in this regard. Many a soldier is amazed at the European laxity. "While the vast majority of North American troops have remained uncontaminated, yet thousands of clean fellows have been harder hit than by German bullets on the fair fields of France." Our soldiers must keep their high reverence for woman's honor. The battle is for a new world-order. Spirit must win over the lower impulses. Real men will walk straight for the sake of home and womanhood. "Since we are about the grim business of entirely reconstructing civilization we are bound to take seriously our obligation to create and preserve a noble social system and one that will be safe for those first factors of democracy, our daughters and sons."

The Place of the Minister in a Democracy

The democratic movement is gaining a supremacy in politics, in industry, and in church institutions. When the general will of the people is given right of way in the world, what shall be the function of the minister? Bishop F. J. McConnell answers the question in the *Homiletic Review* for May. There have been many who think that the minister will be unnecessary in the new day, but if a man has a decisive message there will be a chance for him to state his truth, no matter what the social organization may be. If he is a "respectable expert" he will carry an expert's authority.

What should be the characteristics of preaching for a democratic age? (1) It will be directed toward the average mind. This does not mean giving the people

what they want. Ministers are prophets, not mere religious entertainers; but they will aim at influencing the main mass of the people. They will make sure of simplicity and clarity. (2) Stress will be put upon the human tests of religion. One can no longer say, "this is true because the Bible, the church, or the creed say so." It will not convince the people. The final test is just this—can religion be made compelling and useful? The test of the church is: Does it serve? Does it get hold of men, women, and children and lift them up to a burning passion for the betterment of everything human? This is the supreme test of every modern institution: what difference does it make to human lives? This too is the test of preaching. (3) The preacher should be the mouthpiece of his age—in the process of groping to a new vision he should be the one to gather the halfway conceptions into one great statement which the people will recognize as the thing they have been seeking. (4) He will keep before him the conception of Christian democracy. It is not a dead level of sameness, but a great body of which all men are members, yet with vastly different functions and coming into the Kingdom by many different ways. Religion is for all or it is for none. The chance for life is wide open. "Our trust is that, to the preaching of the wide-open Kingdom of heaven men in great multitudes will one day respond and that the church will be as wide as humanity itself." The ministry is a sacred calling: its function is to guide men who are losing their bearings in the seething sea of change, which is our modern world.

A New Spiritual Approach to Democracy

That the despotism of the Kaiser is not only political and economic, but religious, that German autocracy confronts a new and unique threat in the development of biblical higher criticism, and that liberal

German professors of divinity are virtually muzzled by heresy laws which make it impossible for the results of higher criticism to reach the people through the pulpits are some of the points brought out by Louis Wallis in *The Public*, of New York City, under the title "The Kaiser's Ecclesiastical Steam Roller." The articles present the struggle for democracy in a new light and are intended to promote the drive against the Kaiser.

The German Reformation, says the writer, was complicated with great social unrest. The common people rose in revolt against the junker aristocracy for grabbing the soil; and at a certain point in the movement, Martin Luther went over to the side of the junker landlords. The Lutheran theology and the German state church systems became a buttress to aristocracy, focusing the minds of the common people on "the other world," while the junkers consolidated their economic and political power over the masses. According to German orthodoxy the religion of the Bible was handed down from the clouds by a divine autocrat in the same way that the German kings handed down their decrees.

This theological dogmatism was first challenged by Professor Kant, of the Prussian University of Koenigsberg, an admirer of the American and French revolutions. Kant's "critical philosophy" alarmed the junkers and pietists. The reigning Hohenzollern, a predecessor of the present Kaiser, commanded the philosopher to cease referring to religion and the Bible in his lectures or he would lose his position. Later on the critical method became an active influence in German divinity schools, and Professor De Wette, the first full-fledged higher critic of the Bible, was thrown out of his chair in the University of Berlin by another Hohenzollern. Heresy laws were decreed which made it illegal for German pastors to give

the results of scholarship to their congregations.

Progressive biblical scholarship in Germany and other countries has been slowly preparing the way for popular understanding of the democracy of the Bible, the working of God through the social problem, and the revelation of God in the ordinary affairs of life. Critical scholars are the modern discoverers and interpreters of the Hebrew prophets as champions of the common people against the evils of concentrated wealth and power in the hands of the few. It is no wonder that the junkers and kaisers have not been enthusiastic for this kind of biblical interpretation.

The whole enterprise of modern biblical scholarship has gradually cleared the ground so that we can just now begin to see the mighty struggle against false gods in its true character as a bitter war on aristocracy and special privilege. This thought is taking root today in the religious world outside of Germany. The baalism of the Scriptures, against which the prophets fought, was the symbol of Hebrew junkerism; while the establishment of the worship of Jehovah was the first great step in the long process of making the world safe for democracy.

The state churches of Germany are managed on "orthodox" lines, precisely as if critical scholarship did not exist. But the religious life of Christendom is coming back to the logic of the Bible. Junkerism and orthodox dogmatism fail to crush the human spirit permanently. Today, more than ever, we are becoming conscious of God as Personal Power, immanent in the Cosmos, whose existence is identified with justice and righteousness, and who is conducting human history onward with reference to moral laws and eternal spiritual values. Religion is moving into a new epoch through the flames of world-war.

THE CHURCH AND THE WORLD

MISSIONS

Christian and Hindu Conceptions of Sin

An interesting comparative study of the idea of sin in Hindu and Christian thought is presented by Professor John McKenzie in the April number of the *International Review of Missions*. One must remember that in Christianity it is possible to be definite on this subject, while Hinduism does not stand for definite beliefs. It is possible, however, to draw broad general distinctions.

One great difference is clear: to the Christian, salvation means salvation from sin and it is the sense of sin that has chiefly driven men to seek God. To the Hindu, the fundamental evil has not been sin but individual existence, and salvation means deliverance from individuality. Christianity is an ethical religion; Hinduism, in spite of much high moral teaching, is not essentially an ethical religion. The Christian thinks of sin as a transgression of the will of God. The Hindu generally (the Rig Veda should be excepted) has not arrived at the idea of a personal, moral governor of the world. Polytheism could not produce it and Indian theism has always tended to fall back into pantheism, so that the union with God became emotional rather than ethical.

What does sin mean then to the Hindu? Two great currents of thought rule India: (1) the conception that the individual self is one with the supreme self and that knowledge of this identity means deliverance; (2) belief in the power of sacrifice, ritual, charms, and magic to produce spiritual results. These two currents of thought have influenced more powerfully than any others the religious thinking of Hindus. The latter current gives power to the conception of sin as an essence belonging to persons

and things which may be removed by physical means. From this viewpoint breach of ritual rules is much more sinful than the injury of fellow-men. This is in contrast with Christianity, though some Hindus see in the Christian sacraments the same magic. Many Hindus seem to have risen to what might be called ethical conceptions of sin. But there is always the difference that the world, the individual soul, and outward act are unreal for the thinking Hindu, while ethics for the Christian finds its meaning only in these outward acts considered as working the will of God in the world. For the Hindu "the sins most condemned are not neglect of duty, breach of faith, and the like, but pride, anger, sensuality, worldliness, and such other sins as involve loss of self-control or attachment to the things of the world." These are sins not because they imply rebellion against God or injury to man but because they hinder the soul from attaining deliverance.

This all comes out again in the idea of forgiveness. For the Hindu every sin must bear its fruits, there can be no forgiveness. But one sin does not count for much. It seems strange to the Hindu that the Christian should make so much of one sin—it is only that much additional debt. But to pay the debt is not much help: the only salvation is to escape entirely both Karma and Samsara. We escape by knowledge of identity with the cosmic self. At this point sin becomes meaningless.

Missions among Italians

Protestant mission work among the Italians in America has ended in a complete failure in the opinion of a Catholic writer, Dr. F. Aurelio Palmieri, O.S.A., who sets forth his diagnosis of the situation in the

Catholic World for May. Of two things he is certain: that the four million Italians in the United States are either now loyal to American ideals or are rapidly being Americanized, and that if the Italian is to have any religion at all he must be Catholic. When he ceases to be Catholic he ceases to be religious.

The writer reviews the mission work of the Protestants in Italy from the beginning of the Baptist work in 1870 and brings his study of the work in America down to date. He believes the work of both Baptists and Methodists in Italy to be unsuccessful judged by the statistics of their forty years of work. In recent years the vast numbers of Italian immigrants have been a challenge to the Protestant churches, for as the wave of Italian immigrants advances in the town or state Protestant churches are deserted and Catholic churches take their places. The chief of the Italian department of Colgate Theological Seminary laments that out of five and a half million people in New York City only three hundred thousand are members of Protestant churches. Wherever the foreigner moves in the Protestant church moves out. Hence the chief aim of Protestant propaganda is self-defense. This religious work is carried on by Presbyterians, United Presbyterians, Methodists, Baptists, Protestant Episcopalians, Reformed Protestants, Congregationalists, Lutherans, and the Evangelical Association. The Presbyterians were earliest and are the most successful, devoting more than one-third of their total home mission budget to this work. The Methodists have spent half a million in building Italian churches and devote fifty thousand dollars yearly to the work. The Baptists spend seventy thousand dollars yearly. The general statistics of Protestant work among Italians gives a total of 326 churches, 13,774 members, 42 schools, 13,927 Italian pupils in the Sunday schools, 201 Italian pastors, and a total expenditure of \$227,309, not including the

contribution of \$31,571 by the Italian Protestants. But these figures cannot be trusted to show the gains of Protestant propaganda, Dr. Palmieri thinks, since (1) they include the additions made by the coming of the native Protestants of Italy, the Waldenses, and (2) statistics of many churches are magnified. "We are not far from the truth then in saying that, allowing for Waldensians, probationers, and the fanciful manipulation of statistics the gains of Protestant proselytism after fifty years of hard work are reduced to hardly more than six thousand souls." One can only ask, If there are only six thousand Italians served by the 326 Protestant churches, how do 250 churches and an insignificant number of Italian priests minister to four million Italian Catholics?

The Moslem Women

An unexpected consequence of the war is reported by the March number of the organ of the Christian students of France, *Le Semeur*, in a sketch of the advance gained by feminism in Turkey. The Koran has made the lot of woman in Islam very difficult by its sanction of polygamy. It has been responsible for the low status of woman by allowing a man to have four wives, refusing them the right of divorce and allowing the husband to repudiate his wife by a simple declaration.

In view of this the demands of the Moslem women of Russia, made to the Duma in 1908, that the schools be opened to women and that they be permitted to engage in trade, were remarkable. Meantime the women of Turkey, profiting by the liberties granted them in the constitution of 1907, have established women's clubs and are publishing a Review to voice their demands. The Sheik-ul-Islam has ratified a modification of the marriage law to the effect that marriages must be performed before a magistrate and the records published. Woman is granted the right of divorce for the first time.

Polygamy is limited also to some extent, for when a marriage has been made with the stipulation that no other woman is to be married a violation of this clause gives the first wife the right to demand the annulment of one or the other of the marriages.

Quite recently the faculty of philosophy of the University of Constantinople has decided to permit women to take part in

the public conferences. The war is opening to women, little by little, spheres hitherto forbidden to their sex. Today under the pressure of events one meets everywhere, in the schools, in the public offices, and in all institutions, women working side by side with the old employees and they will continue to hold these advantages after the war.

RELIGIOUS EDUCATION

The Association of Biblical Instructors in American Colleges and Secondary Schools

The report of the 1917 conference of the foregoing association shows that the teachers of Bible are seriously undertaking to make their department serve the modern world. Dealing with the classroom treatment of the Bible teaching concerning war, Professor G. A. Barton urged that emphasis be put upon the idea of a God of love and justice, who can give his Son and yet eliminate with relentless justice those who make selfishness, violence, and bestiality the goal of existence; a God who is the Father of all—and not upon the war-god of Israel nor upon Christ misinterpreted as a pacifist, for a German god and a pacifist Christ would combine to fasten an anti-Christian military system upon the world. Professor W. H. Wood urged a better understanding of science on the part of the teachers of Bible. Since science is dogmatic and has its philosophy and theology, it is essential that the student be given a philosophy of religion that will help him toward harmony. Professor B. T. Marshall of Connecticut College lamented that Bible teaching was hampered on the one hand by the dead grasp of endowed chairs and on the other by the number of teachers dead to progress and modern thought. Almost none of the educational boards "have dared to step out squarely and aim to meet the modern mind in its understanding of God, in its noble insistence upon the utter and perfect

humanity of Jesus, and upon the simplification and clarification of Christian doctrine so that it shall be ethical whatever the creeds may say and true to fact and experience whatever the Fathers have written."

The conference dealt with the important problem of integrating the biblical studies of the preparatory schools with those of the colleges. The committee of fifteen biblical instructors appointed to prepare a suggested sketch of the requirements in English Bible which might be included in college-entrance examinations made its report. Resolutions were passed moving toward securing the adoption by both colleges and preparatory schools of the Bible as a required subject for entrance to the colleges. A strong committee made up of university and college teachers as well as representatives of the Religious Education Association, the Missionary Education Board, and the Council of the Church Boards of Education was empowered to carry forward the work.

The officers of the Association for the current year are: president, Professor Kent, Yale University; vice-president, Miss Striebert, Wellesley College; secretary and treasurer, Chaplain Knox, Columbia University; recording secretary, Mr. A. E. Bailey, Worcester Academy.

A \$5,000 Prize Code of Morals for Children

Some time ago an interested business man, believing that the moral education of

children is the fundamental need of the nation and that coming generations must be taught to realize the necessity of honesty, order, and thrift, authorized the National Institution for Moral Instruction, with headquarters in Washington, D.C., through its chairman, Milton Fairchild, to offer a prize of \$5,000 and to conduct a country-wide competition to obtain the best possible code.

The *American Magazine*, April, carries the first announcement of the result of this contest. Seventy of the most capable persons, distributed over the whole of the United States, at least one from each state, were selected to do this work. Each of them was to prepare and submit a children's morality code for use in the character training of children by teachers and parents. The contest period was a year—Washington's Birthday, 1916, to Washington's Birthday, 1917. The code was to be limited to two thousand words, in two parts: first, for elementary-school children, and, second, for high-school boys and girls. Fifty-two codes were submitted and ten others were nearly completed. All of these will be revised and published in two books. The quality of most of the documents was exceptional. It required practically a year for the judges to make their decision. They awarded the prize to William Hutchins, who, since 1907, has been professor of homiletics at Oberlin Theological Seminary.

In writing the children's code of morals Mr. Hutchins welded together an exceptional insight and sympathy with humanity, a broad knowledge of world-affairs, his practical experience as a teacher and father, and a thorough training as to what is right and what is wrong in conduct. His code is not merely a catalogue of virtues; it is an enlightening, appealing, persuasive statement of the moral ambition for a child.

The second half of the code, which is for older boys and girls, is almost identical with the first half. The first half is developed

under the following ten laws: (1) The law of health. (2) The law of self-control. (3) The law of self-reliance. (4) The law of reliability. (5) The law of clean play. (6) The law of duty. (7) The law of good workmanship. (8) The law of team work. (9) The law of kindness. (10) The law of loyalty.

Moral Education in the Country

An address on the foregoing topic delivered at the meeting of the Religious Education Association this year by Mr. Ernest R. Groves is printed in the issues of April and May of *Rural Manhood*. The city, he thinks, is able to make quick adjustment to new conditions, but when radical changes come in social standards, motives, and manner of living the reconstruction is very difficult and dangerous in the country. It is therefore urgent that this storm and stress period, accentuated now by the war, shall be so controlled by wise leadership that rural welfare may be safeguarded. Public education is the main instrument. But more than efficient social education is needed. Modern culture, scientific methods, economic and industrial changes will inevitably come to the country. Will the moral forces, and especially the country church, be equal to the responsibility and opportunity? If the church fights against change it will be socially incompetent. Its task is difficult but fascinating. Not in centuries has there been such an opportunity for service—for molding an age throbbing with social vitality. The country church is called now to prepare a strategic program built upon the recognition of the social readjustment demanded of the rural community. One great obstacle is the division of the Christian forces in the rural fields. Churches are competing with each other because the community attempts to support five where only two are required.

Another obstacle to the success of a program of moral education centers about

the local country ministers. (1) They are trained for work required yesterday and are asked to adjust themselves to the demands of tomorrow. Their theology looks backward. It is very difficult for them to grasp the meaning of the modern social transformation. (2) The minister has too great confidence in the function of preaching. (3) The rural minister is suffering from emotional loneliness. He feels that his work is not appreciated. He is discontented and discouraged, with the result that he has a bad preparation for an enthusiastic support of a new and difficult program of community service.

Leadership demands vision, a realization that the world is being made over and that impartial diagnosis and scientific organization are necessary for social success. There must be team play. The moral education program of the country should include the following elements: (1) Country people must realize the dignity and worth of their contribution to society. (2) The moral and social possibilities of the rural community must be revealed. (3) The church must not interpret life individualistically. Ethics must be socialized. Religion must function in forms of normal service.

Education for Service in War Time

The world is today groping its way to a new democratic social order. The church is the trustee of human values and should furnish the unselfish leadership democracy needs. The problem of education for service is discussed by H. A. Atkinson in the *Pilgrim Magazine of Religious Education* for June. How can the necessary social adjustments be made? It is certain that the churches must include in their programs methods of training that will create in the mind of the individual a presumption in favor of this better world-order. The child mind must be trained in unselfish thinking. Salvation has too long been an

individual good. It must now be interpreted in terms of civilization and society. Immortality also must be interpreted as more than individual—it is a gift to the group. The literature of the war shows a hunger for real religion: it is a thing intensely real to the fighting man. All this constitutes the motive and purpose of service. The method must be worked out by experts. The material from which the new viewpoint may be presented is to be found in the Bible, in church history, and in the local community. The Bible is full of social teaching of the broadest scope. Church history shows how the social idealism of the past was buried by narrower influences. It should also reveal the place of the church in society. A study of the community will enlarge the appreciation of religion as a thing of life and for life. To teach the young people to see straight and to report accurately in connection with local problems and needs is a great service. Social work begins with amelioration and reaches out to the deeper task of reconstruction. The war demands that the church fill its place in the tremendous undertaking of building a new world-order. "The near future of the church depends upon what it does for the soldiers and their families and for the nation during the war; and upon the intelligent and Christ-minded leadership which it is able to offer in the rebuilding of society after the war. But no ordinary work at peace-time strength will suffice."

The Colleges and the War

That the war is demanding and receiving the best brains of the world is clearly set forth by a survey of the annual report of the Rhodes Scholarship Foundation in the *Nation* of May 11. For the year 1916-17 twenty-five colonials and thirty-two Americans were elected, of whom there came into residence three colonials and twenty-seven Americans. For 1917-18 out of a possible

total of something more than seventy-five colonials and ninety-six American scholars there were in residence six colonials and two Americans. Five of the six colonials were medical students. Of the two Americans one had returned from a year's ambulance work on the French front and was temporarily engaged in government work in

a university chemical laboratory, while the other had been rejected on medical grounds for military service. This simple statement is evidence enough of the patriotic enthusiasm with which the selected youth of the United States and of the British Empire are throwing themselves into the world-struggle.

CHURCH EFFICIENCY

The Minister's Salary

Mr. Newbury Frost Read makes an appeal for the underpaid minister in the *American Church Monthly* for May. An examination of ten Anglican dioceses in the United States shows that the average salary paid is \$81.21 a month. In return for this the church expects the minister to have all the cardinal virtues. He must be tactful and forceful. He must have high ideals. He must possess deep learning, a pleasing personality, and agreeable manners. He must dress well; he must never talk poverty. All the progressive thought of the time as presented in current books and periodicals should be in his possession. Moreover he is expected to entertain his parishioners and all this he must do on \$18.75 a week.

The unskilled employee in many large firms is better paid than the minister. In New York state, 1,648 firms reported that for one week in January, 1918, the average earnings of their employees was \$16.81 weekly. The chauffeur and the skilled worker receive perhaps double the salary of the clergyman. Yet we expect the minister to be the moral and spiritual leader of the community.

The practice of underpaying the minister is justified mainly on two claims: (1) that the apostles were poor; (2) that a house goes with the salary. The first argument is worthless, and as for the house, in many cases the clergyman would be better off without it, for he has to heat it, which often takes a quarter of his salary.

Only harm can come from this system of consistent neglect of the needs of the clergy. The long course of study for the priesthood with near starvation at the end is not likely to increase the steadily diminishing number of ordinations. It kills the self-respect of both congregation and clergyman. It makes him seek a way out of an impossible situation by wire-pulling when better fields open. If poverty drives the clergyman to unspiritual measures how shall the laity not suffer in moral guidance?

The Church in a World at War

Many church leaders have urged the church to greater efficiency as a servant of the world at this time of crisis. Dr. Ivan Lee Holt makes some definite, workable suggestions in the *Methodist Quarterly Review* for April. The great work of Christianity is being done for the soldier by the Red Cross and the Y.M.C.A. The church should seek to understand how best to relate its efforts to the program of these organizations. Methods of co-operation with the Red Cross are: (1) Let the Woman's Missionary Society of the city church become an auxiliary of the Red Cross chapter and in the smaller communities join the societies of the other churches to form a Red Cross chapter. (2) Relate the church organization to every Red Cross campaign. (3) Let the church support the efforts of the Red Cross to render effective home service. (4) Welcome every opportunity to give expression to the mission of the Red Cross without

being jealous for the church of its services to humanity.

The Y.M.C.A. is meeting the challenge to the Christian forces of the world to render a direct service to the men under arms. In Russia, Palestine, France, Italy, England, wherever there are soldiers and sailors, the red triangle is faithfully serving. What can the church do to help? (1) Furnish all the chaplains that are allowed from the best preachers and the strongest men. (2) Select camp pastors of ability and initiative and set them free to do their work according to the conditions in the individual camps. There is great danger that the church may lose influence because of lack of tact in this work. (3) The church in camp cities should be strongly manned and open all week to the soldiers. (4) Co-operate with and support the Y.M.C.A.; assist in raising funds. The "Y" is the church at work in the camps. (5) Make a study now of the task that will confront the church when the soldiers return from war. "One of the most important questions before us is, What kind of a church will the men find when they return?" The church must meet its present tasks or else get out of the way and let some other agency do its work. The world has no patience just now with subterfuges, excuses, or nonessentials.

Unity in Service

The report of the General War-Time Commission of the Churches issued by the Executive Committee of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America is an inspiring herald of the future efficiency of a united Christianity. The report covers the activities of thirty denominations. The war has largely blurred denominational distinctions in the serious service of the soldiers and sailors. A striking instance of this is presented in the dedication meeting held to open the Church Headquarters Buildings at Camp Upton. Representatives of all important religious bodies were

present, Catholic, Protestant, Jews, chaplains, Y.M.C.A. secretaries, and Knights of Columbus. A Presbyterian made the presentation address, a Catholic offered the invocation prayer, the responsive reading was led by a member of the Christian church, prayer was offered by an Episcopalian, and the benediction pronounced by a Jewish rabbi. Just as the dedication service was shared by all so the building is being used by all. It is not a union church but a democratic association of diverse groups with one central purpose—human welfare and service.

The General War-Time Commission embraces representatives of practically every religious organization of the Protestant forces of America and is co-operating intimately with the Catholic War Commission and the Jewish Welfare Board.

Commenting on the splendid work being accomplished by the Commission in unifying the efforts of the churches in a constructive program of co-operative work, the *Outlook* says, "We may hope that the lessons thus being learned in war may not be forgotten in peace, and out of the experience of working together for a great cause churchmen may learn to know each other better and find in action that unity which has been sought in vain in doctrine and in worship."

Professor Barton Quits Society of Friends

Under the foregoing heading a news report in the *Public Ledger* says that Professor George A. Barton, of Bryn Mawr, speaking at the luncheon given at the Bellevue-Stratford on April 5, in honor of the Very Rev. Sir George Adam Smith, announced these reasons for resigning his membership in the Society of Friends:

I have resigned, not because I did not appreciate the great things for which the Society of Friends has stood, but in reality because I appreciated them too much to remain a member now.

The great central fact and testimony of George Fox with reference to public affairs was that a Christian should live in the spirit that is opposed to war. But what that great seer was not able to anticipate was that an age of the world should come like that in which we are living, in which it has become evident that no man can really live in the spirit that is opposed to war who will not take a hand in the war to end war.

It is because of the dawning upon my mind and consciousness of the fact that I have severed my connection with the denomination to which I have so long belonged.

It is because it seems to me that the League to Enforce Peace is the instrument for the accomplishment of all that is ideal that I would like to do anything in my power to persuade men to give it their support.

It seems to me that we have the greatest Christian opportunity in all history. At the end of this war, *if it can be fought through to a victorious conclusion*, as I believe it will, twenty nations will have become accustomed to act together, drawn together by ties such as only a struggle like this could create, and if we are Christian men and put behind this idea of a League to Enforce Peace the Christian spirit we shall have an opportunity to bring before the world something of that for which, in the language of St. Paul, "the whole world has been groaning and travailing from the creation until now," the vision of the sons of God.

Letters to Soldiers

In the *Pilgrim Magazine* for May Dr. Allen A. Stockdale urges upon the church schools some definite forms of service for the soldiers and sailors, of which he names the writing of letters as all-important. Letters are more welcome than pay day at the front. Co-operation in Red Cross, Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A. campaigns, knitting and mending that the boys may be more comfortable, patriotic backing and devoted prayer for the fighters, all are necessary and helpful activities, but greatest of all services is the writing of the right kind of letters. They must be right in spirit, in content, and in style. The fighting men do not want pity,

or sentimentality, or narratives of home troubles; they need letters burning with patriotism to touch and kindle the mind and heart with faith in the inevitable outcome of the fight for right. They need to be held up to the highest standards of thought, feeling, honor, and faith. Silly, romantic letters or high-sounding, moralizing sermonettes are equally worthless. Our fighters are American men of the true type, and letters to them must be frank, sincere, and straightforward if they are to be helpful.

Winning the War and the World

An address by Dr. John R. Mott, given to a group of workers assembled in New York to consider the prospects for Y.M.C.A. work in the Orient in view of the war conditions, is printed in *Rural Methodist* for April. "If we are to win the war in reality," he says, "we must concern ourselves more with winning the world." The history of the church has shown that to stand still means defeat. True efficiency demands advancement and enlarged activities. Unless the Y.M.C.A. work in the East is enlarged it will inevitably shrink and in some places suffer inevitable defeat. A second reason for enlargement is the debt we owe to the foreign field. Why should Asia, Africa, and Latin America be penalized because of the sins of Europe and America? Still further, "we must expand the plans of the Y.M.C.A. as it reaches out to those great needy areas in the so-called non-Christian world because now is a time of literally unparalleled opportunity, danger, and urgency." There are areas untouched by war's turmoil, eager for guidance. Still more important is it that in order to help enforce the lessons of the war among the non-Christian peoples we must send among them more wise guides and leaders. So many even among the educated are missing the way. If there ever was a time for sending out strong men of spiritual discernment and consecrated personality it is now.

Another reason for enlargement is to afford an adequate outlet for the energies of the people of North America. There is a vast amount of potential energy here seeking outlet in service. This is the time to do the impossible, to suffer in creation, to go forth to win the war and to win the world.

The Pulpit and Reconstruction

The return of Dr. J. H. Jowett to England with the express purpose of contributing his part to the great task of reconstruction in that land moves Mr. William Herbert to offer some serious advice to the leaders of churches in the *Nation* for April 25. He feels that the "most conspicuous and most successful pulpiteer of his time" has no message of reconstruction. The church and the pulpit are alike powerless as agencies for building in our modern civilization. The pulpit works inside a closed system; it is a wonderful source of comfort and religious edification, but it has not achieved the modern world-view nor faced our modern problems.

But if the pulpit is to have a message for the modern world it must face this situation. To talk sanely of reconstruction means nothing else than to understand the real facts of our civilization. The gospel is not a timeless thing. It may be that human nature is unchanged; at any rate it is functioning in an entirely new setting. Before the church can be really redemptive today it must understand the amazing complexity of social relations and the new problems of moral responsibility thus created. "Until the preacher himself is aware of the inevitable complicity in social wrong and can touch his hearers with the same compunction, until he sees how organically the problem of personal redemption is bound up with that of social reclamation, he will reconstruct nothing." We are in an entirely new world from the world of

our fathers. There are new responsibilities and new forms of guilt. The church must face the world's moral tragedy and must see that this moral tragedy is not an individual but a social fact. "We are guilty of each other's sins; and the gospel that is to save us must save us together." The New Testament Kingdom of God is no other than the Kingdom of Man, and the preacher's share in the task of establishing the "great community" is that of liberating and stimulating the moral energy of social cohesion.

Address of Archbishop of York to Students of the General Seminary

Recently the Archbishop of York visited this country. While here he addressed the faculty and students of the General Seminary. The *Churchman*, March 23, reports the substance of this address. He declared that the people of America had not begun to realize what the war means, nor the tremendous changes that it has wrought in the world. He says also, "And yet, great as the effects of war have been on England and the relation of the nations, still greater have been the effects on the English church and religion in general." Upon the stronger and younger men rests the task of restating the philosophy of religion in its relation to the universe. Many new and different questions press for solution, and to these answers must be found. The time-worn shibboleths of the past are not sufficient. The popular shibboleths of the present are dangerous. Old stock explanations fail to satisfy when a new world is being born. We are now in times of testing, of proving all things for the removal of "those things that are shaken, as of those things that are made, that those things which cannot be shaken may remain." The church passing through such times cannot be unchanged.

THE BOOK OF THE MONTH

A DEFENSE OF DANIEL

J. M. POWIS SMITH, PH.D.

Professor of Old Testament Language and Literature in the University of Chicago

This is the first of three volumes planned by Professor Wilson upon the Book of Daniel. The second volume will discuss the linguistic problems of the book, and the third will devote itself to the relations of Daniel to the canon as bearing upon the time of its origin. This present volume may confidently be classed as the most thoroughgoing and competent defense of the orthodox claims for Daniel that has yet been made. It takes its place at once alongside of the late Professor William Henry Green's *Hebrew Feasts* as representative of the best that traditional scholarship can do. The courage and diligence of the author are worthy of the highest praise. He has not feared to attack the strongest positions and he has spared no labor in assembling his munitions. And yet the foe has not been dislodged. It is doubtful whether anybody who really appreciates the force of the arguments urged by the historical school will be convinced by this book. It falls short of attaining cogency. Nor can the volumes that are to follow change the situation. To fail at the point attacked in this volume is to fail finally.

The discussion regarding the date and authorship of Daniel necessarily moves in the sphere of probabilities to a greater extent than in that of actual certainties. The strength of the argument of the historical school lies in its cumulative character. Professor Wilson endeavors to prove in case after case that the traditional inter-

pretation of Daniel has not been shown to be impossible. Suppose possibility be granted, it still remains to be asked whether it is probable. Here the answer will be again and again in the negative. Thus we are confronted with the further question, viz., Is it likely that in a fairly numerous series of cases in which a given interpretation is possible but not probable the truth will turn out to be on the side of the improbable? The law of chances is clearly against it. The citation of a list of improbable possibilities does not produce an impression of assurance or certainty.

Professor Wilson gives an excellent demonstration of the weakness of the argument from silence in chapter i, but it still remains true that Darius the Mede is nowhere else mentioned, that Belshazzar is never called king outside of Daniel, that no other document records a campaign of Nebuchadrezzar against Jerusalem in his third year, that there is no other record of Nebuchadrezzar's madness, etc. It is the multiplication of cases that weighs so heavily against the historicity of the narrative as a whole. When still other evidence is ranged alongside of the argument from silence, the chances in its favor multiply indefinitely. For example, Daniel must have lived to be eighty-five or one hundred years old according to the representation of the book, as Professor Wilson admits. The grouping of Daniel with Noah and Job in Ezek. 14:14, 20; 28:3, as a famous saint, which is almost convincing proof that Daniel in the days

¹ *Studies in the Book of Daniel. A Discussion of the Historical Questions.* By Robert Dick Wilson. New York: Putnam, 1917. Pp. xvi+402. \$3.50.

of the Exile had been long dead and canonized, has to be taken as implying that Daniel was Ezekiel's contemporary. We are asked to believe (p. 272) that Daniel was inspired sufficiently to predict the course of history, but not sufficiently to predict it clearly and accurately. Darius the Mede is made identical with Gobryas, the general of Cyrus, though we have no proof that Gobryas was a Mede or was ever called Darius. Is it likely that Cyrus had so masterful a person as Darius the Mede under him ruling over nearly all the empire, if only a weakling could ever have dreamed of such a transfer of power (pp. 197, 269 f.; cf. p. 263)? The method of the argument whereby Professor Wilson seeks to overthrow the charge that Darius the Mede is a reflection of Darius Hystaspis is illegitimate. In the first place, to say that Darius Hy-

staspis furnishes the foundation for Darius the Mede does not require that the story of the latter should conform in detail to the history of the former. Further, such exact conformity is not to be expected on the critical hypothesis. It would imply precisely the kind of historical information on the part of the writer of Daniel which the whole book shows he did not possess.

Professor Wilson's book should be welcomed by scholars of every school. It is a serious endeavor to deal with facts and to settle an important issue on its merits. Even the historical critic will be grateful for such a well-planned and executed attempt to overthrow his position, for it makes it quite evident that he has nothing to fear from the best scholarship that can be trained upon him.

BOOK NOTICES

The God of the New Age. By Eugene W. Lyman. Boston: Pilgrim Press, 1918. Pp. 47. \$0.60.

The Great War is compelling men to ask searching questions concerning religious faith. How to think of God in relation to this great historical upheaval is a peculiarly pressing need. Professor Lyman in this little volume indicates certain aspects of theological thinking which are receiving emphasis. The ideas of creative personality, dauntless saviorhood, social purposes, and universal good-will must be foremost in the religious belief of the new age. Professor Lyman persuasively shows how this conception of God will inspire and guide the aggressive type of creative religious activity needed to rebuild the shattered social relations of men. The somewhat complacent assurance of a faith which vaguely trusts in the reality of an immanent God must give way to the idea of an active creative co-operation between men and God. This type of theology is certainly sorely needed today. Professor Lyman's booklet is only a brief, suggestive sketch. His theme deserves further elaboration.

Matthew's Sayings of Jesus. By George D. Castor. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1918. Pp. ix+250. \$1.25.

As every student of the New Testament knows, the writers of Matthew and Luke used in addition to the Gospel of Mark other collections of Gospel tradition current in their day but now no longer extant. From minute scrutiny of our present Gospels Professor Castor reconstructs the earliest of these original sources and finds it to have been a collection of Jesus' sayings composed by the apostle Matthew.

This volume will appeal to all readers interested in the first three Gospels as historical sources of information about Jesus. The first part of the book will be of most value to specialists, but the reconstructed document printed at the end will be of interest to everyone who is seeking to recover the earliest version of the teaching of Jesus.

Professor Castor's method is thoroughly scientific and painstaking. While he adopts the generally accepted two-document theory of Gospel origins, he differs from most advocates of this hypothesis in believing that on the whole

Luke is a safer guide than Matthew for both the phraseology and the order of the original source.

The book throughout is a fresh and vigorous treatment of a very perplexing theme, to which Professor Castor's discussion forms a distinct contribution. Professor B. W. Bacon, of Yale University, contributes an Introduction, in which he says: "The reader will not need to be assured of Professor Castor's scholarly spirit, nor of his many years of schooling for his task in the best university training at home and abroad. So far as a former teacher's words can properly aim at more than an honorary function, they must express the sincere conviction that Professor Castor has something of value to say whereby the solution of this vital problem of criticism is really promoted."

America and the Orient. By Sidney L. Gulick. New York: Missionary Education Movement, 1916. Pp. x+100.

This little volume is designed for study classes taking up a constructive policy dealing with the relations of America and the Orient. Instead of a program of domination or segregation Dr. Gulick proposes a policy by which the immigration of Orientals shall be subjected to a fair limit corresponding to that imposed upon all races; that there shall be definite effort to apply Golden Rule internationalism to the problem; and that all thoughtful citizens shall appreciate the problem and unite in the effort to solve it according to the principles of Jesus. The book is being widely used; it is excellently adapted to its purpose; the bibliography is well chosen and the suggestions are ample.

The Church and the Man. By Donald Hankey. New York: Macmillan, 1917. Pp. xx+89. \$0.60.

In this attractive and convenient form the publishers have printed the chapters by Donald Hankey in *Faith or Fear*, which was originally issued in 1916. It is one of the most searching and suggestive articles that has come out of the war-time thinking, and its common sense, churchmanship, and piety are alike refreshing.

Every Church Its Own Evangelist. By Loren M. Edwards. New York: Methodist Book Concern, 1917. Pp. 162. \$0.50.

The purpose of the book is clearly expressed in its title. There are seven chapters of general principles and suggestions which have grown primarily out of the writer's own experience and are therefore sensible and workable. The Appendix of about forty pages contains examples

of forms of publicity and other material that have been used in the work of a church that is carrying out this program of "local evangelism under pastoral direction and with the generous co-operation of the laymen." That this ideal is the right one admits of no question. The book will help pastors to work out the plan in their own parishes. The publishers have shown good taste in the printing and binding.

Faith or Fear? An Appeal to the Church of England. Edited by Charles H. S. Matthews. London: Macmillan, 1916. Pp. xii+264. \$1.25.

This book comes to our table late, but it is a significant volume deserving careful review. It was called out by the National Mission of Repentance and Hope and contains the honest and serious work of five men who have thought through some of the practical problems presented to organized Christianity by the war and who write as frankly as they have thought. The first section is by Donald Hankey. The two volumes of articles entitled *A Student in Arms* registered the general point of view of Donald Hankey. His religion takes on reality from his war experience. There is a directness in his statements that is born in the trenches. "The gospel is plain enough," he says. "It is simply the imitation of Christ, and there is no real doubt about the manner of man that Christ was." He asks that the perplexing questions with which the church is so busily engaged may be dropped and that all Christians "get back to the main point, which is, after all, to embody Christ." So in page after page "the Student" calls Christians to get the actual facts of the gospel into their daily life. The fifth section of the book embraces 112 pages by the editor, under the caption "The Test of Living Experience." The writer is a vicar of the modern school and is clear and fearless in his setting forth of the situation in which the Church of England is found. He dares to face the modern scientific spirit, to separate the accidentals from the essentials of Christianity, and to bring the foundation principles of Christianity to the searching test of life. His brief chapter on "The Spirit of Discrimination" is as fine a statement of the attitude of mind that is to come forth from the war as could be asked. After reading this book carefully we have felt a new sense of confidence and joy in the future of Christianity if it can come to expression in the fearless and faithful forms set forth in this statement.

God prays. Answer, World! By Angela Morgan. New York: Baker & Taylor Co., 1917.

The two poems are reprinted from *Hears's Magazine*. The first poem gives an idea of the

deity somewhat akin to that in H. G. Wells's *God, the Invisible King*. For Angela Morgan, God says of the nations, "They are my mouth, my breath, my soul! I wait their summons to make me whole." The second poem is a call for an army to fight the human cause, "to smite the leer from the faces of Privilege, Lust, and Pride."

Utterance, and Other Poems. By Angela Morgan. New York: Baker & Taylor Co., 1917. Pp. 109. \$1.75 net.

This book takes its name from the last and longest poem in a collection of thirty reprinted from such widely variant representatives of the American press as the *Cosmopolitan Magazine*, the *Ladies' Home Journal* and the *Chicago American*. Someone has said that poets and prophets are alike in being at outs with the life of their time, in deploring the dear, dead days of a glorious past, or heralding a golden-glowing future. Angela Morgan does not bewail the irrecoverable past, but she does sing the songs of a coming *saeculum aurcum*. Through her verse pulsates an utter hatred of war that the devotees of militarism in America or elsewhere would do well to emulate. For this poet, "Love is not alone for pleasure, love is not alone for bliss. Love is for the rousing of the nations, the healing of the world!" Social salvation has a passionate, lovely, and compelling challenge in the artistry of this leader in the ranks of the younger American poets.

John Mason Peck and One Hundred Years of Home Missions, 1817-1917. By A. K. de Blois and L. C. Barnes. New York: American Baptist Home Missionary Society, 1917. Pp. 134.

This volume is a product of the centennial celebration of Baptist home missionary enterprise. It is intended for popular reading and instruction, and consequently contains no footnotes and avoids many problems. Briefly and simply Dr. de Blois sets forth the heroism, breadth of mind, and Christian statesmanship of one of the real pioneers of Illinois and Missouri religious history. Pastors and laymen of all denominations may read the book with profit and enjoyment.

Love for Battle-torn Peoples. By Jenkin Lloyd Jones. Chicago: Unity Publishing Co., 1916. Pp. 166.

This series of sermon-studies by the well-known Chicago minister is dedicated to "all those who believe that the Golden Rule is workable between Nations as between individuals and that Good-Will among men will bring Peace

on Earth." In the course of these studies Dr. Jones sets forward various reasons why he loves England, Germany, France, Italy, Russia, and Turkey. His last two discussions deal with a supranational humanity and an appeal to Americans to avoid war. The poems by Percy Mackaye, Helen Gray Cone, T. A. Daly, Sara Teasdale, and others which preface each sermon are well chosen and of high merit. In the face of America's present duty in making the world "safe for democracy" the sermons are seriously "out of joint."

A Book of Prayer for Use in the Churches of Jesus Christ. Compiled by a Presbyter. Boston: Sherman, French & Co., 1917. Pp. 299. \$1.25.

This book represents an affectionate piece of labor. Evidently the writer believes that more profitable orders for morning and evening prayer and for the great days of the Christian year ought to be furnished. But we do not discover the advantage in the forms here set forth. Either the Book of Common Prayer or the Book of Common Worship seems better adapted to the worship of the congregation. Why the writer should tinker the Prayer of St. Chrysostom to read "the joy and peace of everlasting life" is difficult to explain. The compiler has fine sense for the beautiful and dignified in the majority of cases, however. We see little need for this book. It might better have been made into a manual of private devotion.

Heroic Lives in Universal Religion: A Manual for Religious Instruction in Junior Grades. By Albert R. Vail and Emily McClellan Vail. Boston: Beacon Press, 1917. Pupil's edition, pp. 330. \$0.50; teacher's edition, pp. xx+330. \$1.00. Notebook.

There are twenty-three subjects presented in this series of brief character studies. Captain Scott, master diver, as he was lovingly presented by F. Hopkinson Smith, is the first, and Mr. Tagore is the last. Between these appear heroes from the Old Testament, a group composed of Zoroaster, Mohammed, Buddha, Socrates, Jesus, and others. There is no question as to the range of characters represented. The text gives concise, interesting, and rememberable facts. The suggestions to the teacher are excellent. The books are well made and the price puts them within the reach of the average church school. This course is especially adapted to the work of the Unitarian churches. For the American pupil Mrs. Eddy is more deserving of consideration than the three founders of the Bahai movement; but she is omitted and these are included.

Religion and Philosophy. By R. G. Collingwood. London: Macmillan, 1916. Pp. xviii + 219. \$1.75.

"Thought had been well frightened by its own philosophical daring in the previous period. It had jumped in and found itself out of its depth; and Comte was the mouthpiece by which it recorded its vow never to try to swim again. Who has not made this vow? And who, after having made it, has ever kept it?" says the author on page 38. Confessedly he has made this vow—and now here he is trying to swim again! But he is a pretty tough swimmer.

Perhaps we may say that his fundamental thesis is: The identity of ultimate reality. At the basis of all existence lies thought, and through all existence thought is present and controls. Thought is ever expressing itself in creed. Creed is belief. It is dominating belief. Everybody has a creed. Talk a few moments with the plainest of the plain men on the street beginning with common facts, and he will immediately begin to generalize. His generalization is his creed, crude though it may be. His creed will vary in the ratio of his growing knowledge until it may become a Theory of Capital or an Augsburg Confession. No doubt Carl Marx and Luther started in a very simple sort of way. The author puts creed before ritual—probably contrary to most psychologists.

Now when we come to face religion, ethics, politics, sociology—indeed any of the disciplines—we stand face to face with this problem of identity. Religion—is it merely a matter of temperament, imagination, conduct, without any vital relation to thought, or is it a philosophy which every Christian must seek to understand, whose truths he must formulate, so that it can stand criticism and face other philosophies on the field of controversy?

"Religion is, not the activity of one faculty alone, but a combined activity of all the elements in the mind . . . a true unity . . . with every individual element expanding into a concrete fulness which cannot be dissolved. . . . There is then no other life than religion." Religion must be studied, not in its external manifestations, but in its comparative anatomy. So, "if we really try to discover what is the inward heart and essence of the thing we call religion, we must not be alarmed if we find that our practical vision sees it in places where, till now, we had not expected to find it."

These detached statements indicate the lines of a very keen, suggestive, and sparkling dissertation which falls into three main divisions: (1) "The Nature of Religion"; (2) "Religion and Metaphysics"; (3) "From Metaphysics to Theology."

Approximately placed are such subjects as religion and history, matter, personality, evil, God's redemption of man, and miracle.

Mr. Collingwood is, of course, a monist, and exactness of statement characterizes his work throughout; yet it is not hard and fast. He warns against definition. His universe thrills with life. Back of all and through all is the living, personal God of wisdom, will, and love.

He falls far short of solving all the problems, but he comes much nearer than the pluralists who are too prone to give them up.

Using the Bible in Public Address. By Ozora S. Davis. New York: Association Press, 1916. Pp. viii + 184. \$0.75.

A practical handbook on this subject by so experienced a guide as the president of the Chicago Theological Seminary is sure to deserve and receive attention. It has been prepared as a concise, usable manual for Christian workers who have not received the full technical training of the schools. Growing out of actual use in the Y.M.C.A. College in Chicago, and issued by the Association Press, it is direct, sensible, and helpful, as might be expected, and is suited either for class study or for private reading. It may well be recommended to all inexperienced speakers, especially to all young men and women in colleges or Christian associations, who wish to gain experience in presenting Christian truth to public audiences. It deals with various types of audience and of address, and gives a considerable number of outlines of talks on biblical themes in illustration of the principles discussed. These are given as suggestions only, as stress is laid on the necessity for careful and independent thinking.

The Science of Religion. By Daniel A. Simmons. New York: Revell, 1916. Pp. 224. \$1.00.

Attempts at harmonizing the teachings of science and religion are not numerous in these days of strenuous realities. The present argument, by a judge of the Circuit Court of Jacksonville, Florida, is based upon "two fundamental hypotheses, viz., an all-pervading Force, moving in the form of complex waves through the omnipresent ether . . . ; and a realm of matter, called spiritual matter, finer in particle than the physical, which . . . interblends in every physical entity and forms a counterpart of it."

Anyone who is attracted by an effort to harmonize science and religion through such an intuitional belief in the duality of matter will be likely to be interested in this volume.

A Lawyer's Opinion of the *Biblical World*

I am, if I may say so, a careful and appreciative reader of the *Biblical World*. I belong to the "catholic" wing of the Anglican church, yet I have found constant refreshment and spiritual stimulation in many of the utterances of the "broad protestant" spokesmen.

From the catholic standpoint the *Biblical World*, as a whole, states what I may venture to term the "irreducible minimum" of Christian belief. Yet, strange as it may seem superficially, the statement of that irreducible minimum is a vital source of strength and confirmation to a catholic; a source of peace and joy.

Take, first, the matter of what is called "**higher criticism.**" As a layman denied the opportunity of qualifying as a student, technically, of the early Christian and cognate records, I have been disturbed from time to time by the occasional pronouncements of the results of criticism. From the public libraries and other sources an occasional book on these lines would fall into my hands, resulting in a partial viewpoint of the labors of the critical schools rather than in the composite view which the student acquires. I realized that I was very much in the position of a layman who should take a textbook on some division of our jurisprudence and from it draw conclusions which the professional lawyer would not do because of his knowledge of the way in which any one department of the law is involved in and modified by the law as a whole. The situation was a very clear illustration of how a little knowledge is dangerous to one's peace of mind.

Here is precisely where the labors of the learned contributors to the *Biblical World* assisted me so materially. Such men, I soon recognized, were experts in this field of research, and I found with joy that the conclusion of the matter with them was Jesus. In other words, I discovered that men and women who knew more about the technical criticism of the Bible records than I can ever hope to know through the pressure of other circumstances and opportunities knew and loved Jesus.

Take, also, the matter of **psychology.** Here again an uninformed and eager mind encounters trouble. Once in a while a technical book on psychology would fall into my hands, which, but dimly understood, would give one the impression of a materialistic hypothesis of the soul. Religion, it was more than hinted at, was simply an evolution explicable as the facts of physical evolution, and, in its last analysis, itself physical. Of course, the common mind of a man can throw that implication off, by the simple realization that evolution explains the "how" but is dumb before the "why" — the God of the evolutionist was as truly awful and omnipotent as the God of the instant creationists. But the

uneasy train of thought set up by such books was this—that a man of so great mental power as to be a master of psychology should be able to arrive at a conclusion which one “felt” to be so wide of the truth. In other words, the question would occur to one: If you knew as much about psychology as this man does, would you not come to the same conclusions as he?

In the *Biblical World* I found that psychological investigators with academic credentials equal to those of my disturbers, knowing as much about psychology as, to be idiomatic, “the next man”—being masters of the present status of that science—knew and loved Jesus.

Then there was **philosophy**. Here, particularly, the occasional book is a very disturbing quantity. I say particularly because the layman feels that he can peruse such books with less preliminary technical training. The untrained man, and I am one, in that line does not realize that though the language of a work on philosophy may be comprehensible, yet, if the book has authority at all, it is based on a wide professional study of the subject. The same question as before would arise, therefore; how this man who presumably has swept the whole scope of his field can arrive at a materialistic conclusion—would not you, if you knew as much about philosophy as he does, come to the same conclusion?

In the *Biblical World* I found that philosophers having the same academic credentials as my authorities, knowing presumably as much as they of the subject, and having thought just as much and as honestly about the subject, knew and loved Jesus.

In the *Biblical World* I found with joy and peace and power that the critic, the psychologist, and the philosopher, properly accredited as a technical expert each in his line, knew and loved the same Jesus that I sought to know and love. In other words, I felt justified in concluding that if I knew as much about criticism as the technical critic, if I knew as much about psychology as the technical psychologist, if I knew as much about philosophy as the technical philosopher, that Jesus would not be for me one whit the less Jesus.

You ask, Why was it necessary to go to the *Biblical World* for these things? Are there not a multitude of other voices crying these things? I answer that the *Biblical World* represented religious elements in some things quite opposite to those with which I am associated, hence would not be subject to my bias, and that the contributors thereto were as academically accredited as those contributing to any other media. Then the expedient and convenient synchronizing of all these contributory factors was what we could call in law “digested” for me. I say nothing about the evident honesty and intellectual integrity of the contributions—they speak for themselves.

(Signed) ARTHUR M. HARRIS

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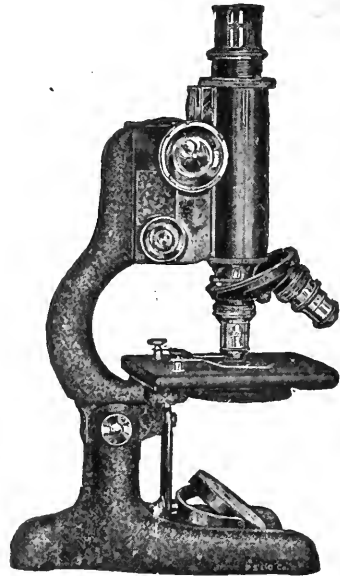
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