

THE PRESBYTERIAN AND REFORMED REVIEW

No. 44—October, 1900.

I.

RELIGION AND NATIONAL LIFE.

RELIGION and national life stand in most close and vital relations. Plutarch says that in his travels he had seen many curious things, such as cities without walls and tribes without money; but he had nowhere found a race without religion. Aristotle from the sociological point of view spoke of man as "a political animal," "a social creature;" but back of this conception another Greek philosopher saw man's relation to God as well as to his fellow-citizens, and called man "an animal that prays," a religious creature. The universe about us, full of thought which humanity knows is not of earthly origin, impresses all rational beings with a sense of overshadowing divinity. The feeling of dependence for food and air and water and light, for all things, upon some power that shapes our ends, speaks to man of God and of religion, the bond between the soul and God. The moral sense, the Categorical Imperative, as Kant called it, mercilessly demands that we do the right, and preaches, in commendation or remorse, responsibility; and responsibility of man and citizen is not to society or human rules, but to some Lawgiver above all social and national legislation. All prophets and seers, Pythagoras and Isaiah, Confucius and Socrates, Mohammed and Böhme, have had visions of God as King of kings and Lord of lords, whose house should be a house of prayer for all nations. Far as we may go among tribes and races of men, none will be found, none has been found, without belief in God. The Latin saying, "*Nullæ gentes atheæ*"—No nations are atheistic—is still valid. However far back we go in history, the same is true.

cess of *selection*. Mr. Muzzey has presented the naturalistic view in its extremity, but as winningly as it is capable of being expressed. It is an impossible history he gives us. Things not only did not happen so, all historical indications being our guide, but could not have happened so in this world of adequate causation. The Canon of the New Testament is an apostolic gift to the Church of a law from God, not an ecclesiastical invention of a convenient rule of thinking and doing.

III.—HISTORICAL THEOLOGY.

JEAN CALVIN. Les hommes et les choses de son temps. Par E. DOUMERGUE, Professeur à la faculté de théologie de Montauban. Tome Premier: LA JEUNESSE DE CALVIN. Ouvrage orné de la reproduction de 157 estampes anciennes, autographes, etc., et de 113 dessins originaux par H. Armand-Delille. Lausanne: Georges Bridel et Cie, Éditeurs, 1899. 4to, pp. ix, 634.

Calvin has had to wait long for an adequate biography. But this first volume of the work projected by M. Emile Doumergue, of Montauban, gives us hope that he will have it ere the fourth century since his birth runs wholly out.

We are not forgetful or unappreciative of those who have already labored in this field. How many they are any good bibliography will exhibit—say, for example, the select list given by Dr. Schaff at the head of his treatment of "The Reformation in French Switzerland" in the seventh volume of his *History of the Christian Church*. How good they are everyone who has sought to know this greatest man—nay, as Renan was compelled to recognize, this greatest Christian—God has given the modern Church, has had ample opportunity to appreciate. There has been left us little excuse for not knowing John Calvin. The description of the wealth of our means of information with which M. Ant. J. Baumgartner opens his admirable lectures on *Calvin Hébraïsant et Interprète de l'Ancien Testament* is no more than just. A considerable number of really good biographies of Calvin already exist—biographies which seem to leave almost nothing to be desired—Henry's (1835-44), Bungener's (1862), E. Stähelin's (1863), Kampschulte's (1869-99), Lefranc's (1888). These have been supplemented by the publication of his correspondence by Jules Bonnet (1854), Herminjard and the Strasburg Editors; by the great Strasburg edition of his works with its illuminating prefaces; and by an incredible number of special essays and articles. "Thanks to his biographies," remarks M. Baumgartner,

"we have seen cleared up many an obscure point, many a detail of his life as youth, student, mature man; thanks to his commentaries we are better prepared than ever to appreciate the astonishing, multifarious, almost superhuman activity of this supernaturally courageous man, this *vere theologus*, this incomparable theologian, as Melancthon fitly called him. . . . His latest biographies enable us to penetrate deeply into his inner life; and make it possible for us to witness his early studies, to see in action the factors which produced his first works, and the unrolling of the diverse phases through which his spiritual or intellectual development passed."

He concludes: "We should not be wrong, therefore, to be satisfied with what we know." Yet he at once adds a "nevertheless." And we must echo this "nevertheless."

It is possible, to be sure, to exaggerate this "nevertheless." Dr. A. Pier-son certainly exaggerates it when, in the Preface to the first part of his *Studien over Johannes Kalvijn*, he represents mere "studies" about him and

not a complete biography of him as alone possible as yet ; and speaks of the present duty of the historian as the renunciation of the legends set forth by Henry, Merle d'Aubigné, Stähelin, and not wholly eliminated from even the, in many ways, admirable work of Kampschulte ; and the careful and patient eduction of the truth from the authentic records—or at least the demonstration that the riddles of this life are incapable of resolution. As if no one had trodden this hard pathway of detailed investigation before himself ; and as if such painstaking investigation could result only in revolutionary conceptions of the course of this life ! Before Pierson and after Pierson such studies have been vigorously prosecuted, and our knowledge of Calvin's life has been correspondingly enriched. The older biographies had already made use of the results of many of them. Much has, however, been acquired since, and thus an adequate biography has remained a desideratum up to today and grown daily ever more a desideratum.

It is one of the reasons we have for hoping that M. Doumergue is about to give us this adequate biography that he has neglected none of the " studies over John Calvin " that have hitherto been made. Everything seems to be in his control. And controlling all that has been hitherto brought to light he has added investigations of his own : and better than that, he has brought to his task a clear intelligence and a trained literary habit ; a detailed knowledge not only of the whole compass of the literature concerning Calvin—earlier and later—but of the times in which he lived and the currents of thought in which he was formed and amidst which he labored ; and as well an acute as well as calm faculty of judgment. Above all he has brought apparently a keen and instinctive sympathy with the personality he is depicting. We do not know how fully this sympathy extends to the doctrinal and ethical teachings of Calvin—subsequent volumes of the work will determine this ; but this first volume enables us to say that if M. Doumergue is able to write as sympathetic an account of Calvin's labors in Geneva and of his theological teaching as he has written of his youthful development and his preparation for his work, he will give us at length an adequate biography of Calvin. There will no doubt remain details which will require further investigation : there will no doubt be expressed historical judgments which will need correcting : the really definitive treatise on no subject will ever be written. But if the promise of this first volume is fulfilled in the remaining four we shall have a portrait of the greatest of the Reformers which will adequately present his grand figure before the eyes of every sympathetic reader.

It will doubtless have been already noted that the book has been planned on a scale which, so far as bulk is concerned, ought to be adequate. Here are nearly six hundred and fifty quarto pages devoted to " the youth of Calvin." For the depicting of his entire life five such great volumes are to be subsidized. It is a veritable monument which M. Doumergue is raising to the memory of the greatest of theologians. And everything has been done to make this monument, even in its externalities, worthy of the memory it is to enshrine. The publishers have spared no expense and no pains to turn out a perfect piece of work—the best of paper, the best of type, the best of press-work vie here with the best of editing to produce a volume that it is a pleasure to the eye to look upon and to the hand to handle. Archæological knowledge and artistic skill have combined to illustrate it richly and illuminatingly. The illustrations alone almost suffice to carry us back into the sixteenth century and to place us among the scenes, in the midst of the companions, in the presence of the literary products, in contact with which Calvin's youth was passed. Already in this we see revealed one side of M. Doumergue's furnishing for the task he has undertaken. M. Doumergue is evidently an enthusiastic archæologist. No archæological detail escapes his keen sight

or fails to set him throbbing with enthusiasm: Perhaps his antiquarian zeal is even a little excessive. Perhaps when he reaches, for example, his chapter on "Protestant Paris in the Sixteenth Century," his ardor runs a little away with him and he almost forgets his Calvin for a season in his engrossment with the old streets and old houses and their multifarious associations. All this, to be sure, is in accordance with his theory of how a biography should be written: he would fain present to us not a dead abstraction called "Calvin" but a concrete living man in the midst of the rich life in which he was immersed. And certainly his archæological enthusiasm has borne good fruit in adorning the volume and throwing a local atmosphere around the portrait that is painted. The life of the sixteenth century stares us in the face here on every page, and even he who runs cannot fail to read it off from the beautiful cuts which are lavished everywhere. And let no one imagine that because M. Doumergue is an archæologist he is therefore dull. He appears incapable of writing a tiresome line, whatever may be his subject. Indeed, if the book errs in the matter of its style, it errs in precisely the opposite direction. It is the temperament of the dramatist, of the orator, of the journalist, rather than that of the antiquary which is revealed to us in these sparkling, lively, ever-moving pages, full of literary art and Gallic vivacity. The touch is light with French gaiety, the disposition of the material lucid with French clarity, the story is told with the verve and liveliness of which only a French pen is capable. There is not a dull line from the beginning of the volume to the end of it, and he is a poor reader who, having begun it, will not be content to stay until he reads through to the last page.

This volume treats, as we have said, of the youth of John Calvin; and it treats of it in the full light of all that has been brought to knowledge upon this obscurest period of his life. Of course the investigations of Lefranc and the studies of Lecoultre and of Herminijard are largely used: but the whole mass of recent discussion also has been thoroughly winnowed and a keen intelligence is brought to bear upon its criticism and utilization. The period covered by the volume extends from the birth of the Reformer in 1509 to the publication of the first edition of the *Institutes* in 1536. Along with his personal development, of which we get a picture even more vivid and even more winning than that offered by Lefranc himself, we have all the currents of thought of his time and all the influences that played upon him—Humanism, Faber Stapulensis and the religious movement of which his teaching was the source, and all the reformatory impulses that were aroused in the France of the day—fully depicted for us. We are shown the Noyon of his boyhood, the Paris of his youth, the Orleans and Bourges of his opening manhood, the France of his years of persecution, the Bâle of his refuge, and all the streams of intellectual and religious life that were flowing through them: and then we are shown the young Calvin moving through them all and thrown out into relief against them all, until we almost feel as if we had lived his life with him and might well claim him as our boyhood's friend.

And let us note the phrase which we have thus unpremeditatedly used to describe the impression the picture of the youthful Calvin, as limned by M. Doumergue, makes on us. We feel as we read this flowing but precise narrative which so vividly brings his figure before us, we say, as if we might well claim him as our own boyhood's friend. For it is distinctly a friendly, attractive, lovable youth who is here presented to us, one whom we look upon distinctively as a friend—whom to look upon is to love. We have been taught to think of another kind of Calvin—even in his youth: sombre, sour, forbidding, inaccessible, almost a hater of the human race (as other Christians before him have been slanderously designated). We have been told that the

iteration and severity of the denunciation he visited upon his young companions earned everywhere their disgust, and won for him at their hands the unenviable nickname of "The accusative case." It is only a part of the Romish legend—fully exploded by Lefranc and now again by Doumergue. A serious-minded youth he was, of course, and one filled with a gracious piety and schooled in a strict morality: he was certainly no Rabelais rioting among his companions—but as certainly he was neither an anchorite nor an accuser of his associates. Born to a competency, reared in the company of the great and the cultured, living on terms of frank and free intercourse with the choicest spirits of his time, the young Calvin reveals himself to us as an open-minded, affectionate young man of irreproachable morals, decent habits and frank manners—somewhat sensitive perhaps but easy to be entreated, and attracting not merely the admiration but also the lasting affection of all into contact with whom he came. He finds his Biblical prototype not in Elijah or in John the Baptist but distinctly in that other John who was at once a "son of thunder" and the "apostle of love." This is how M. Doumergue sums up the chief results attained by his minute study of Calvin's life among his fellows during these years of preparation:

"Thus he journeys from place to place, from north to south and from south to north, through France and through the churches, seeing, hearing, observing, noting, enriching his heart and his conscience not less than his understanding with all that he encounters among men as well as in libraries; a prodigy of work, of rigorous self-denial (*ascétisme*), and yet full of youthfulness, highly esteemed, always welcomed. All circles dispute for him, and on all he exercises that mysterious influence, that irresistible power of seduction and attraction which is one of the most characteristic signs of the sovereignty of genius. All who know him love him; and those who love him cannot resist the wish, or let us say the necessity, of seeing him again. They leave, one after another—Noyon: his brother, his sister, his successor in the chaplaincy of the *Gésine*, his successor in the curacy of Pont l'Évêque, and the King's lieutenant, Laurent of Normandy;—Paris: his master Mathurin Cordier, his fellow-pupils of the house of Montmor, his friends the Cops, his friends the Budés;—Orleans: the sons of his friend Daniël;—Bourges: the Colladons;—Angoulême: his host himself who cannot be separated from him;—Poitiers: Vêron, the *procureur* Babinot, the lecturer in the Institute, Saint-Vertumien: a strange enough processiou, hut one which attests the fascination exercised upon hearts by one whom men have dared to reproach with uot being able to feel or inspire affection" (p. 515)!

In a word the legend of Calvin's hard and unlovable disposition, on any real acquaintance with his life, goes up in the same smoke with those other legends—the product with it of the malignant imagination of hate—which have pictured him as of low extraction and of criminal habits,—branded for nameless vice at Noyon, convicted of theft at Orleans, and a victim of all sorts of evil passions.

One of the chief preoccupations of M. Doumergue in studying the early years of Calvin is naturally the preparation it formed for his subsequent labors. The hand of Providence is indeed so clearly revealed in the training of the future Reformer that it has ever been the subject of admiring remark: Dr. McCrie, for example, has written a very striking page or two on it in his posthumous work on the *Early Years of John Calvin* (pp. 2, 22, 57, 72). The more careful study of his early years only increases the impression of the singular preparation which they formed for his subsequent career: and M. Doumergue does not permit this side of his task to escape him. The words we have just quoted from him, indeed, are a portion of an eloquent passage in which he sums up the elements of this preparation. It was certainly long, he remarks, but assuredly also most marvelous.

"Driven from Noyon by the plague while still little more than a child, he falls in with the best teacher of Latin of the age, Mathuriu Cordier, who waits before leaving Paris to teach him. Then at Orleans he falls in with the best master of Greek of the age, Melchior Wolmar, who seems to have come from Germany, whither he is about to return, in order to inculcate his method upon him: two incomparable masters who prove incomparable instructors. Not content with teaching him the languages they speak to him also of the Gospel of Christ.

"It was for him, it seems, that the Middle Ages had preserved its sombre college of Montaigu, so that before it disappeared it might initiate him into all the secrets of an irresistible dialectic. For him too it was that modern times had hastened to establish the College of France, that he might attend its first lectures and later rank among the masters of Humanism.

"And on the benches of these schools, while his cousin, Robert Olivétan, is pressing him to read the Bible, he almost had opportunity to elbow Loyola, who pronounced the vow of Montmartre, and Rabelais, who wrote *Gargantua*: the Jesuitical spirit and the Gallic spirit, the two inspirations of the anti-Calvinistic opposition.

"And even this is not enough: here is our young man encountering the most illustrious professors of law, — l'Estoile, who is still at Orleans, and Alciat, who is just arrived at Bourges. They mould his mind to that kind of precise, exact, realistic thinking which permits him to be not merely the theologian but the legislator of the Reformation.

"Nevertheless Providence had not yet accomplished more than half its task. What is intellect without life? And these wonderful years of study are at the same time wonderful years of experience. The Church takes care to reveal to him all its failings, all its most secret vices. It gives him personal experience of its weaknesses and its hardnesses. It endows him abusively with its benefices; it casts him unjustly into prison; it obliges him to rescue the dead body of his father from its anathemas. While yet a babe he commences to visit the bizarre relics of Ourscamp; later he looks upon the episcopal disorders at Angoulême; he listens to the legends of Poitiers; and just as he is leaving France, the Franciscans are still playing before his eyes the farce of Orleans, that he may sound the lowest depths of a superstition which ends in vulgar trickery.

"But by the side of the shadow destined to repell him shines the light destined to attract him. If Calvin was the pupil of Bêda, chief of the Sorbonnic band, he is also the *protégé* of the friends of Le Fèvre d'Étaple, the Cops and the Budés, and he passes through all the stages of the Fabrician movement. He allies himself intimately with Gérard Roussel, and the venerable Le Fèvre prolongs his life to more than a century that he may be able to give him his blessing at Nérac. Similarly before enduring his martyrdom, Estienne de la Forge receives him into his house and permits him to learn the piety and heroism of the nascent Church, while Quintin, chief of Libertines, and Servetus, chief of Antitrinitarians, present themselves in Paris to horrify the young doctor with their dangerous heresies."

Then follows the description of the enchanting personality which the young man bore through all these experiences, which we have already quoted. This was the youthful David—intellectually and morally fair of eyes and goodly to look upon—whom God had chosen to overthrow those new Goliaths, the King, the Pope, the Emperor, and to conduct Protestant Christianity to its destined victory: and this was the way God chose to prepare him for his great work.

We have quoted M. Doumergue as saying that the young Calvin "passed through all the phases of the Fabrician movement," and the remark bids us pause to call brief attention to the most interesting controverted question which is treated in the whole volume. This concerns of course the conversion of Calvin. It has become customary to date the conversion of Calvin in 1532 or later. M. Doumergue enters the lists with great spirit for an earlier date, and would carry it back, say, to 1528. We cannot go here into the reasons pro and con. It may well be that too much stress is laid by M. Doumergue on the necessity of a development of Calvin's religious life through stages, if not slow, at least not unprepared: Calvin himself speaks of his conversion as "sudden." It may well be that a little of that Gallic spirit which is such an ornament to Frenchmen attaches itself to his argumentation and that he is a shade over-zealous for the purely French origination of French Protestantism. But certainly he marshals the facts and inferences with amazing skill, and the result of his construction is to leave an impression on the mind of the reader which is very strong that Calvin was no stranger to the new doctrines through his years of study at Orleans and Bourges, and that if we are still to speak of a "conversion" as late as 1532 it must be in the purely spiritual sense. Long before this he assuredly had known and yielded intellectual assent to the central elements of the new teaching.

We know it is a very inadequate introduction to our readers that we are

giving M. Doumergue's notable book. Our consolation is that we shall have subsequent occasion, on the appearance of the remaining volumes, to call attention to it anew. The first volume exhibits it as a piece of solid historical work, fortified by ample citations of the sources, and presented in a charmingly direct and readable narrative style. No one can pretend hereafter to know John Calvin who does not take account of M. Doumergue's full, rich and thoughtful study of his life and work. We look forward with the greatest eagerness to the appearance of the subsequent volumes, and we can wish nothing better for them than that they may prove as thorough and illuminating for their own periods as this first one is for the years of Calvin's youth.

Princeton.

B. B. WARFIELD.

Early Church Classics. **Bishop Sarapion's Prayer Book.** An Egyptian Pontifical dated probably about A.D. 350-356. Translated from the edition of Dr. G. Wobbermin, with Introduction, Notes and Indices, by *John Wordsworth, D.D.*, Bishop of Salisbury. Small post-8vo, pp. 104. (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge; New York: E. & J. B. Young & Co., 1899.) The thirty early Christian prayers which Dr. George Wobbermin unearthed from the centre of a MS. of miscellaneous contents in the Lavra Monastery of Mount Athos, and published early last year, in Harnack and Gebhard's well-known series of *Texte und Untersuchungen*, under the title *Altchristliche Liturgische Stücke aus der Kirche Aegyptens nebst einem dogmatischen Brief des Bischofs Serapion von Thmuis*, are certainly a great "find" for students of the Christian ritual. Bishop Wordsworth justly speaks of them as "a Liturgical document of first-rate importance;" though we may doubt whether they can be as justly described as "one of the most important additions to early Christian literature made in a century which has been specially favored in regard to discoveries of this kind." They give us our first tolerably complete "Pontifical," or Bishop's Prayer Book, of early date; and help us to look in on Christian worship in Egypt in the middle of the fourth century. But the value of this is easy to exaggerate. We already knew that in this century the ornate worship of a liturgical service was already developed, and we could already restore its outlines with tolerable certainty; and we did not need this body of prayers to reveal to us the gulf that had been opened between the simple Christian worship exhibited in the New Testament, or even in Justin or the Didaché, and the elaborate forms which in the fourth century were everywhere prevalent. If we cannot consider this discovery one of the first importance in a broader sense, however, the interest with which the liturgical student will look upon a tolerably complete Pontifical of the middle of the fourth century is necessarily very great. And we see no reason for doubting that it is this that Dr. Wobbermin has given us. Whether it is safe to ascribe the whole collection to Sarapion seems more questionable. Two of the prayers are directly ascribed to him in any event; and though we may suspect that the exception here may only prove the rule, yet the character of the prayers appears to bear witness to their origin at about the time and in the neighborhood which would belong to them if they came from his hands. Meanwhile Bishop Wordsworth has done good service to the English reader in presenting to him this careful rendering of the prayers, together with the illuminating discussion he has prefixed to them by way of Introduction, and the informing notes with which he has accompanied them. Dr. Wobbermin proved himself an excellent editor, but even the technical student will profit by referring also to Bishop Wordsworth's contribution to the understanding of this ancient specimen of liturgical worship. He has brought to its elucidation a first-

THE PRINCETON THEOLOGICAL REVIEW.

No. 2—April, 1904.

I.

THOMAS AQUINAS AND LEO XIII.

AS an ecclesiastical diplomat, Leo XIII will no doubt take high rank among the popes of modern times. He had no power to marshal armies and to set in motion crusades against refractory dissenters, as did Innocent III, nor did he exercise the function of fulmination against princes. And yet his moral influence throughout the bounds of all western Christendom has been notably great. He has elevated the papacy to a position of world-wide influence such as it has not had since the Reformation. Not before in their history have the different portions of Protestantism had so kindly a feeling toward a pope. For the moment room has been made even for a feeling of toleration for the papacy itself. Both feelings are due to the impression made by the virtues of Leo's private character. This impression was enhanced by the exceptional mental vigor Leo displayed into a high age and the youthful interest he manifested to the very end in current events, and which has seldom, if ever, been equaled in recent times. This personal sympathy of Protestants, strange to say, has been accorded to Leo in spite of his sweeping condemnations of Protestantism. His encyclicals* have denounced the Reformation, with its novel doctrines, as having produced "sudden tumults and most audacious revolts, especially in Germany." Its so-called philosophy is made the mother of unnumbered pests, such as communism, socialism and nihilism. The ultimate fruit of the Lutheran revolt is the ruin of morals.† In one of his very first encyclicals the evan-

* June 29, 1881; August 1, 1897, etc.

† *Ruinam morum ultimam maturavit*, *Encyclical*, August 1, 1897.

umvirate, as the superior in age and the boldest in public initiative, Westcott cannot, nevertheless, be pronounced in every sense the first among them. To our thinking he was surpassed by both Lightfoot and Hort in intellectual grasp, balance of judgment and intrinsic value of performance. But it is no dispraise to rank third in such a galaxy—which as a whole shines down with serene light on lesser mortals. And neither of his fellows equaled him in the penetrating profundity of his exegetical insight. The preparation of the commentaries on the writings of John and the Epistle to the Hebrews absorbed much of his time. They richly repaid him for the labor and thought he expended on them and will remain for the Churches a possession forever. To them, we are glad to know, the long meditated commentary on Ephesians is to be added. In these commentaries Dr. Westcott's permanent contribution to theology is enshrined. An essayist of distinction, a sermonizer of unwonted grace and power, it was not in the region of systematic thought or of popular exposition that he found his most congenial or successful sphere of labor: an eager student of social reform, it is not as a statesman that he will be best or longest remembered. It is not even as an expounder of the broad teachings of Scripture, either as a whole or in the special portions to which he gave his most prolonged study, that his judgment carries most weight. It is in the detailed investigation of words and their connection in clauses and sentences—he who asseverates so often that he “believes in words”—that he is the master of us all. This holy man, gifted with the most acute of intellects and armed with the exactest learning, when he lifted his eyes from the text he was studying was not always able to see clearly and was liable to fall into vagaries of thought; but when he concentrated his attention on the words before him—who has ever spoken to us more illuminatingly than he? We turn from his not always wise theologizing to his detailed exegesis with a feeling that in his proper sphere of student of the words of the New Testament, in Westcott God has given the Church a teacher of whom it will be always proud and from whom it will never cease to learn.

Princeton.

B. B. WARFIELD.

JEAN CALVIN. Les hommes et les choses de son temps. Par E. DOUMERGUE, Professeur a la Faculté de Théologie de Montauban. Tome Second: LES PREMIERS ESSAIS. Ouvrage orné de la reproduction de 75 estampes anciennes, autographes, etc., et de 75 dessins originaux par H. Armand-Dehille. Lausanne: Georges Bridel et Cie, 1902. 4to, pp. xii, 815.

The first volume of Prof. Doumergue's monumental *Life of Calvin* was reviewed in *The Presbyterian and Reformed Review* for October, 1900 (vol. xi, pp. 713-718). The great scale on which the work is laid out, the magnificent style in which it is published, the thoroughness of research which underlies it, and the brilliancy with which it is written were all there spoken of. That first volume was issued in 1899; this second one bears on its title-page the date 1902, though it did not come into our hands until late in 1903. For a book of its elaboration this is doubtless a sufficiently rapid consecution: and it enables us to hope that the entire work may be completed in time to celebrate the close of the fourth century since the birth of Calvin. It certainly will be a worthy tribute for Prof. Doumergue to offer to the great Reformer's memory.

The first volume treated of the youth of Calvin and left him at Bâle, at the outset of a new and as yet untried life. This second volume deals with the opening scenes of his labors as a Reformer, and closes with his return to Geneva in 1541. This period Prof. Doumergue treats as a period of

preparation for his real work which is conceived to lie yet in the future. There had been the years of study: now Calvin was living through his years of more immediate training for the special task to which he was called, learning step by step the field of his future labors,—that is to say, remarks Professor Doumergue, “almost the whole of Christendom.” “He saw Italy; he saw Switzerland; he saw Germany. Progressively, gradually, but unintermittently, the little schoolboy of the Capettes at Noyon became pupil of Mathurin Cordier at the College of La Marche, student at the great universities of Orleans, Bourges, Paris, jurisconsult, humanist, theologian, guest of the Court at Ferrara, colleague of Farel at Geneva, colleague of the Reformers at Strasburg, intimate friend of Melanchthon, respected counselor sought after at Colloquies, at Diets, by princes, . . . *Vires acquirit eundo!* ‘He has perhaps no equal, except Melanchthon,’ said the Bucers and the leaders of the Reformation. But they still deceived themselves. Their hyperbole was too timid. We must suppress the ‘perhaps’: he had no equal at all” (p. 711).

During this course of preparation Calvin was learning above all to recognize himself as merely an instrument in the hand of God. It was not he himself that chose his life: it was God that chose it for him. Gradually, but effectually, he learned that not he himself but God was director of his ways. Prof. Doumergue hints, indeed, that (being after all human) he learned only too well to identify his ways with God’s—that he did not, in short, altogether escape the common inversion of rôles, and from thinking of himself as the instrument of God came too much to think of God as his instrument. Let this remain for the present, *sub judice*. It is enough to note now that through these years of preparation the great lesson Calvin was learning—and did learn—was this greatest of all: to esteem himself a servant of God and to strive with all his forces to perform God’s will. “What distinguished him,” says his biographer, “was that he was one of those who had especially numerous, decisive and (let us note this) external reasons for believing himself and for feeling himself the instrument of God. This is why, in spite of his weaknesses and his faults, there have been few men who had more of certitude in their faith, more of logic in their faith, more of ardor in their faith, more of constancy and triumphant intrepidity in their faith. And this is why this unique preparation was followed by a work more unique still, by Calvinism—that work tainted no doubt with human weakness, but nevertheless one of those in which burns with the most dazzling brightness the very mark of a work of God” (p. 713). Possibly we shall detect a slight apologetic tone in this eulogy, and this may provoke us to say that this encomium too is a little too timid—possibly even that it is lacking in complete sympathy with this “Calvinism” on which is the mark of a work of God. But who will doubt that in its higher tone it is as fully deserved as it is finely expressed?

The present volume contains, then, the account of the years of preparation in which Calvin was fitted for his great work at Geneva. It is made up of a series of “Books,” written with sufficient detachment to make each almost a complete treatise in itself. The first describes Calvin in Italy; the second, his first sojourn at Geneva; the third, Calvin at Strasburg; the fourth, Calvin in Germany; and the fifth and last his return to Geneva. In each of these books, true to his general method of proceeding from the circumference gradually to the centre, Prof. Doumergue gives us everything that we need to know in order to place Calvin in his surroundings and to look at him in his place amid the circumstances of his life and work at the precise point of time and space at which we are invited to observe him. The wealth of archæological, historical, biographical, literary matter that is

brought to our assistance is a constant marvel. The skill with which it is all utilized so as to enlighten rather than burden the pages is more remarkable still.

Take the "Book" on Calvin in Strasburg as an example—particularly full, and particularly genially written as it is. It is divided into four chapters. In the first of these, the whole religious history of Strasburg is outlined and the fortunes of the French Church established there at the Reformation are traced throughout its whole history. In the second, Calvin's life at Strasburg as pastor and professor is described in its environment, including a history of Protestant education at Strasburg. In the third, *apropos* of Calvin's marriage at Strasburg, we have a complete account of Calvin's opinions on marriage as well as the whole history of his married life. The whole culminates, however, in the fourth chapter, which under the topic of "the liturgy" gives us first a well-thought-out discussion of the relation of Calvinism to art in general; then a complete account of "the Calvinistic liturgy" in its origin, history and character; and finally a most interesting study of Calvin's relation to the musical service of the Church.

One would say that nothing could be more interesting or instructive than the discussions in this volume, did we not know what was yet to come. In truth, the cream of things is reserved for the yet forthcoming volumes. The whole account of the *Institutes*, for example, is postponed to the third volume. In the present one, doctrinal matters are touched somewhat lightly. There is a full account, to be sure, of the relations of Calvin and Melancthon—written with sympathy with Calvin's largeness of mind, perhaps not with such complete sympathy with his "doctrinal views." There is a study of the composition and character of "the Articles, the Catechism and Confession of Faith," prepared at the beginning of his residence there for the Genevan Church; and a successful vindication of Calvin against the charges of fanaticism so frequently brought against him on their account. There is also a sufficing history of the whole miserable episode of Caroli, ending in that amazing scene at Strasburg in the autumn of 1539 described by the pen of Calvin himself, with a freedom of hand and a penitence of heart which surpass everything of the kind in literature. "If Calvin was to be a saint," remarks Doumergue (p. 399), "we might wish to blot out the remembrance of this page where with his own hand he writes, *illic graviter peccavi*. But does not this confession add to more than it subtracts from the greatness of him who, being a sinner, could obtain pardon only by beginning with a consciousness of his sin?" (p. 399). As it was, Calvin shines out over against the dreadful apparition of Caroli with increased splendor. "In truth," says our author, "we may say that Caroli, that unprincipled, mean-spirited, impure, ambitious, rancorous man, was to Calvin at once the most calamitous and the most useful of adversaries; it was through him that he was able to manifest the excess at once of his patience and of his impatience" (p. 401). That is to say Calvin bore with this example of the offscourings of the times incredibly; but when his indignation did find vent, it was an indignation which was as frightful in its vigor as its object was deserving of it all.

We must not permit ourselves to linger longer at present over Prof. Doumergue's delightful pages. He has given us two volumes of a work for which all students of the great Reformer's life and character will be grateful; and he leaves us at their end longing for the remaining installments which are to carry us into the heart of things. We must not omit before closing, however, to mention the fourteen learned appendices with which the volume ends, to which many a scholar will turn first, and over which many will linger longest—these careful and informing studies of a series of

the most interesting minor topics that arise in the course of a comprehensive study of such a life. Nor must we fail to make explicit mention of the beautiful memorial preface dedicated to the memory of A. L. Herminjard. What an engaging picture Prof. Doumergue paints in these few pages of the old scholar in his little study—of his exact learning, methodical ways, generosity of spirit, beauty of character—we should despair of conveying any conception of in a few lines. Let everybody who loves those who love letters and the truth of history read these beautiful pages in which a historian embalms the memory of one he delights to call his master.

Princeton.

B. B. WARFIELD.

LAUSANNE AU TEMPS DE LA REFORMATION, avec une Introduction sur Pierre Viret et Orbe, sa ville natale; et un Appendice sur les deux premiers imprimeurs de Lausanne. Par ÉMILE DOUMERGUE, Professeur à la Faculté de Théologie de Montauban. 4to, pp. [65]. Lausanne: Georges Bridel & Cie [1903].

This beautiful booklet is made up of matter extracted from the second volume of Prof. Doumergue's magnificent work on Calvin and his times. In extracting the matter from the larger work, however, it has been subjected to revision and has been adapted—chiefly by the omission of the scientific apparatus—to the more popular audience appealed to in this smaller publication; and the text already splendidly illustrated has been further adorned by the addition of thirteen new engravings. "These pages," says the Preface, accordingly, "are not simply reproductions of those which have been devoted to Lausanne in the second volume of *John Calvin*: they must be considered as a second reviewed and augmented edition." They certainly make in their separated form a sumptuous handbook on Reformation Lausanne. Their contents are sufficiently indicated in the title-page. First we have a sprightly account of the little village of Orbe and its experiences at the Reformation, and of Peter Viret who was born there and became the Reformer of Lausanne. This introduction stands without manifest bonds uniting it with the main body of the booklet, which bears as its sub-title, "A Walk Through Lausanne in 1536," and which has as its subject-matter a full archæological study of Lausanne enriched with allusions to the associations which lend interest to the old town. At the end is an appendix giving some account of the two earliest Protestant printers of Lausanne. The rich body of beautiful illustrations printed in the text has been already alluded to.

Princeton.

B. B. WARFIELD.

THE VIRGIN BIRTH. By ALLAN HOBEN, Ph.D. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1903. Pp. 87.

"The Department of Biblical and Patristic Greek of the University of Chicago proposes to issue, from time to time, Historical and Linguistic Studies in Literature Related to the New Testament. These Studies will be grouped in three series: I, Texts; II, Linguistic and Exegetical Studies; III, Historical Studies." This Study by Dr. Hoben constitutes the first part of the first volume in the second series. It is professedly an historical essay. Dr. Hoben takes "the story of the Virgin Birth as found in the New Testament," and "aims to trace the history of its interpretation and use throughout the ante-Nicene period."

In presenting the New Testament data it is necessary first of all to determine the relation of the Matthean and Lukan infancy-narratives. Dr.

THE PRINCETON THEOLOGICAL REVIEW

VOLUME V

APRIL 1907

NUMBER 2

SOME RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN CRITICISM AND THEOLOGY.

Fashion in religious controversy, as in other things, is continually changing, and the methods of apologetics have to change with them. Instead of discussing either the attack or the defence in the abstract, I propose in this paper to illustrate the temper of the times, on both sides, from a few books which lie at this moment on my study table, and seem to me to be exceptionally suggestive.

I do not know that there has been a time within recent memory when the attack on the foundations, records, and doctrines of revealed religion has been more outspoken, confident, and daring. It seems in many quarters to be quite assumed that the older Christianity is dead; that the new conception of the world evolved within the last fifty years or so has given it its death-blow; that the kindest thing the world can now do for it is to see it decently buried. In such a learned quarterly, for example, as *The Hibbert Journal*, on this side of the Atlantic, the assumption in many articles openly is that Christianity, in the old sense, is obsolete, and that the only question left to ask is, what substitute can we find for it? The supernatural, of course, is to be given up; there must be an end, as one article puts it, to "the entangling alliance of religion with history"; religion is to be based on moral and spiritual, or on rational,

JEAN CALVIN : LES HOMMES ET LES CHOSES DE SON TEMPS. Par E. DOUMERGUE, Professeur a la Faculté de Théologie de Montauban. Tome Troisième: LA VILLE, LA MAISON ET LA RUE DE CALVIN. Ouvrage orné de la reproduction de 99 estampes anciennes, autographes, etc.; et de 124 dessins originaux, par H. Armand Delille. Ouvrage couronné par l'Académie française. (Prix Guizot.) Lausanne: Georges Bridel et Cie, Editeurs. 1905. 4to. pp. ix. 722.

The first volume of Professor Doumergue's great work on Calvin, appearing in 1899, was reviewed in *THE PRESBYTERIAN AND REFORMED REVIEW* for October 1900 (xi. 713); and the second volume, bearing on its title page the date of 1902, was reviewed in *THE PRINCETON THEOLOGICAL REVIEW* for April 1904 (ii. 344). The third volume is now in our hands and carries the encyclopædic work one stage nearer to its completion; but does not yet reach the heart of the matter. The first volume was confined to the youth of Calvin, leaving him at Bâle about to enter upon his reformatory work: these were his years of growth, the years of preparation and study. The second volume gives us an account of the opening reformatory work, closing with Calvin's return to Geneva in 1541: these were the years of training, when he was learning by actual experience the nature of the work which was before him. The third volume, beginning with Calvin at Geneva, pauses to make known to us in full detail the Geneva which was to be the scene of his work. If the first two volumes present us with a detailed portrait of the man, the third lays before us a minute picture of the material upon which he was to work. The work itself which this man wrought on this material lies still before us. It is to be given in two subsequent volumes, the first of which will present "the program," and the second, "the conflict and the victory."

From this general outline of his treatise, it may seem that Professor Doumergue is thinking of Calvin, predominantly, as the Reformer of Geneva. In so far as this is true, it is, of course, too low a standpoint from which to estimate the character and achievement of this world-moving genius. From it, however, Professor Doumergue appears to derive his apology for the prevailingly archæological contents of the present volume. "Calvin," he remarks, at the outset, "is the man of Geneva. Before coming to the program which our Reformer conceived, let us undertake a description of the town in which he lived." And at the end he adds: "How otherwise could we know what Geneva was before Calvin? And if ignorant of what Geneva was before Calvin, how should we estimate what Calvin did for it?" Even from the highest standpoint, however, a detailed study of the city in which Calvin did his work, and from the conditions in which its work took its color, would be justified,—that city which, as Professor Doumergue says, was "the center, the heart and as it were the sanctuary of the Calvinistic Reformation" even as Calvin's home in it was "the center, the heart, and, as it were, the sanctuary" of it. Many readers will feel, no doubt, that Professor Doumergue overdoes the archæological side of his study. But the volume is not wholly given over to archæology as the sub-title

might mislead us into expecting: "The Town, the House and the Street of Calvin." Not only is it crowded with the most illuminating portraits of Calvin's contemporaries, but it all leads up to and is continually impinging directly upon the portrait of Calvin himself; and the reader rises from the perusal of the volume with a much fuller appreciation of the personality of the great Reformer than could easily be conveyed to him by another method. Thus for example, in the chapter devoted to the hostilities of Calvin's day—a chapter in itself full of side lights on Calvin's life,—we not only learn that Calvin had no fork and ate with his fingers—that "the Reformers Zwingli, Oecolampadius, Bullinger, Myconius—and Calvin and Farel and Viret—ate with their fingers without a fork, and even on occasion invoked the assistance of their knives" (a fact which Professor Doumergue hints may stand for us as the type of the civilization and barbarism of Calvin's day)—but a great deal very much to the point as to the measures Calvin took for reforming the abounding evils of the tavern-life of the time, and their relation to past measures of the same kind. Similarly, when speaking of the pest in Geneva, occasion is taken to describe Calvin's personal conduct in presence of the pest; and when the Genevan House is under discussion the whole subject of the sumptuary laws, the regulations for the moral life, and the general features of the religious life in Geneva is most carefully studied.

Moreover the heavily archæological portion of the volume really ends with the first book, which bears the sub-title of "The Town of Calvin." The second book, under the caption of "The House of Calvin" is really a treatise on Calvin's private life. And a most carefully studied and illuminating treatise it is. It is divided into two chapters, entitled respectively, "Calvin's Salary" and "Calvin at Home"; and the former chapter treats in turn of "Calvin's Five Hundred Florins", "Salary and Perquisites", "Calvin's Disinterestedness", while the latter touches in turn on his "Austerity", his "Illnesses", his "Charm", his "Heart." It might seem at first sight that there remains little room for discussion of Calvin's salary, since it is clearly set down in the decree of the Council as five hundred florins, along with about twelve hundred weight of flour and two measures of wine. But when the value of these five hundred florins comes to be estimated proportionately to modern conditions, the historians go as widely apart as 250 francs are separated from 7500. The question arises whether, on his salary of five hundred florins, Calvin was a poor man or a moderately rich one; and calumny has taken the matter up and given occasion for the defence which Professor Doumergue here makes of Calvin's disinterestedness. Professor Doumergue's own estimate is that Calvin's salary amounted to about what 3500 francs would mean to a modern Genevan: which the flour and wine would raise to a value of about 4000 francs, that is, to about \$800. A house was added, and some small accidental sources of revenue existed. A man in modern Geneva living on \$800 and a house could scarcely be esteemed affluent. Calvin's salary exceeded that of his fellow preachers, it is true; but it was less than that of many of his fellow teachers, (e.

g., Hotman, professor of law). He was not rich but he was not poor. "He practiced, not indeed evangelical poverty in the sense which Kampschulte intends, that is to say Catholic poverty with its evil asceticism,—evil even when it commands our admiration, with its pretended merits and habitual vices. But it was a true model of evangelical poverty in the sense which the Gospel intends, which consists in detachment from riches, knowing how to want and how to abound, without particular preoccupation: true type of a great disinterested man" (p. 490). The austerity of his life was the austerity of a devoted, not of a narrow or a fanatical, soul.

The picture which Professor Doumergue draws of the excessive labors of Calvin is distressing enough. But even more distressing is the picture he draws of his illnesses: the first attempt, he tells us, to write a pathological biography of the Reformer. "This extraordinary labor," he writes, "resulted in an extraordinary series of maladies. It would be easier to recount the diseases Calvin did not have than those of which he became successively the prey. He passed a life of simplicity and labor in the Rue de Chanoines: but he passed there especially a life of suffering—suffering, the continuity and intensity of which is absolutely exceptional, startling, prodigious" (p. 509). The following is the way in which a Genevan physician of note, Dr. Léon Gautier, sums up the pathological history of Calvin:—

"Calvin was a good type of the arthritic. The series of manifestations of this morbid predisposition was in his case almost complete; migraine, dyspepsia, hemorrhoids, gravel, gout. . . . It almost seems as if we were reading through Bouchard's treatise on the diseases of malnutrition. . . . Two superadded episodes cast spots on this picture of otherwise uniform tint: the intermittent fever and the pulmonary accidents. Intermittent fever is now very rare in Geneva. It was probably much more frequent when the town was surrounded by muddy fosses. . . . As to the pulmonary accidents, I think we may unhesitatingly say with Blauer that Calvin was 'a complete consumptive'. But Calvin was arthritic; he was even gouty. And the arthritic, especially if he be actually gouty, presents a bad soil for tuberculosis. The phthisis therefore developed slowly with the Reformer. It was shut up to producing from time to time some blood-spitting or an attack of suffocating bronchitis. I do not believe that Calvin succumbed to the advance of phthisis. It is more probable that he was carried away by infection of the urinary tract, following upon gravel. Arthritism lies therefore at the root of almost all of Calvin's illnesses: but on the other hand Calvin fully fed this morbid predisposition. His sedentary habits, his devouring cerebral activity, his daily cares for his work and for the church, were the elements of a deplorable hygiene. Could he have consulted a modern physician, he would have been advised to seek rest, freedom from care, life in the open air in the country and a diet almost exclusively lacto-vegetarian. Calvin followed the contrary course, happily for his work, unhappily for the length and comfort of his life. But if this temperament filled the Reformer's life with almost uninterrupted suffering, there is another side of the question which should not be passed over. If arthritism has its inconveniences, it has also its advantages. In fact, it is the nervous arthritics who leave behind them traces of their sojourn on earth. Their faculties are more developed, their will more firm, their energy more intense, than in the case of men

of a different constitution, or less highly tempered fibre. If the son of the cooper of Noyon had been born lymphatic or scrofulous, there probably would have been no occasion for writing a life of John Calvin" (p. 524).

We are told that this overwrought, ill man was sometimes—under strong provocation—irritable, and even violent in his language and harsh in his judgments. What we wonder at, says Professor Doumergue, justly, is that he was not infinitely more so. For what sort of a man was this Calvin, after all, in his personal intercourse, and his personal relations? A man of remarkable sweetness and of the intensest of affections, who bound his intimates to him with ties of steel. The historians may dwell on the acerbity of his disposition: those who lived with him thought of the depth of his love. In the sections in which this view of Calvin's character is presented and demonstrated the interest of the volume culminates. There are sections on the softer side of Calvin's life,—his pleasure in his garden, his enjoyment of nature, his delight in recreation, his love of the country, his social gifts and enjoyment of pleasantries, his "hilarity", and all that assemblage of qualities which turned his dwelling into a house of friendship, a centre of intercommunication, an intelligence office, a veritable matrimonial agency for a great company of friends, in his familiar intercourse with whom his wonderful charm ("seduction", Professor Doumergue calls it) had full scope. Professor Doumergue is conscious enough of the cries of derision which will in some quarters greet the application of such terms to Calvin. But what will you have? he asks in effect. Here is a man who exercised a prodigious personal influence in the most varied quarters. Must he not have had the qualities which alone give great personal influence? Genius, labor, energy, doctrine, eloquence—these will explain much, but not all. "One does not seduce, one does not take men, nations (any more than flies) captive with vinegar and gall: we must needs have honey." Certainly Calvin must have had the qualities demanded by his achievement. "Of course, no more here than elsewhere do we deny the faults of Calvin,—that side or face of his character which was austere and severe. We recognize that he was nervous, irritable, very irritable; and that this natural irritability was ceaselessly increased by the enervation of his illness and by the still more annoying enervation of an opposition which was often wicked. Nor do we deny that a man of his energy, of his will, of his clearness of conception, of his confidence in the truth as he saw it, had a very natural tendency to exercise the domination of which he was capable, which was offered to him by circumstances, and which was indispensable for the success of his mission and of his work. But when all these concessions have been made, it remains none the less incontestable that Calvin's character was one of seduction, of charm" (p. 48). And then Professor Doumergue proceeds to prove this thesis by abundant citation of examples. So we come at last to the crowning sections in which the great rôle played by the heart in Calvin's life and work is outlined. "You know," he writes to Viret, "how very tender my heart is,

or, I should better say, soft." And Viret replies: "Yes, I know how tender a heart you have." He writes to Bucer, "If on any point, I do not make response as you hoped, you know I am in your power: reprove, rebuke, do all that a father can to a son." And Bucer, a year later, responds by addressing him as "My heart! my soul!" It used to be the fashion to deny to Calvin, throughout his life, these traits of a profoundly affectionate nature. This fashion has passed away. Everybody now admits that in his early life his was a peculiarly merry and sympathetic disposition. Men now wish to distinguish times, and to contrast with his joyous youth his soured age, with the abounding affections of the one, the stern harshness of the other. It is precisely to this last resort of the calumny that Professor Doumergue addresses himself. The historians may not be able "to feel Calvin's heart-beat", he rejoins; everybody about him did, and something surely must be the matter with a history which sees a personage in an entirely different light from that in which he stood out to his contemporaries. If he had no heart, no charm, how did he so seduce his contemporaries? And not content with advancing an overwhelming body of proof from Calvin's, not companions and friends only, but his mere acquaintances, that it was precisely the heart which made the man, he passes on to show further that it was also precisely the heart that made the theologian. "The heart in the theology of Calvin" is the title of the last section of the discussion; and in it is shown beyond dispute that it was not to the bare intellect but to the heart that Calvin addressed himself throughout his system: and, adds Professor Doumergue, "in his theology, the rôle played by the heart does not decrease as time goes on,—it increases; notably in the *Institutes* from edition to edition" (p. 563).

The last Book in the volume, entitled "The Street of Calvin," gives an account of a number of Calvin's neighbors and friends, from his brother Anthony to that remarkable Italian the Marquis of Vico. We shall not dwell on these brief biographies here. But perhaps it will be well before closing to call attention to the two appendices (v and vi) in which the legend of Whittingham's marriage with a sister of Calvin, already known to be erroneous, is finally exploded.

The volume, like its predecessors, is elegantly printed and illustrated in the most sumptuous manner.

Princeton.

B. B. WARFIELD.

PRIMITIVE CHRISTIAN EDUCATION. By GERALDINE HODGSON, B.A. (Trin. Coll., Dublin), Sometime Cobden Scholar of Newnham College, Cambridge, Mistress of Method and Lecturer on the History of Education at University College, Bristol. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1906. 8vo. pp. viii, 287. (Imported by Charles Scribner's Sons.)

This is a popular presentation of the salient facts in regard to the education of the early Christians, their methods of instruction, their attitude, in general, toward the culture of their day. The book is thoroughly readable; but its confessedly apologetic aim, as well as its

THE PRINCETON THEOLOGICAL REVIEW

VOLUME X.

JULY, 1912.

NUMBER 3.

THE CHURCH AND THE SOCIAL QUESTION.

By the "Social Question" we mean those "scattering problems", such as "the family, philanthropy, industrial life, racial divisions and collisions", which grow out of the relations of men to each other. The inquiry, then, before us is, What is the duty of the church with regard to this group of questions?

Few subjects could be more important, and certainly none could be more pertinent. Prof. Stein has remarked¹ that as the fifteenth century had for its task the renaissance of art, and the sixteenth century the reformation of religion, and the seventeenth century the development of science, and the eighteenth century the promotion of democracy; so the task of the twentieth century is to be the reformation and reconstruction of the social world. "A new renaissance," he says, "must break upon the modern world, a deliverance from the gloom of pessimism, which is the symptom of an overworked and weary period; a transformation of the instincts of social evolution into rational laws; a quickening of the glad and confident service of the social world as it is and as it is to be". Such a prophecy Prof. Francis Greenwood Peabody pronounces² "too restricted to cover the infinitely varied life of the twentieth century". "Other problems", he rightly says, "are pressing besides that of social redemption." 'Art seems likely to receive fresh attention. Religion is more widely applied than it was. Democracy must be redeemed by more democracy.'

"Yet even if one may hesitate to prophesy about a cen-

¹ *Die soziale Frage im Lichte der Philosophie* 1897, p. 773.

² *The Approach to the Social Question*, p. 1.

always qualify such a conclusion. This is the persistent eucharistic meaning which attaches to the fish throughout its history in Christian symbolism. To say that this is a natural development of the acrostic symbol is to ignore the traditional character which Christian writers seem to attach to the fish-symbol in this sense, and the all-important fact that the eucharistic meaning is the dominant note in the symbol's first appearance in our sources, *viz.*, in the epitaph of Abercius. There must have been something in earlier symbolism to account for this.

I think that it is to be found in the use of the "Multiplication of Loaves and Fishes" to represent the Eucharist, a conception current in the early second century, as is shown by the well-known *Fractio Panis* in the catacomb of Priscilla. The abbreviation of this unwieldy scene brought about the use of the bread and fish alone to symbolize the Lord's Supper, and this was finally, by virtue of the symbolical short-hand so common in the catacombs, reduced to the fish alone. Thus there arose a vague association of the fish with Christ, because the fish represented the elements of the Eucharist, the body and blood of Our Lord. This association would not in itself have developed into a definite symbol perhaps, but it did so with the help of the independently formed acrostic formula. The real credit for the fish-symbol therefore belongs to the acrostic, but the eucharistic meaning is also primitive, and not a subsequent accretion. The meeting point of the two elements is found in the Abercius-epitaph.

If this appears to be a modification of the position outlined in my first articles on this subject, the reason must be sought in Dölger's demonstration of the evolution of the acrostic formula. This has made it clear to me that the formula is really independent of any earlier symbol, and further investigation of my own has made it equally clear that there is no evidence to show that an earlier symbol, except in the sense explained above, ever existed at all.

Dölger's monumental work has thus, it seems, left open the question of the origin of the type. Apparently there will never be an end of the making of books thereon. A. Baumstark has an article on the subject in *Wiss. Beilage zur Germania* for 1911, I. Scheftelowitz writes at length in *Archiv. f. Religionsw.* (1911) in defence of a Jewish origin for the fish-symbol, and Schultze promises us an entirely new theory in the near future.

Princeton University.

C. R. MOREY.

JEAN CALVIN. Les hommes et les choses de son temps. Par E. DOUMERGUE, Professeur a la Faculté de Théologie de Montauban. Tome Quatrième: LA PENSÉE RELIGIEUSE DE CALVIN. Ouvrage orné d'une portrait. Lausanne: Georges Bridel et Cie. 1910. 4to, pp. viii, 485.

The former volumes of M. Doumergue's great biography of Calvin have been noticed in this REVIEW (and its predecessor) as follows: Vol. I, *La jeunesse de Calvin*, in the *Presbyterian and Reformed Re-*

view, xi (1900), pp. 713 sq.; Vol. II, *Les premiers essais*, in THE PRINCETON THEOLOGICAL REVIEW, ii (1904), pp. 344 sq.; Vol. III, *La ville la maison et la rue de Calvin*, *ibid.* v (1907), pp. 333 sq. To these M. Doumergue's *Inconographie Calvinienne* noticed in this REVIEW, viii (1910), pp. 149 sq. should be added, as really a part of the same work as he himself remarks: "the body is in point of fact the 'environment' of the mind, as the city is the 'environment' of the history; the form is one of the most faithful mirrors of the soul, and we scarcely seem really to know anyone whom we have not 'seen' ". The first volume was published in 1899, the second in 1902, the third in 1905, the *Inconographie* in 1909; and this fourth volume bears the date of 1910, but did not reach us until early in 1912. A considerable interval thus separates the third and fourth volumes,—some five years or more. We are not unprepared to learn, therefore, that this fourth volume has been long ready; if we understand Mr. Doumergue aright, designed originally to be published at the Calvin Jubilee of 1909, it was already at that date wholly written and partly in type.

The reason for the delay in its publication we are not told. M. Doumergue felicitates himself on it: it has enabled him to make use of the works of which the Jubilee was the occasion. We cannot, ourselves, share his satisfaction. The use he has been enabled to make of these works, owing to the fatal fact that his text was already written and partly in type, has not been to enrich, perhaps here and there to modify, the text,—but only to add to it an Appendix; and we can see little advantage in delaying the publication of the unchanged text until the Appendix was ready. If, now, the delay had enabled M. Doumergue to revise his text in the light of the works called out by the Jubilee,—studies, which as he says were numerous, and even remarkable, marking an epoch in the study of Calvin,—that would have been a different matter. As it is, we have the text of 1909—in 1912; and the material which might have been made a text of 1812 in some respects richer and better than a text of 1909, reviewed separately, in another place. For our part, we say it frankly, we wish we had had the text of 1909 in 1909. We could have, then, estimated it more justly; we could have appreciated more fully its really remarkable value; we could have placed it more readily in its proper place as the most considerable contribution made to the knowledge of Calvin's thought among all the very considerable contributions made to Calvin's thought in that great year of the study of Calvin. But having said this, we remind ourselves, of course, that the value of the text is not really decreased by the delay in its publication. It is still the most considerable contribution to the knowledge of Calvin's thought which is connected with the Jubilee of 1909. Ah, but (it may be said) in 1912 we could have hoped for a still more considerable contribution to the knowledge of Calvin's thought from M. Doumergue, than even he could have given us in 1909! And we confess that we are just a little disappointed, in the midst of our delight in what he has given us,

that we are getting from him in 1912 only what we could have got in 1909. No doubt, here is the Appendix, and it is an instructive Appendix, reviewing with great insight and skill the whole contribution of the scholars of the world in 1909, and later, to the better understanding of Calvin's thought. We are most thankful for this Appendix; it greatly increases the value of the volume. If we could not have a 1912 text, we are grateful indeed to have such an illuminating 1912 comment set by the side of the 1909 text. But we cannot pretend to think that, valuable as it is, it quite takes the place of a 1912 text.

As has already been implied, M. Doumergue, in his study of Calvin and his work, has reached in this fourth volume "the religious thought of Calvin". In his own conception of the disposition of his treatise, this opens its third part. In the first part, embracing the first two volumes, the *preparation* of Calvin for his work was depicted. In the second part and the *Iconographie*, the *environment* of Calvin in his work was delineated. Now he enters upon the portrayal of the *programme* which Calvin laid down for himself and carried out. This portrayal is to be accomplished by a study of Calvin's thought, and this thought is distributed into the three sections of his religious, his ecclesiastical and his political and social thought. The word "religious" in the sub-title of the volume now before us is, therefore, to be emphasized, and to be taken in a special and somewhat restricted sense. The volume deals with Calvin's "religious" thought as distinguished from his "ecclesiastical" and his "political" thought, which are reserved until the next volume. In effect it treats of the Theology of Calvin, as that theology is presented in the first three books of the *Institutes*. Not that the *Institutes* alone are made the basis of the exposition. That, as Brunetière expresses it, the *Institutes* by themselves are pretty nearly the whole Calvin, no one knows better than M. Doumergue, and he himself opens his Introduction with the declaration that "the *Christian Institutes* are the whole of Calvin and the whole of Calvinism." But he knows too that this somewhat epigrammatic mode of speaking needs certain important qualifications, and he immediately adds: "Really to know the whole of Calvin, his thought, his character, his personality, not one source alone must be consulted, but three: his *Institutes*, his *Sermons* and his *Letters*. Hitherto it has been particularly his *Letters* that we have used. In the task upon which we are now entering, we shall consult especially the *Institutes* and the *Sermons* (of course, without neglecting the other treatises)." Along with the *Institutes* accordingly he draws upon the *Sermons* and *Homilies* and *Tracts* and *Commentaries*, and thus presents us with the Theology of Calvin on a wider basis than has ever before been attempted, and with, therefore, a more rounded-out and vital result.

Indeed, M. Doumergue's contention is that the result is to present us with what is in a true sense a new Calvin. "We permit ourselves to present a Calvin", says he, "who as little in his theology as in his biography is the Calvin of tradition, or, we should better say, of legend; for if there is a Catholic legend for the biography of Calvin

there appears to be also a Protestant legend for his theology. We permit ourselves to present a Calvin with as many shades as few have been recognized in him heretofore, as rich in contrasts as he has been declared poor in them. There is nothing left of the famous block of marble, without the smallest vein or fissure, both hard and cold! We permit ourselves to present a Calvin who would be mysterious and incomprehensible, were he not so vital. Life is the greatest of mysteries and the greatest of realities. The thought of Calvin, crammed with apparent (I say apparent) logical contradictions, was a life, a spring of life, the stream from which is still running after four centuries. And as every author indulges himself in some illusion,—be not too hard upon us, reader!—we confess that it is our hope that we have felt this life, and that we have expressed this life of Calvin's thought with a little more of exactitude, and of force, and of sympathy, than has been done by our respected predecessors in the history of dogma." In a word, Calvin is the most vital of thinkers, and M. Doumergue, broadening the basis of his study of his thought and sinking himself deeply into it, has sought to present it, not in its dry bones, but in its vital completeness. That he has measurably succeeded in this high attempt is the great praise that is due to his volume.

He begins with an Introduction (pp. 1-17) in which he gives an account of the *Institutes* themselves. Then, in seven Books, he develops Calvin's religious thought as it is outlined in the first three Books of the *Institutes*, and continually brought to expression in this element of it and in that, in his other writings. The first of these books, entitled "Prolegomena" (pp. 21-82) deals with Calvin's doctrine of the sources of religious knowledge; the second treats of his doctrine of "God" (pp. 83-133); the third of his doctrine of "the Sinner" (pp. 135-173); the fourth of his doctrine of "the Law" (pp. 179-204); the fifth of his doctrine of "the Mediator" (pp. 205-236); the sixth of his doctrine of "the Christian Life" (pp. 237-348); and the seventh of his doctrine of "Predestination" (pp. 349-416). The whole constitutes the most comprehensive, the most carefully worked out, and the most vital commentary on the *Institutes* which we have yet received. Four things especially deserve to be observed with reference to it. What may be called the development of Calvin's own thought—so far as development can be spoken of with reference to this marvellous man's thought, whose religious system lay practically complete in his mind from the beginning—is carefully noted; the modes of statement in the several editions of the *Institutes* are set side by side with one another, so that every shade of expression employed by Calvin in his effort to put his thought into fit language is considered; and the teaching of the *Institutes* is constantly illuminated from his Sermons, Tracts and Commentaries. The teaching of Calvin, moreover, is placed in its historical relations, in the complex of Christian thought. M. Doumergue, indeed, disclaims that universal knowledge which would enable him to perform this task perfectly—in words which, if

we mistake not, contain in them a certain sly criticism of apparent pretensions to something like omniscience in others. "To expound the 'religious thought' of Calvin as it ought to be expounded," says he, "it would be necessary not only to know it thoroughly, but to compare it accurately with the contemporary thought of Luther and Zwingli; that is to say, it would be necessary to know also thoroughly the religious thought of Zwingli and Luther. And it would be necessary also to know and analyse carefully all the systems of thought which preceded Calvin's, back to the close of the Middle Ages, and those too which followed his immediately, as the earliest development of it, up to the end of the sixteenth century. In other words, to be a past master in Dogmatics, in the History of Doctrine, in Symbolics. All that we can say is that we have felt deeply the demands of the task and—the impossibility of our meeting them. We do not dare to boast of thorough knowledge of Calvin's thought, in spite of all the years we have spent in close familiarity with it. How could we then cherish the least illusion as to the superficial manner in which we know the other great Reformers of the sixteenth century, and the great Doctors of the Middle Ages, and the principal Calvinistic Theologians? To attain this exact knowledge there would be needed, it seems to us, many lives. And we expect to be believed when we express the astonishment, the admiration, which we feel for the Histories of Dogma which have of late been published in Germany. They are real prodigies of erudition. Their authors have the air of knowing their innumerable heroes more intimately than we know our single hero, Calvin. It is no doubt true that in the special region upon which we have concentrated our study we have not always found the communications of our predecessors either complete or trustworthy . . ." It is well to take this note of the modesty of M. Doumergue's pretensions. It is well to take note also of the excellence of his performance. He may not know all the thought of the closing Middle Ages and of the opening Reformation era "thoroughly"; he knows it sufficiently to place Calvin's thought very illuminatingly in its setting. And he not only writes with adequate knowledge of the thought of the sixteenth century, a part of which Calvin's is, but tingling to his finger-tips with consciousness of the thought of the twentieth century which he is addressing. He has not so much transported himself back into the sixteenth century as brought this great body of thought which the sixteenth century produced down into the twentieth century. He has not only given us a sympathetic expression of the thought of Calvin; he has applied, by a word here and a suggestion there, the thought of Calvin to the problems and injected it into the disputes of the twentieth century. He has given us, therefore, a live book, written with extraordinary freshness and verve. There is not a dry line in the book. It is read eagerly from start to finish, not merely as an exact statement of Calvin's teaching, but as a stimulating contribution to the religious thought of our own age.

It will not be possible to enter here into the details of M. Dou-

mergue's exposition of Calvin's thought, much less to venture criticism here and there upon his treatment of it. Suffice it to say he enters into it everywhere with great sympathy and ventures no opinion without rich documentation. We are not sure that we are convinced that Calvin had as large a part in the French version (1560) of his *Institutes* of 1559 as M. Doumergue supposes. We are not sure that Calvin's doctrine of Inspiration is not a trifle too much minimized. When M. Doumergue says: "Calvin did not teach the theory of dictation in the sense intended" (by those, to wit, whom M. Doumergue is criticizing), "that is, in the sense of verbal and literal inspiration"; and again "Calvin did not teach a mechanical, verbal, literal inspiration"—we agree with all our hearts if what is in question is the mode of the divine action by which inspiration was effected, in accordance with M. Doumergue's statement as to the doctrine of Calvin and his contemporaries: "All say *that* the Bible comes not from men but from God; they do not say *how*." But certainly Calvin, however he may have conceived of the divine operation called by that name, does teach that by inspiration we are given a body of Scriptures every declaration of which may be fully trusted as it was written down by the Prophetic and Apostolic writers of Scripture,—and it was written, of course, in words which are made up of letters. Neither are we quite satisfied with M. Doumergue's explanation of Calvin's doctrine of the Testimony of the Spirit. He sometimes seems to speak as if it might be thought of as something like a mystical revelation, producing convictions—as to the divinity of Scripture or as to the absoluteness of divine truth—apart from the rational grounds upon which such convictions properly rest. We may not fully understand him here; but the possibility of not fully understanding M. Doumergue, the clearest of writers, is precisely the ground of our hesitation. We have not been quite satisfied, further, with the exposition of Calvin's doctrine of original sin, or of the relation of God to evil. But it is ungracious to express these slight hesitations with a detail here and there in a body of exposition which is throughout so carefully and sympathetically true to its original.

The direct exposition of Calvin's system of religious thought occupies four hundred and sixteen pages. To this M. Doumergue had added a long Appendix, of over sixty-pages length, in which under the title of "The Jubilee of 1909 and the Theology of Calvin", he passes in review a great mass of literature called out by the Calvin Jubilee, in which aspects of Calvin's teaching have been dealt with in monograph form by many hands and from many points of view. This Appendix is in its way almost as valuable a contribution to the knowledge of the religious thought of Calvin as the exposition which precedes it, although it bears signs, absent from that exposition, of some haste in its preparation. It will be read as a brilliant attempt by the best-informed student of Calvin's thought of our day, to sum up and give a reasoned estimate of what is thought—and what is known—of Calvin as a teacher of the world at the opening of the twentieth century.

There is some sharp criticism in it; and there is much generous appreciation of work done by others; and out of the whole mass of good, bad and indifferent writing about Calvin in his Jubilee year there is kneaded a good loaf. There stands out at the end before the reader's eye a Calvin as religious thinker quite accordant with the Calvin of the positive exposition of the preceding pages, but here given increased sharpness of outline and convincingness of impression. M. Doumergue suggests that the publications of 1909 mark an epoch in our knowledge and appreciation of Calvin. He has emerged from the scrutiny of a world never before so bent on knowing the exact truth about him, a figure of personal nobility which commands the admiration of all, and a world-moving force second to no thinker of modern times. Even those who criticize him most sharply are compelled to recognize the beneficence of his influence. Here are the significant words with which M. Doumergue closes the study: "An American professor, Professor A. Singmaster, puts into words the reflection which has been on all lips, in the midst of these Jubilee discourses and studies. 'It is curious to note,' says he, 'that despite the apologetic tone of these divers articles on Calvin, and even of the absolute repudiation of Calvinism, their authors cry out almost unanimously, "But see what men Calvinism has made." This seems passing strange. It is incomprehensible that a false conception should make great men, except in the case of that heroism which error has sometimes inspired.' We seem to end, fundamentally, in what a writer calls the irony of history: 'The whole modern world owes an immense spiritual debt to Calvin. And yet, by the irony of history, his most original contribution to religious thought and to the life of the world, is depreciated by many who exalt his theology, that is to say, the part most vulnerable and the least original in the work of Calvin.' This very writer is an example of this irony! It remains that Calvin was the great systematic thinker of the Reformation, and that in no other system has practice been so closely, so intimately united with theory. It is the unanimous opinion which is expressed by Dr. Minton, when he says, 'We believe that his theological thought determined his views of government, civil as well as ecclesiastical.' It assuredly is the height of folly to attempt to separate the Calvinistic life from the Calvinistic thought. It is therefore inevitable that either we should renounce the life of Calvinism (religious, ethical, social), or else reach an understanding of how this life has been produced by a thought, the formulas of which may be more or less happy and may be more or less modified,—but which is as true and right for us as it was four centuries ago. It is to aid this effort of our intelligence that the present volume has been written" . . .

Everybody knows the beautiful form which Messrs. Georges Bridel & Co. of Lausanne have been giving M. Doumergue's book. Of course this volume too is printed in the same splendid fashion. It nevertheless seems to us to have fallen off a little from the high standard of the printer's art which characterized the former volumes. The beau-

tiful illustrations which ornament the earlier volumes, naturally, are lacking in this—which deals with Calvin's thought; we have only, as a frontispiece, the fine Rotterdam portrait of Calvin. But the proof-reading has fallen perceptibly off too. This is not so noticeable in the main part of the volume (though foreign proper-names are too often misspelled there too) as in the Appendix. Here there are a great many misspellings of foreign proper names, some also of foreign common nouns, and indeed some confusions of nationality in the text itself. An "auteur anglais" is very apt to prove to be an American; a "professeur americain" to prove to be a Briton. The greatest fault we have to find with the volume, however, is that it has no Index!

Princeton.

BENJ. B. WARFIELD.

MONUMENTA REFORMATIONIS POLONICAE ET LITHUANICAE. Pages xiv, 201. Wilna. 1911.

This volume contains a number of documents concerning the Reformation in Poland and Lithuania, ranging in date from 1561 to 1599. It is the first of a proposed series, edited by members of the Reformed Synod of Wilna. The first document is a reduced facsimile of Calvin's letter to the Synod of Wilna, occupying the first page, dated Geneva 9 Octobris 1561. The neat penmanship indicates an amanuensis, with Calvin's own signature in conclusion, in a very different hand. The letter is a courteous but faithful warning against George Blandrata. The address is: Eximiis Christi Servis Ministris et Senioribus Ecclesiae Vilnensis, fratribus mihi conjunctis et vere honorandis; and his concluding words are—Valete fratres ex animo dilecti et colendi. Dominus vos spiritu suo gubernet, virtute invicta sustineat, donisque omnibus locupletet. Such documents have a present practical value, in convincing Presbyterians of Anglo-Saxon antecedents, that this venerable Reformed Synod of Wilna or Vilna, with an unbroken history since Calvin's day, deserves our sympathy and co-operation.

Troutons, Missouri.

CHAS. E. EDWARDS.

SYSTEMATIC THEOLOGY.

THE HISTORICAL JESUS AND THE THEOLOGICAL CHRIST. By J. ESTLIN CARPENTER, M.A., D.Litt., D.D., D.Theol. Principal of Manchester College, Oxford. Boston: American Unitarian Association. 1912. 12mo, pp. 231.

The Unitarians must seem to themselves to be coming to their kingdom. All the world appears to be now of their way of thinking; the weapons of their warfare are forged to their hand in the traditional workshops of orthodoxy, and they scarcely need even to furbish them to fit them for their polemic. The volume now before us is issued by the American Unitarian Association, and is enlivened here and there by a turn of phrase which preserves the flavor of the old Unitarian controversialists and reminds us that their son is still engaged in the