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CALVINISM AND ETHICS'

WE are to-day constantly being told, and quite plausibly, that our age is characterized by disbelief in the morality of our fathers and by discontinuance of the practice they commended. fessor Tufts² ascribes our present ethical perplexities to a general revolt against authority; to the machine age which has introduced situations which we have not yet learned to meet; and to the unstable attitude of the time towards the mores of sex and family life. Another recent writer³ believes that our difficulty in discriminating right from wrong with the unerringness of our ancestors is due to experimentalism both in idea and practice, to the habit of following impulse rather than ratiocination, and to the tendency to estimate everything in terms of the social factors involved. Still another thinker diagnoses our social ills as due to the subordination of the power of culture to the cult of power, or the conflict between ethical ideals and economic realities. Similar comments on contemporary conditions could be indefinitely extended. The professional student of human conduct, the essayist and the critic, the sermonizer and the pamphleteer, the columnist and the writer of novels, are all in agreement that in many ways this is a wicked and untoward generation, that it needs enlightening and enabling if its soul is to be saved. But there is no agreement on the important question of whence the light is to rise and the power to come.

Here is an opportunity for the system of thinking we have been commending in these lectures. Calvinism has an ethical message. It has never been a mere body of doctrine; it has also unfolded a universe of duty. It enlightens our faith, and it orders our practice; and thus it has an ethical word for the

This is the concluding lecture of a course of five on the L. P. Stone Foundation, Princeton Theological Seminary, 1931, dealing with Calvinism and Modern Problems. A preliminary draft of the first lecture was published in this Quarterly, October, 1930, under the title, What is the Religious Object? The second, Calvinism and Interpretation, was published in the number for April, 1932. The third, Calvinism and Preaching, was published July, 1932; and the fourth, Calvinism and Worship, October, 1932.

² Recent Ethics in its Broader Relations, 1930.

³ C. Delisle Burns, Modern Civilization on Trial, 1931.

⁴ A. J. I. Kraus, Sick Society, 1931.

perplexed of our time, in which, if they will give heed, they may find guidance and reassurance.

Among the Calvinists it was Zwingli who first described faith as a "working" virtue and a tireless activity, but his untimely death prevented any working out of the thought to its logical completion. It was therefore reserved for John Calvin to give the first and, in many ways, the decisive statement of the ethics of the Reformed Churches. This in summary form is as follows:

The Scriptural "plan" for the good life is in brief to rouse in our hearts a love of righteousness, and to give a rule whereby we shall not wander from the path that leads to blessedness. The first aim is secured by placing before us such thoughts as the holiness of God, the example of Jesus Christ, the walk and conversation befitting the children of the Heavenly Father, the truth that we are temples of the Holy Spirit, immortal both in soul and body, and that nothing therefore should be done to deteriorate either. The second aim is reached by a multitude of wholesome precepts, the nature of which Calvin exemplifies by two texts of Scripture. Romans xii. I: I beseech you therefore, brethren, by the mercies of God, that ye present your bodies a living sacrifice, holy, acceptable unto God, which is your reasonable service; and Titus ii. 11-14: For the grace of God that bringeth salvation hath appeared to all men, teaching us that, denying ungodliness and worldly lusts, we should live soberly, righteously, and godly, in this present world; looking for that blessed hope, and the glorious appearing of the great God and our Saviour Jesus Christ; who gave Himself for us, that He might redeem us from all iniquity, and purify unto Himself a peculiar people, zealous of good works.

The text from Titus resembles, so Calvin thought, the two tables of the law. The phrase "denying ungodliness" is a reminder that we must abandon every superstition that traces events to false causes, and renounce every practice that is repugnant to the serious fear of God; while the added expression "worldly lusts" refers to the carnal appetites that prevent the genuine and hearty service of our Father in Heaven. In short Calvin interprets the apostle as exhorting us to guard against all intellectual errors and all sensual solicitations to sin.

¹ The primary source is *Institutio* (1559), III. 6-11, where is to be found a brief, simple, and Scripturally based description of Christian morality.

The keynote of the two passages is Self-denial, but not, as many understand it, in the sense of annihilation of desire, neither because desire is in itself evil and therefore must be exterminated by the man who would win blessedness. Calvin does not recommend asceticism as practiced by the hermits and the monks of medieval times, but the subordination of all human activities to the divine will. It is quite clear that in Calvin's view life with all its varied gifts is to be enjoyed by man, for such was the intention of the Creator when He made all the good and fair things we find in the world, but in this enjoyment God is to be first and man second; the will of God is to be obeyed; the desires of men are not to be followed where they contradict this will. Thus understood it is not difficult to see that the selfdenial here commended is positive, not negative, and that it is the foundation of a life of joyous service both of God and of our neighbour.

If we were to attempt to characterize the life here contemplated, we might express it thus: with reference to God it is reverent, obedient, dependent; towards man it is honest, moderate, civil, good humoured, friendly, loving; in the presence of trials and sorrows it is courageous, patient, diligent, persevering, cheerful, aspiring; in the use of this world's goods it is appreciative, grateful, temperate, self-controlled.

In addition to this passage from the Institutes, which Schweitzer termed "the first sketch of a Christian ethics," we must notice what Calvin has to say concerning the Decalogue in his commentary on the "Four last Books of Moses." Each commandment is explained in a threefold way that was often copied later and which we find followed in the Westminster Shorter Catechism. Each of the "Thou shalt nots" includes a positive command; each transgression is to be taken as a generic name including in itself all the species of that particular sin; and finally inward inclinations are forbidden together with the outer sin. As Lobstein remarks, " "Of all the Reformers Calvin connects his ethics closest with the Decalogue. The Ten Commandments form the rule of life which God Himself prescribes and lays upon us; they contain all that belongs to piety and virtue; and if, we should obey them, our ethical task would be completely fulfilled." And as another writer well says,2

¹ Die Ethik Calvins, 1877, p. 46.

² W. Geesink, De Ethiek in De Gereformeerde Theologie, 1897.

"This 'decalogue-schema' became one of the characteristics of genuine Reformed ethics, and for the Calvinist each commandment became a norm with the power of a categorical imperative."

Calvin's presentation, it will be noticed, is almost if not entirely free from material introduced from philosophical ethics, and this, of course, was also true of the ethical portions of the catechisms: Luther's (1529), Calvin's (1545), and the Heidelberg (1563). But in the commentaries on these and in the ethical treatises that soon began to appear, the contents were systematized by concepts derived from Aristotle. The first Reformers, as is well known, were not in favour of Aristotle, but Melanchthon gave utterance to the more conservative second view when he wrote Carere monumentis Aristotelis non possumus, and proceeded in his Epitome philosophiae moralis (1538), and Ethicae doctrinae elementa (1550) to make good this assertion. It was through Melanchthon that the Aristotelian influence came into Protestant theological thought, and it is in the treatment of ethics that this influence is most marked. We shall trace briefly the historical development of Calvinistic ethics in order to determine its normative ideas and their present availability.

Lambert Daneau's Ethices Christianae libri tres (1577)² was the first extended treatise devoted to an exposition of the ethical notions of Calvinism. In contrast to philosophical ethics, which makes earthly welfare the highest good, and draws its principles from the light of nature, this book finds man's highest good in the glory of God, and uses Holy Scripture and the Christian conscience as the source of moral guidance. In the First Book there is an explanation of man's will as the subjective principle of the good, and of God's will as the objective principle. Because man's will is depraved, God's will must not only enlighten but

In this I follow mainly the treatment of Dr. Geesink, op. cit.; Chr. E. Luthardt, Kompendium der theologischen Ethik, 3rd ed., 1921; and the various articles biographical and others in PRE, 3rd ed.

² Daneau or, in Latin form, Danaeus, was born in 1530 at Beaugency-sur-Loire, not far from Orleans, and died in 1595 at Castres in Southern France. He studied law for four years under Anne du Bourg, and after obtaining his doctorate in Bourges, practised law in Orleans, until on the courageous death of his old teacher, he yielded to his inclinations towards Protestantism and in 1560 went to Geneva to learn more about its teachings. For a year he listened to Calvin's lectures, and then decided to become a minister. In 1561 he became pastor at Gien, and there, in spite of persecutions, remained until the catastrophe of St. Bartholomew, when he returned to Geneva to preach and teach. In 1581 he became pastor of the Walloon Church in Leyden, but his effort to enforce the disciplinarian organization of Geneva failed and he removed first to Ghent, then to Orhez, and then to Lescar. In 1593 he settled in Castres as pastor and teacher where he remained until his death.

enable. The Second Book contains an exposition of the Decalogue as the rule of the Christian life and the directory of church discipline. In the Third Book are detailed definitions of various virtues and vices. Danaeus, in spite of the adverse criticism he has incurred by his somewhat lavish use of Aristotle's anthropological principles in Book I, is yet to be credited with the first systematic development of the ethics of Calvinism.

The next writer deserving of notice is Amandus Polanus von Polandsdorf, who in 1609 published his Syntagma Theologiae Christianae. In this work he made a sharp distinction between the credenda or what we must believe, and the facienda or what we must do, a division that was adopted by nearly all the Reformed theologians of the period, and which it will be recalled is also prominent in the Westminster Assembly's statement concerning the Holy Scriptures. It should be noted that his credenda are understood in the objective sense: not psychological activities of faith, but things to be believed as found written in the Holy Scriptures. The articles of belief are arranged according to the Apostles' Creed; the things to be done according to the Decalogue. Polanus makes no claim to being the originator of this distinction, but merely to bringing it into prominence as a useful scheme to facilitate the discussion of the norm and whence it comes, as preliminary to the problem of its application.

During the seventeenth century there was also developed two other aspects of the ethics of Calvinism: Ascetics and Casuistry, subjects which have so passed from the Protestant scheme of study, that even the names (at least in America) are no longer intelligible in their proper meanings to most church members. Ascetics is the doctrine of practice or of how to produce the life which Calvinistic ethics describes. Jean Taffin² wrote in 1594 his Traité de l'amendement de vie, comprins en quatre livres, which is generally considered to be the first work in Ascetics from the Calvinistic viewpoint. It had great influence and passed through many editions; it sufficiently illustrated the motto he chose for his life and which he endeavoured constantly to exemplify, a Dieu ta vie en Dieu ta fin. Casuistry did not

¹ Born in 1561 at Troppeau in Silesia. He was a student at Tübingen, and through the influence of Danau and the study of Romans ix, was led to confess himself an adherent of the Reformed Faith. Later he lectured at the University of Basel, where he died in 1610.

² Born at Doornik (Tournay) in 1528 of a Catholic family. How he became a Protestant is unknown, but he probably was a student of Calvin and Beza in Geneva before the founding of the University in 1559. He worked as a minister of the Reformed Church, for the most part in Holland, until his death in Amsterdam in 1602.

denote for the Calvinists the Roman Catholic doctrine of that name, which they, in common with all Protestants, regarded with great suspicion, but the instruction of the people in the conduct that would be in accord with the rules given in God's word. This instruction was given by a predecessor of the modern "case" method, and the first of the Reformed writers on Casuistry in this meaning of the term was the English Puritan, William Perkins, the author of A Discourse on Conscience and The Whole Treatise of the Cases of Conscience, published posthumously in 1608.

But protest was entered against the idea of a special Christian or theological ethics by Bartholomaus Keckermann³ who in his Systema Ethicae (1607) argued that theology should be defined as "a religious prudence for reaching salvation." It is not a discipline, the aim of which is contemplation, but a study of "operation," the aim of which is the enjoyment of God (fruitio Dei). He then sketches the means of attaining this goal. Ethics he argues, has to do with the customs and acts of this world, its subject is the natural man as he should ideally be, and it belongs with economics and politics to practical philosophy, not theology. Keckermann's effort had one beneficial result in that it called attention to the necessity of Calvinistic ethics taking account of the social part of life as well as of the individual portion, but it was seen to rest on an inadequate definition both of theology and ethics, and not to be in accord with the basic conviction of Calvinism that the whole of life should be a service of God.

The Arminian controversy (1609-1619) with its doubts concerning the basic principles of Calvinism, and the strife that it occasioned in the Reformed Church, was not favourable to the development of Calvinistic ethics. As in all such disputes, the intellectual side is emphasized to the impairment of the practical, and this has a retarding influence on the elaboration of moral inquiries. During these years nothing of moment in the way of ethics was produced by the Calvinistic thinkers on the Continent of Europe, and the leadership passed to the English

I The plan of the Theological Seminary of the Presbyterian Church, Princeton, N.J., founded in 1812 provided that the candidates for the ministry should become "skilful and learned casuists."

² Died at Cambridge in 1602.

³ Born 1571. Studied in Wittenberg, Leipzig, and Heidelberg. In 1601 accepted a call to teach philosophy in the Gymnasium Illustre in Dantzig, where he served until his death in 1609.

⁴ Prudentia religiosa ad salutem perveniendi.

⁵ Karl Barth has renewed Keckermann's objection to a theological ethics.

Puritans, who indeed produced a considerable body of ethical treatises, but with a different emphasis than that of Geneva and the Swiss Reformers.

The Puritans in most matters were in agreement with the Calvinistic way of life as practised in Geneva. They reacted sternly against the worldliness of the time; they condemned practices like stage plays, card playing and gambling, which many counted indifferent; they made God's law the norm of their life, and thus their ethics stressed duty. They were convinced that conscience needed a law, that this law was what God had willed for our conduct in Holy Scripture, and that from Holy Scripture it must come into the consciousness of man. Part of the ethical life was to get and to retain knowledge of this revelation through God's word, and the practice of piety meant the searching and understanding and believing the Bible. But in certain respects Puritanism departed from the original Calvinism. Its emphasis on duty led to a sort of legalism that provoked the reactions called Antinomianism and Neonomianism. It did not differentiate exactly enough between the transitory and the abiding aspects of the Old Testament legislation, with the result that undue importance was attached to certain Hebrew regulations as guides of Christian practice. Finally, excessive importance was attached to the human will, with the inevitable result of anti-intellectualism. The slogan was, Life first; Doctrine second, an attitude that virtually abolishes theology as knowledge of God, and turns it as did Petrus Ramus¹, who wished to free it from all scholastic subtleties, into the doctrine of living well, i.e. agreeably to God, the fount of all good things.2 By faith is understood fidei actiones and thus it is made subjective, something accomplished by the subject, not objective, what we should believe. The Calvinistic moralist who adopted this

I Born 1515 in Cuth, an old village in Picardie near Soissons, and died 1572 in the massacre of St. Bartholomew. At the University of Paris he was the pupil of Johann Sturm, who taught the principles of Rudolph Agricola, one of the most insistent foes of Scholasticism. Ramus became a determined opponent of the prevalent Aristotelianism, and in consequence by royal edict was forbidden to teach philosophy. In 1545 the ban was lifted, and he was permitted to teach in the Collège de Presles. The Colloquy at Poissy in 1561 turned his attention to Protestantism, and he became a Huguenot, and visited many of the universities: Strasburg, Basel, Heidelberg, etc., to lecture on his anti-scholastic system. Finally he returned to Paris to die the martyr's death. Ramism found many supporters in Germany, Switzerland, Holland, Denmark, England and Scotland, for the most part among Calvinists. Its influence was weakened by the Thirty Years' War and the system of Descartes. It lasted longest in the last two countries mentioned, and John Milton was one of its adherents.

² Doctrina bene i.e. Deo, bonorum omnium fonti, convenienter vivendi, Religio Christiani, p. 6.

viewpoint was William Ames. He conceived theology in the same manner as Ramus had done, as the "doctrine of living rightly for God," and divided it into two parts which he called fides and observantia, and defines faith as "the rest of the heart in God as the author of life or eternal salvation."2 The term observantia recalls the "rule-keeping" life of the medieval monastics, and the strict "commandment-keeping" practice of the Puritans. The cultus Dei he distinguishes as immediate and mediate, and in outlining the ethical life he follows the Decalogue exactly: the first table under the head of religion, and the second under the head of justice and charity to one's neighbour. In his other volume, De conscientia, he described the nature of conscience, which he takes to be not a faculty but an activity, and then gave a series of cases of conscience under each of the Ten Commandments. Amesius made a notable contribution to Calvinistic ethics, but he represents the Puritan viewpoint in emphasizing the subjective side of faith, the fides qua creditur, not the objective, fides quae creditur, and in thinking of the will as the chief human faculty.

We shall now consider the writer under whom the ethics of Calvinism reached its highest development. This was Gisbertus Voetius,³ who was convinced that only by the combination of the orthodoxy reaffirmed at Dort and the strict practice of Puritanism could be brought into being the Reformation of life at which he aimed during his long life. With this in view he wrote his inaugural *De pietate cum scientia coniungenda*, and translated into Dutch Bishop Bayley's *Praxis Pietatis*.

I Wilhelm Amesius was born at Ipswich in 1576 and died in Rotterdam, 1633. Ipswich was a noted centre of opposition to the Established Church, and Ames was reared by his uncle in the earnest Biblical piety and strict ethics of the Puritans. In the course of time he was made Fellow of Christ's College, Cambridge, but had to abandon it because of persecution and flee to Leyden, where he met John Robinson, the Pilgrim "father." A convinced Calvinist, Ames opposed Arminianism, and wrote his admirable Medulla Theologiae for the use of young theological students under his oversight. In 1622 he became Professor of Theology in Francker, where he wrote De conscientia et eius iure vel casibus libri quinque.

² Acquiescentia cordis in Deo, tamquam in authore vitae vel salutis aeternae.

³ Born 1589 in Heusden in Holland. In 1604 he was sent to Leyden to study theology, where he was described as ingenio magnus, corpore parvus. Here he attended the theological lectures of Gomarus, Arminius, and Trelcatius Jr., but it was the first of the three who exercised the most decisive influence upon him. In 1611 he was ordained a minister of the Reformed Church, and became pastor of the village of Blijmen, where his work met with great success. In 1617 he accepted a call to his native town, Heusden, and began to oppose the growing Remonstrant movement, as well as to continue his studies in theology and Arabic. In 1618 he was sent as a commissioner to the Synod of Dort, where he exercised a decisive influence on the deliberations. In 1634 he became Professor of Theology and Oriental Languages in Utrecht, and there he laboured for the remainder of his life. He died in 1676, and these were his last words: Desidero te millies, mi Jesu, quando venies, me laetum quando facies, me de te quando saties?

In his lectures at Utrecht he recognized two parts in theology: a theoretical and a practical, and in the latter three sub-heads: morality, ascetics, and church polity with homiletics. The morality and the ascetics comprise practical ethics. While he left no well-rounded system, it is possible to gather his concept of Calvinistic ethics from the Syllabus of Questions on the Decalogue. The preface explains the meaning of practical theology in general, and the import of good works as the essential object of morality. He then discusses the ethical subject, and the divisions of good works with their contrast to the corresponding sins. In the second part there is a doctrine of duties according to the Decalogue. His treatise on Ascetics was published in 1664.2 This work uses prayer as its basis, and then commends the reading and hearing of the Word; the Sacrament; the keeping of the Sabbath; the use of fasting, vows, watching and retreat, spiritual striving and spiritual trust, and a triumphant death.

It is a defensible proposition that with Voetius, Calvinistic ethics reached the stage of a relatively complete system. The succeeding writers, notably Cocceius and Amyraut, attempted to combine the standpoints arrived at with alien principles derived from opposing schemes of thought, and it may be said that to date, while of course many writers have reproduced what Voetius and his predecessors formulated, no one has developed the latent possibilities of the morality of the Reformed theology in logical sequence to the thinking of the founders. We may therefore be allowed to appraise its suggestions for the present perplexities.

But first we should mention the adverse criticisms that have been passed upon it. Sieffert3 remarks that the Calvinistic ethics came to its end repeating in stiff formalism monotonous explanations of the Decalogue, and against the repeated warnings of Calvin, developed into casuistry in a manner analogous to the development of Catholic Scholasticism. It is, however, gratifying to note that he adds the saving statement that the cases detailed were for the self-proving of the members of the churches. We must also take account of the plentifully documented

I Printed at the end of the fourth part of the Disputationes selectae.

² The title was Ta asketika sive exercitia pietatis in usum iuventutis academicae.

³ Article Ethik in PRE 3rd ed., 5:551:25.

inference of Max Weber¹ that Calvinistic ethics must be held responsible for the capitalistic system with all the evils that allegedly result from it, because Calvin included in his system of thought three propositions: that moderate interest, which the Church had hitherto condemned, was justifiable; that ordinary work is to be dignified by regarding it as a "calling" set for each directly by God; and that thrift and industry must be included among the moral virtues. This in Weber's view rendered the Calvinists who observed these precepts, small consumers and large producers, enabled them to amass accumulations of wealth, and when financial success was looked upon as proof of the predestinating grace of God, the foundation was laid upon which has been erected the machine age with all its alleged wrongs and inequities. The argument is imposing in its enormous massing of evidence, but it is equally impressive in its selection of facts that support and rejection of those that do not. But to make good this assertion would require a bit-by-bit examination of details, for which there is here neither space nor time. Let it suffice to mention the following from Emile Doumergue's Calvin: Epigone or Creator, contributed in 1909 to the Princeton Theological Review's volume commemorative of the four hundredth anniversary of Calvin's birth. He calls attention to the ambiguity of the expression "capitalistic spirit," and protests that if it is to be employed as an ethical designation, there should be included in the argument Calvin's precautions against the evil accumulation and use of wealth. He also protests against the use of the term "asceticism" in a meaning foreign to the Calvinistic science of morality. In the latter it is no external fleeing from the world, a world which on the contrary the Calvinist seeks out in order to use it as a means of glorifying God, but an internal combat against the temptations which it brings to serve the creature rather than the Creator. It is in the particular application before us the practice of the Psalmist's injunction: If riches increase, set not your heart upon them.

^{*} Die Protestantische Ethik und der "Geist" des Kapitalismus, which first appeared in the Archiv fur Sozial Wissenschaft und sozial Politik, Vol. XX, 1904, and Vol. XXI, 1905; and then was later published in Gesammlte Aufsatze zur Religions soziologie, 3 vols., 2nd ed., Tubingen, 1922-23. The same thesis is also in Professor R. H. Tawney, Religion and the Rise of Capitalism, 1926.

² Professor Werner Sombart puts forward the claim to be the first economic writer to recognize the concept of capitalism as fundamental to the system of economic thought. He protests against the Socialists' use of the term as a political by-word with a strong ethical tinge, and would have it used as a completely non-ethical designation for a definite economic system. Cf. Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, Vol. III, p. 1951, 1930.

Turning from these adverse criticisms we may now enquire what there is of abiding worth in Calvinistic ethics? We answer in the first place, its "theonomic" character, in accord with which the good is defined in terms of the will of God. This gives it at once an advantage over all systems that derive the good from experience of physical nature, or observation of the character of man, in that it has from the beginning the nature of a categorical and not a hypothetical imperative, and thus is an ethic of duty, not expediency. In the next place this will of God is expressed for the Calvinist in the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments, which are thus taken, so we have remarked during the course of these lectures, as designed not only for our information concerning matters of fact, but as directions for the exercise of our activities. This view differentiates Calvinism from the mystics who place above the Scriptures the inner word of particular and private revelation, which they claim God grants to all who earnestly desire to know his will. In itself this is attractive enough, if it were only true, but as the history of ethics demonstrates, it results in all sorts of contradictory practices, and is powerless to cope with the realities of existence. This view also differentiates Calvinism from those who confine the knowledge of God's will to the New Testament alone or to some portion of the New Testament, the Sermon on the Mount for example, or the selected teaching of Jesus as assured to us by the results of "modern" critical appraisal; and from Rome that includes the traditions and the interpretations, and makes the priest the guide of the individual conscience. Finally, this permanently known will of God the Calvinist puts with confidence in the hands of the people, asking each to use it as his personal manual of conduct, in particular the Ten Commandments as interpreted by the Lord and His Apostles.

Of course the Calvinist does not claim that all difficulties are at once cleared by this procedure. There is the difficulty of interpretation and application; of knowing what is transient and what is permanent in the Word of God; of recognition of present obligation and whence is the strength to discharge it worthily. These and many others will readily occur to the reflective mind. But the Calvinist claims that all can be solved in a due use of the means that God has in His grace given to us in order that we may live through our earthly lives for Him. The righteous, he is confident, will never be forsaken, nor will

either he himself or his seed go poverty-stricken for the lack of bread physical or spiritual. But after all said and done, it is in the last analysis a problem of not what we want or feel, but of obligation to do the will of God as set for us in the written Word. The Calvinist prays Thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven, and he is quite sure that

The path of duty is the way to glory: He, that ever following her commands, On with toil of heart and knees and hands, Thro' the long gorge to the far light has won His path upward and prevail'd, Shall find the toppling crags of Duty scaled Are close upon the shining tablelands To which our God Himself is moon and sun.

George Johnson.

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